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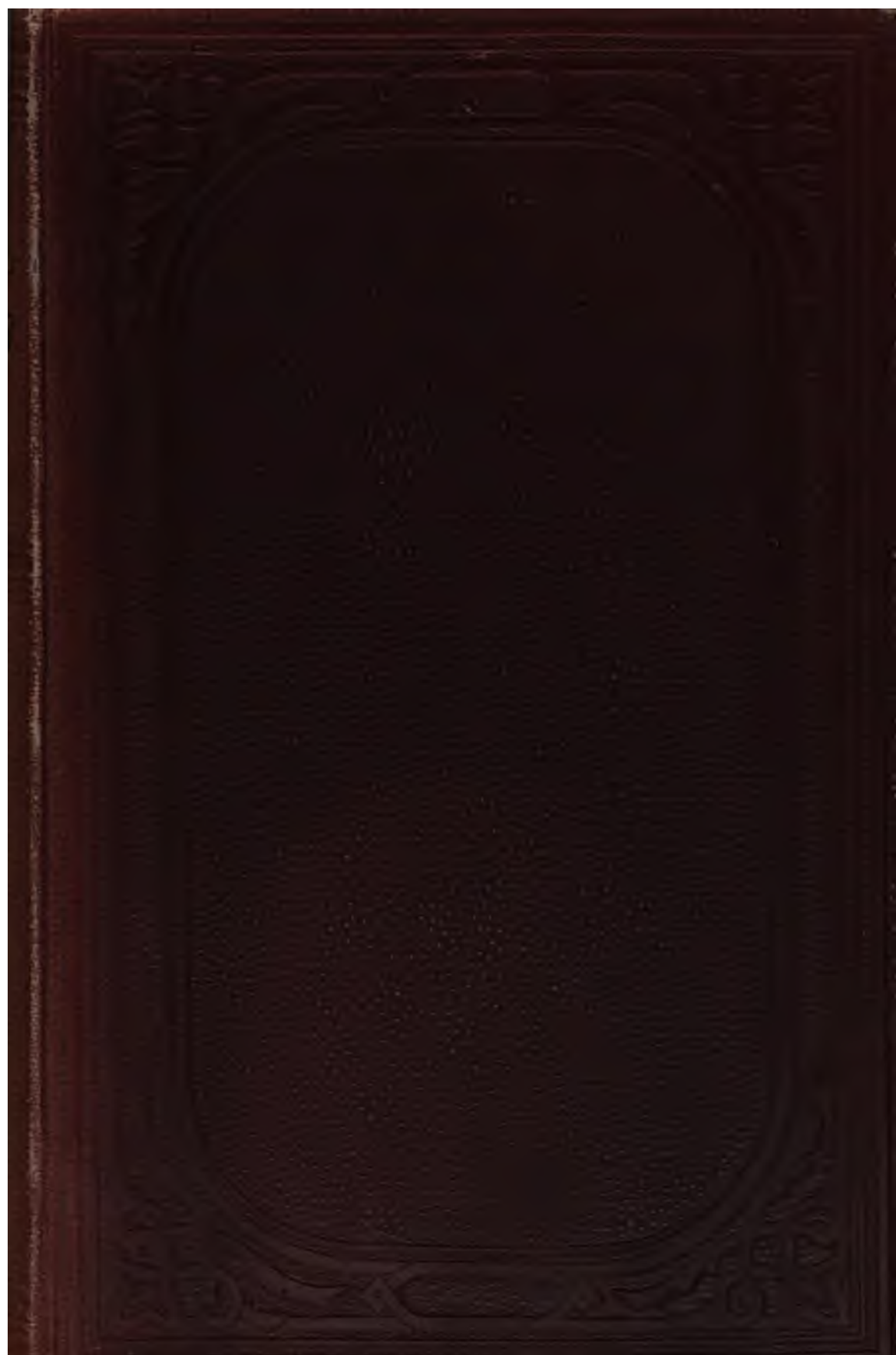
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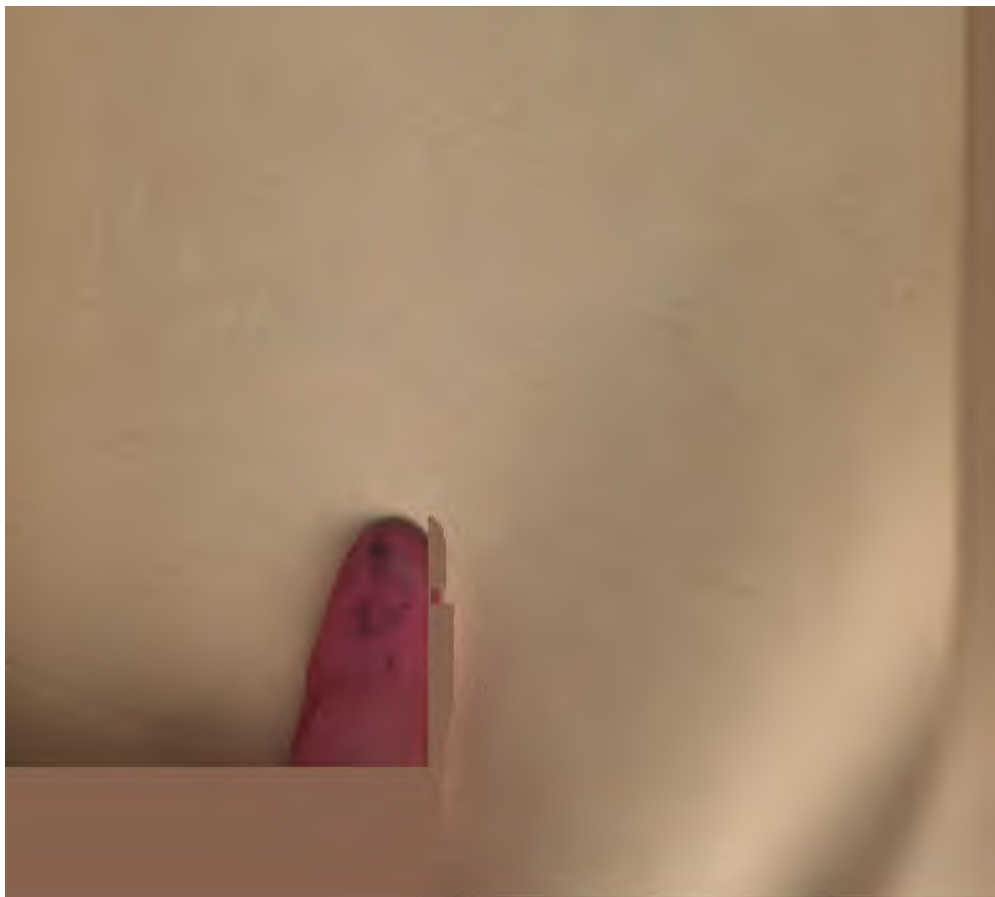
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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER
1900

ALL THE VOLUMES OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

1863 to 1899

MAY BE HAD

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

A

REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME

AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1900

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it necessary to state that in no case does he claim to offer original reports of speeches in Parliament or elsewhere. For the former he is greatly indebted to the Editor of the able and impartial summaries of "Ross's Parliamentary Record," which when necessary have been supplemented by the more extended reports of "Hansard's Debates," and in rarer instances of the *Times*, *Standard*, etc., to the Editors of which he begs to tender his best thanks. He has also to express his appreciation of the obliging courtesy of the Editors of the *Spectator* and the *Guardian* for their permission to make use of the summaries of speeches delivered outside Parliament appearing in their columns.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1900.

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THE political position of Great Britain in the first and last years of the nineteenth century had many points of resemblance. On both dates she was engaged in a war of which the difficulties and the duration had been misjudged by her rulers, and at the close as at the opening of the century she was without a continental ally. Europe, from Calais to Constantinople, was not less hostile to England in 1900 than in 1801 on the signing of the Treaty of Lunéville, although none of its nations was actually in arms against her. There was, however, a very important difference in the situation. Outside Europe and its jealousies, Great Britain had found allies in her colonies, grown strong and rich in the course of the latter half of the century. Bound to her only by ties of blood and affection, awaiting no summons, at the first alarm of trouble they rallied to the cause of the mother-country; Canada, Australia, the West Indies, and the semi-independent rulers of India came forward with offers of men and money, unfettered by conditions or demands. With a less unanimous and less spontaneous manifestation of feeling the course of events in both Europe and South Africa might have been very different. More than one continental nation was ready, even eager, to take advantage of England's

entanglement in South Africa; and the tone of the foreign press, official and unofficial, suggested that there would be no difficulty in showing that the rulers of France, Germany or Russia were acting in accordance with national feelings had they committed themselves to a policy which would have ended in war with the one country which had held aloof from alliance with either of the great European leagues. For Great Britain the situation was as anomalous as to bystanders it was unintelligible. She was fighting in support of a colonial policy which foreigners denounced as tyrannous, whilst those who lived under it were ready to defend it with their lives; and whilst the champions of national freedom in autocratic Russia and Germany ardently espoused the cause of the oppressed Boers, the free colonists of Canada and Australia came forward spontaneously to maintain the rights of their countrymen against Dutch supremacy.

At home there were also to be found many points of analogy in the state of affairs at the beginning and at the end of the century. Now, as then, there was a stern resolve to carry out the matter in hand to a successful conclusion, notwithstanding the incapacity of the generals in the field, the blunders of the Administration at home, and the want of foresight and intelligence which had marked the opening of the campaign. The British troops had maintained their reputation, and the British nation overlooked—at least for a time—the faults of those leaders who had shown so little skill in turning their soldiers to the best account. The advocates for a cessation of active hostilities found little support, and those who attacked the policy which had brought about the war were in no way strengthened by the reverses to our arms. The pro-Boers, as they were called, could, with difficulty, obtain a hearing in public; and their parliamentary leaders showed that the “music-hall” militarism by which the nation was possessed could be best met by judicious silence on their part. Possibly they may have also expected that a few more reverses would have served their cause, and have afforded better grounds for weakening public confidence in the Ministry. Just before the close of the year, however, the Government seemed to have awakened to the dangers of the military situation. Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar and Lord Kitchener, who had conducted the Soudan campaign with conspicuous ability, were summoned in hot haste to London, and, according to general rumour, without even consultation with the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Wolseley). Without a day’s delay, Lord Roberts was given the supreme command in South Africa; and Lord Kitchener, as chief of his staff, was to bring order out of the chaos which was reported to reign at the front, rendering effective movements impossible. Lord Roberts’ demands for a large increase to the forces already despatched were acceded to, and his arrival at Cape Town early in the year (Jan. 10) was marked by an immediate appreciation

of the services of the colonial contingents, to which up to that time very subordinate duties had been assigned.

Public attention was so completely absorbed in the details of the campaign that political speakers wisely abstained from wasting their breath. A certain interest, however, was aroused by Mr. Balfour's utterances. When addressing his constituents (Jan. 8) at Manchester, he dealt with some of the problems of the war. His defence of the Government was timid and apologetic rather than informing and conclusive, for, admitting that the great military preparations of the Boers and the misgovernment of the Outlanders had constituted a dangerous situation, the Government had not been led to believe up to the last that war was "inevitable or even in any high degree probable." As to the lack of preparedness, Mr. Balfour argued that the Government, although well informed as to the Boer armaments, could not protest against them, because its hands were tied and mouth closed by the Jameson raid.

"We knew that there was this constant friction between the Transvaal Government and successive British Governments. We knew that they were always fretting against the bit, that they desired nothing so much as to tear up all the provisions in the conventions between the two countries which limited their autonomy, and to claim, among all the nations of the world, an absolutely independent place. That we knew. We knew, further, that there was a progressive ill-treatment of Outlanders, mostly men of our own speech and of our own blood, and we knew, further, that there were progressive armaments purchased at the cost of taxes laid upon foreign and principally British industry, British capital, and British labour. We found ourselves in this condition of things hampered diplomatically at every turn by the raid—that most unfortunate and ill-omened enterprise—and it found us also determined to require ultimately from the Transvaal a treatment of British subjects not grossly or scandalously different from the treatment that we accord to men of Dutch speech and Dutch blood in the freedom of an English self-governing colony."

The criticism, however, which he wanted to meet was that they entered upon the war insufficiently armed and quite unprepared. People now attacked them for having done too little who attacked them six months ago for having done too much. If it had been a mistake on the part of ministers to think at first that peace was possible, it was a mistake shared by a large portion of the public; and when once it was recognised that war was inevitable, the absence of petty or party feeling on the question among the 40,000,000 of the British nation was astonishing. He admitted that the Government, like almost everybody else, had underrated the military efficiency of the Boers, but even had they taken a different view they could scarcely have acted otherwise than as they did. Had they been assured that the Boers would deliberately precipitate a war fatal to themselves

and hurtful to this country, no other action was possible than that which was actually taken. With regard to the question of artillery, it was necessary in the choice of guns to make a compromise and sacrifice mobility to destructiveness and *vice versâ*, and that was one of the great difficulties they had to contend with. Though the people who criticised the War Office had rather sneered at the linked battalion system, the Reserve, and so on, the whole mobilisation had been accomplished in a manner that was up to the most sanguine expectations. The mobilisation of three army corps at a distance of 7,000 miles was a thing which the world had never seen or attempted before; yet it had been accomplished without a hitch. Speaking with a full sense of responsibility, he would urge the Volunteers at home to train more diligently than ever, for efficiency on their part was never more needed than it was now. He appealed to the nation not to criticise the commanders in the field, but to leave them to work out the difficult problem upon the solution of which depended the position Great Britain was in future to occupy among the great Powers. Our generals in South Africa had a perfectly free hand, and had not been hampered by orders from home. He would not venture to prophesy and say that brighter things were in store for us. But one certain result of the war would be that South Africa would remain peaceful for generations. This great imperial struggle was not, as some of our foreign critics imagined, a beginning of the dissolution of our empire; it would cement our common citizenship and give us the permanent foundation on which alone our empire could rest.

Even by the organs of his own party Mr. Balfour's speech was regarded as inadequate, and his declaration that he did "not feel the need, so far as his colleagues or himself were concerned of any apology whatever," showed either complete ignorance of the actual state of public opinion, or indifference to it. On the following day (Jan. 9) Mr. Balfour again addressed his constituents in the same spirit of happy indifference to the fact that in its short course our casualties in the war before we had crossed our enemy's borders were upwards of 7,000 men, mostly prisoners, on account of the carelessness of their commanding officers. He said that even the most successful wars we had undertaken had not shown in their early stages any promise of their final successful conclusion. It was quite true that in the war in South Africa we had anticipated greater and more rapid successes than had yet been achieved; but it was not true that we had suffered strange or exceptional reverses. He had no more doubt of the end of this war than he had of any set of transactions which, from the beginning, were predestined to end in a happy and successful manner. The feeling of enthusiastic and genuine patriotism was from day to day knitting closer every branch of the English-speaking race, and making us all feel that we had in common one great destiny which it was our duty above all things to accomplish. The

nation that could not bear defeat, and at once set to work to repair defeat, was a nation not worthy of empire.

At a subsequent meeting at Ardwick on the same day, Mr. Balfour repudiated as a false calumny the charge that we were animated in this war by a mean and petty desire to add wealthy regions to our already gigantic empire. We had nothing to gain by this war; we had not attacked, but had been attacked by a country with which we had had long cause of controversy, and which had never had a shadow of a grievance against us. We were seeking an end, which whether near or far we meant to get, and would get. That resolution was based on no vain spirit of boasting, but inspired by the knowledge that our cause was the cause of civilisation. We could not reconcile ourselves to the abandonment of those of our blood who were fighting along with us for their dearest rights, and who would have the right to reproach us for any abandonment of their cause. We should never be truly accused of abandoning the most sacred responsibilities which could be entrusted to a nation.

With every allowance for the necessity of defending his colleague, Lord Lansdowne, it was felt that Mr. Balfour's tone was justified rather by the weakness of the parliamentary Opposition than by the strength of his own case. No minister had shown himself a more consistent upholder of the traditions of the War Office than Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman during his tenure of the Secretaryship of State for that department. His acquiescence, therefore, in the results of the system he had done so much to strengthen might be reckoned upon. But there were others, military men and civilians, who were under no such restrictions, and from these there arose a demand for an explanation of the "military conundrum" of the campaign, of which the solution was beyond the powers of all critics, civil and military, outside the Cabinet. To these, in his concluding speech at Manchester (Jan. 10), Mr. Balfour made show of a reply in a spirit of unabated optimism which carried little conviction to the mind of the public at large. He had previously defended the War Office on the ground that the Boer troops were more numerous and better equipped than had been anticipated, and now, although forced to admit that they "were all mounted," he had not a word to say in explanation of the attitude taken by the War Office in response to the offers from the colonies, that infantry rather than mounted troops would be preferred, and the overwhelming evidence that our guns were outclassed, and our rifles less serviceable than those of the Boers. On the contrary, he said that the War Office had not concealed any unpleasant truths, and there were no facts to his knowledge concerning that department's administration which, if revealed, would produce an unpleasant impression. The field guns supplied to the artillery would compare favourably with those employed by any great nation. In past years everything had been attacked in our military administration except the

guns, and now these were the subject of criticism. He was not sceptical as to the value of criticism, but he had not yet seen a satisfactory suggestion for Army reform. No nation had so difficult a task in Army organisation as ourselves. Continental armies were designed to fulfil certain definite functions; our Army might be, and was, called upon to fight different enemies in different countries. Each war required different armaments, different transport, and different equipment. The War Office did not claim to be perfect, but it claimed that it had not been unequal to the present call upon it. The novel feature of the war in South Africa was the fact that the enemy were all mounted, and no one could have foreseen the remarkable results which mounted infantry could attain. Until the War Office could be shown to be behind the best military information of the time it seemed ludicrous to attack it for want of prescience. As long as the voluntary system lasted the public could not expect to put into the field a much larger and better equipped force than the one sent to South Africa.

Quite unintentionally Mr. Balfour by his defence of the War Office drew upon that department an amount of criticism which increased public distrust in its management. Successive Secretaries of State had tried to introduce changes, but none had succeeded in effecting anything approaching a real reform. On the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge from the post of Commander-in-Chief in 1896, it was understood that the relations of his successor with the Cabinet would be placed upon a very different footing, but nothing bearing on the change transpired to the public. As the war went on, it became increasingly evident that Lord Wolseley's advice had been in many instances set aside by the Secretary of State. It further transpired that after the accession to office of the Salisbury Ministry, and on the appointment of Lord Wolseley as field marshal, commanding-in-chief, the supreme authority over the Army was vested in a committee of national defence (in accordance with the recommendations of a parliamentary committee), composed of the Prime Minister, the First Lord of the Treasury, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, and for some unexplained and inexplicable reason—unless a personal one—the Lord President of the Council (Duke of Devonshire). The Commander-in-Chief had no seat on this board, and was only summoned to its meetings when the occasion for his presence arose, and his duties were strictly limited by its decisions. It was the Committee of National Defence which made selection of Sir Redvers Buller to take command of the forces in South Africa, just as it was the same body which subsequently set him aside in favour of Lord Roberts. Sir Redvers Buller had been allowed a free hand, and his requirements were supplied without question or demur. On leaving England, it was understood that his plan was to march with the bulk of his force to Bloemfontein, leaving the beleaguered towns of Lady-

smith, Kimberley and Mafeking to chance. After the check sustained by the British troops in Natal, this plan was modified, whether by pressure from that colony, or in accordance with instructions from home, was never clear, for no heed was paid to the official denials that any, save military considerations, had influenced the conduct of the campaign. It was, however, sedulously put about that the home Government, while not approving of making the relief of Ladysmith the primary object, accepted the decision of the general they had selected. His repulse on the Tugela, however, somewhat changed the situation, and endangered the credit of the Ministry. Lord Roberts was suddenly summoned from Ireland and offered the supreme command in South Africa, but at the same time, as was freely asserted, Sir Redvers Buller was ordered by the Committee of Defence to relieve Ladysmith, an undertaking of which Sir Redvers Buller himself doubted the expediency in view of its obvious difficulties. This policy resulted in another serious loss of men and prestige, for Sir Redvers Buller, after having obtained a foothold north of the Tugela, was forced to recross the river, and temporarily abandon the attempt to relieve Ladysmith, and to be satisfied with the negative advantage of holding in check a large body of enemies, eager to force their way into Southern Natal.

The international difficulties arising out of the South African war were chiefly confined to the columns of the newspapers. The principal organs of the continental press, irrespective of party, espoused the cause of the Boers, whom they represented as a liberty-loving people, animated by a sincere and honest dislike of British rule, as shown on previous occasions, when they had voluntarily faced exile and hardships rather than submit to it. On the other hand, the policy of England was represented by the same journals as one of spoliation and determination to crush the Dutch influence in South Africa. The campaign was undertaken in the interests of the Johannesburg capitalists, and to satisfy the Imperialism of Mr. Chamberlain and the "Jingoism" of the British populace. The stoppage of the German ships conveying breadstuffs, and presumably munitions of war to Delagoa Bay, for the use of the Boers, was seized upon by the official and semi-official press of that country to advance the Emperor's demand for the increase of the German Navy, and as an outlet to German popular feeling, which was especially hostile to England, but on what grounds no two exponents seemed able to agree, except on that of commercial rivalry. The most intelligible explanation of this state of feeling was not creditable to Great Britain, which was her attitude in the affair of *Angra Pequena* in 1882, and more recently in 1895 in the Armenian question. In the latter matter Italy, the ally of Germany, had been invited to join with Great Britain in forcing Turkey to more humane treatment of her Armenian subjects. With the consent of Germany, and with the assurance of her support,

Signor Crispi had thrown himself heartily into the British policy, only to find himself saddled with the Abyssinian war and the hostility of Russia and France. Lord Salisbury thereupon disinterested himself altogether in the trouble of which he had been the principal cause. This desertion of Italy, behind which Germany was standing, and ready to support her, impressed German statesmen and writers with such a sense of the selfishness of British policy that they came to the conclusion that no understanding with England was possible. On the present occasion there was good reason to believe that the Emperor's personal unwillingness to aggravate the situation rendered a solution easy. The acts of our cruisers at Delagoa Bay were promptly submitted to friendly discussion, and, being recognised as informal, the German ships were released, and in some cases an indemnity paid. Meanwhile it was notorious that not only German ships but those of other nationalities were disembarking at this neutral port munitions of war, as well as volunteers to fight with the Boers; whilst the Portuguese authorities declared themselves unable or unwilling to take steps to prevent such breaches of neutrality.

Mr. Balfour's optimistic utterances were met by a very distinct contradiction from Sir Charles Dilke, whom a political opponent but a competent authority, Lord Charles Beresford, declared to be one of the three men of Cabinet rank in the House of Commons who thoroughly understood imperial defence—the other two being Sir M. Hicks Beach and the late Lord Randolph Churchill. Sir C. Dilke, addressing his constituents at Cinderford (Jan. 10), asserted that it was misleading to say that we had three army corps in South Africa, for if the infantry of such a force were there the cavalry and the artillery necessary to complete it were wanting. The Cabinet was responsible for these defects; and, in the matter of guns, the number in South Africa was slightly in excess of what was considered necessary in France and Germany for one army corps. From other sources, and from the Conservative side, other testimony was daily forthcoming of the want of responsibility in our Army organisation, the defects of our Intelligence Department, and the neglect of the War Office, in spite of repeated warnings, to place our field artillery on a level with that in use in foreign armies.

In advising the Queen to summon Parliament a week earlier than customary, it must be admitted that ministers showed no desire to avoid discussion, although they may have relied more upon the weakness of their opponents than upon the strength of their own case. The general public, moreover, bewildered by the copious stream of telegrams, more or less veracious, from South Africa, was unable to arrive at any correct idea of the actual state of affairs; whilst suspicion, bred of distrust and official reticence, was not wholly dispelled by the apparent frankness of newspaper correspondents, who drew upon their imagination when forbidden to speak openly of what was taking place around

them. They could, however, speak at all times of the courage and endurance of the soldiers, and this satisfied their readers at home; and little heed was given to the incapacity of the commanders or the grounds upon which they had been selected, or to the want of foresight and intelligence displayed by the War Office in the administration of the Army, and to its failure to provide armaments of the most recent pattern and effectiveness.

Nevertheless in certain quarters there was a tendency to make Lord Lansdowne, the Secretary of State for War, the scapegoat of the Cabinet for our reverses and difficulties in the field, just as at an earlier date Mr. Chamberlain was made the scapegoat for the policy which had led the country into war. The Home Secretary, Sir M. White Ridley, speaking to his constituents at Blackpool (Jan. 18), showed himself sensible of this feeling, whilst admitting that Parliament and the country were animated by the desire to carry the war to a triumphant issue. In answer to the reproach, so frequently made against the Government, that they ought to have known the great warlike preparations of the Transvaal Republic, and should have made adequate preparations to meet them, Sir M. White Ridley fell back upon the stock plea and asked what would have been said if the Government had in the previous summer asked for a vote of ten millions to send an army corps to South Africa. Such a step, he contended, would only have precipitated the war; and our primary duty was to demand by negotiation the fulfilment of the terms of the convention under which the Boers gained their independence. With regard to the charge that we had, as usual, underrated our adversaries, he was not especially concerned to take up a brief for the War Office, but he did not think it was fair to make the War Office largely the scapegoat for all the shortcomings which might have occurred during the war. The responsibility of the time at which the war commenced did not rest with that department. Nor, as regarded weapons, were they to blame. It was not the superiority of the artillery brought against us that had caused reverses, but these were rather due to position and rifle fire. Our field artillery was not inferior to that brought against us.

The subordinate members of the Government and its supporters adopted a similar line in their speeches to their constituents, none venturing upon an independent criticism of the campaign. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, speaking at Holbeck (Jan. 19), expressed with more clearness the attitude of the Opposition, whilst admitting that if he had consulted his own feelings without regard to the wishes of his constituents he would have remained silent. When a great war was going on, and when passions were high, it was much better to think and act than to talk. But they owed it to our brave soldiers to see that the policy of the Government did not render useless those splendid and heroic sacrifices which were now being made for us. Even

if the Government was to be changed at the present time, that would bring about no immediate change in South Africa. The war would have to be prosecuted with equal vigour. Even if a change of Government were possible, however, it was certainly not desirable, because the present Government was responsible for what had happened, and their bitterest enemy did not wish to change places with them. Conservative papers and Conservative speakers indulged in the same old denunciations of Liberal politicians and Liberal policy, especially with regard to restoring the independence of the Transvaal after Majuba Hill. He was glad that he voted for that policy, and he would never regret it to his dying day. If we wished to govern South Africa properly and successfully, our only chance was to govern it through and with the Dutch population.

At the same time a number of enthusiastic anti-Jingoes united themselves under the title of the South African Conciliation Committee with the object of issuing such accurate information as would enable the public to form a just estimate of the political questions at issue, and to advocate the re-establishment of goodwill between the British and Dutch in South Africa. It is almost unnecessary to add that within a very short time of its formation the committee, through its spokesmen, got involved in angry controversy with those who claimed to be as well informed and better inspired as to the needs and wishes of the Cape Colonists; and so far from the goodwill between the British and Dutch being fostered, their divergent interests seemed more strongly accentuated by the heated correspondence which was placed before the public.

It seemed, moreover, that the South African question was destined to become as great a solvent of party lines and party discipline as the Irish question had been some years previously. How far expediency and how far patriotism may have stimulated party leaders to express views so divergent need not be discussed; but the conclusion left upon the mind of the public at large was that no benefit would be gained by any change of Government, however unsatisfactory the existing one might be. Lord Rosebery, speaking at Chatham (Jan. 23), on the war and its lessons, endeavouring as far as possible to avoid the least appearance of partisanship, fell upon the inevitable alternative of being wholly colourless. He told his hearers that the war was one of the most formidable upon which we had ever been engaged—first, in respect of the number of British troops in the field; secondly, in the almost unanimous opinion of Europe being arrayed against us. The general ill-will against us, among other causes, was due to the idea that we were a great empire fighting against two small republics, and therefore the sympathies of friends of freedom must be against us. We were fighting not against freedom, but against a corrupt and despotic oligarchy. In such a war there must be bad moments, and we had had them. We had lost many gallant lives; we had had reverses. But let

them remember the difficulty Austria had had in subduing the mountaineers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, though she opposed two or three hundred thousand men to the mountaineers and some Turkish troops. Those mountaineers were not armed as the Boers were, nor had they the resources of gold mines to draw on. Other considerations might console us in these reverses. Again, he could not find that any other nation had ever sent 120,000 men 7,000 miles by sea. A third item must be put down on the debit side. There had been a great loss of prestige, whereas at the end of 1898 he supposed the prestige of England stood higher than since Waterloo. Still, it was well they had made the discovery of their position. They had to recover that prestige as soon as possible. Two supreme assets this country had before all the world—our Navy and our capital—and we had a third in the character of our people. Such a test of character was worth the losses we had suffered. Again five and twenty years ago we had an empire which it was the practice to think a loosely compacted thing which might break up at any moment. This war at any rate had proved that the empire was based on a rock and compact as that rock. Look at the aid given by Australia, Canada, and from parts of India. That had been in Australia at any rate not so much the work of the Governments as of the peoples. Another great advantage they ought to get out of the war would be the learning of some important lessons. In this country we lived a great deal too much from hand to mouth. In an age of science, we did not proceed by scientific methods, or profit as other nations did by them. Great as the task before us in the field was at this moment, a greater task would remain after the war was completed, the putting the empire on a business footing, a task which he believed might occupy many Governments.

Speaking on the same day at Liskeard, Mr. Leonard Courtney, who had for some years occupied the post of mentor to all parties in the House of Commons, reviewed from his own special standpoint the causes and the course of the war. Incidentally he made an interesting contribution to political history when he gave as his reason for not joining Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1880, that he did not think Mr. Gladstone able to carry out the complete restoration of freedom to the Transvaal which he had proclaimed during the Midlothian campaign, and to which Mr. Courtney had pledged himself as the policy to be then adopted. It was therefore to the fact that Mr. Gladstone had been unable to effect that restoration, with promptness and completeness, as urged by Mr. Courtney, that the present troubles owed their origin. Mr. Gladstone had delayed until the Boers had risen in arms; and although the decision to restore to them their independence had been arrived at before Majuba, the painful fact was impressed on the Boers that the restoration of their freedom was delayed till the peasant farmers took arms. He admitted that the government of the

Rand by the Transvaal was bad, but it did not follow that we were justified in making war about it, even though it affected some of our own kin. The raid was an attempt—not by the Government but by a Prime Minister of the Queen—once more to rob the Transvaal of its freedom and independence, and was a second spring of mischief. The investigation into the raid only served to heighten the suspicions of the Boers, for Mr. Rhodes, condemned in words by the committee, was immediately afterwards glorified by Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain's share in the matter had been exaggerated by the Transvaal, and he had always exonerated Mr. Chamberlain, but it was his own fault if suspicion hung about him. The correspondence between Mr. Hawksley and the officials of the Colonial Office about the inquiry was disgusting reading. In spite of the temper of suspicion, anxiety, and dread which filled the Transvaal, its rulers offered, in consequence of pressure from the Cape Government, first a seven, and then a five years' franchise. The second offer was the concession of what we had asked, subject to conditions, as to nine-tenths of which Mr. Chamberlain was ready to consent. This war had been allowed to go on upon a misapprehension of the Colonial Office meaning, which the Colonial Office took no steps to dispel. The ultimatum was not issued till we were apparently encircling the republics with our armed hosts, had called out the Reserves, and summoned Parliament, though it was admitted that if the Boers had begun a fortnight earlier they would have had a greater prospect of success. The explanation of their delay was that they did not want to fight at all. The painful fact was that this war was an unnecessary war, and that it had been made necessary by the terrible diplomacy of our Colonial Office. The Transvaal Government were prepared for war because they were apprehensive of being attacked. Some vindication of our strength was necessary before we could have peace, but, that asserted, the first opportunity should be seized of seeing whether peace could not be re-established.

The impression conveyed by Mr. Courtney's speech was that he was dealing with a Transvaal of his own imagining; but it was admitted that, in endeavouring to tear off the veil from the relations between Mr. Rhodes and his associates and the Colonial Office, he was showing his usual courage and independence.

Keener interest was aroused by Mr. Morley's address to his constituents at Forfar (Jan. 24), but the expectations of those who hoped for some guidance in the paths of practical politics were doomed to disappointment. Mr. Morley, since he had severed himself from the counsels of his party, had apparently been anxious of introducing the French system of groups into our political system. His experiences had not been very encouraging, and at the present time he found himself with one doubtful colleague—Sir W. Harcourt—and no followers. His speech, therefore, read more like a lecture upon current affairs by a com-

petent but disinterested spectator than as the expression of the views of a politician to whom the exigencies of party discipline and party conciliation were known. Mr. Morley's own experience of official life had shown him that in politics the absolute best—according to the highest standard—was seldom if ever attainable, and that compromise, of which he had been at one time the eloquent advocate, underlay the whole of our methods of government. He was chiefly anxious to prove to his hearers that he was not indifferent to the greatness of the empire, and he disapproved of being classed with the doctrinaires, the pro-Boers, and the Little Englanders. It was true that he did not like the word "empire," which conveyed the idea of rule over unwilling populations. He preferred to think about a confederacy of States, of which Great Britain was the centre; but Mr. Morley omitted to add that the central State was by its strength or otherwise to be regarded as the connecting link between those revolving round it. On the subject of Liberal Imperialism he was sarcastic, and apparently more desirous of showing how far he had drifted away from Lord Rosebery than of explaining how he hoped to gather adherents to his own views. Lord Rosebery's prophecy, that in ten years everybody would be converted to Liberal Imperialism, reminded him of a Swiss cellarman filling from a cask bottles with different colours and labels, and observing that it was the same wine, got the reply, "Yes, but people think it is different." He suspected that Liberal Imperialism was Chamberlain wine with a Rosebery label. Turning to the more burning question of the moment, Mr. Morley admitted, grudgingly, that obviously they must go on with the war now, but that did not take away their responsibility for examining the policy which had caused it. What had happened to expand the summer controversy over five or seven years' franchise into what some Ministerialists called a life and death struggle for the existence of the empire? The war was justified on the score of the grievances of our countrymen. What were the grievances of the Outlanders?—that they did not get their votes soon enough; they did not get their dynamite cheap enough; the natives were not made to work hard enough. None of these wrongs were worth sacrificing British lives for. Mr. Balfour had said that the House of Commons would not have granted the Government in August money for a war. The Government, not anticipating war, as they said, used language in Parliament and wrote despatches which made war inevitable. The Government seemed to have trusted to South African opinion as represented by Mr. Rhodes, who said in August that President Kruger would yield, and by Sir A. Milner, instead of taking Mr. Schreiner's warning that they were on a dangerous track. It was said the Boers had begun to arm long before the raid. Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson did not think the armaments were serious. Three months after the raid, in reply to Mr. Chamberlain, Sir H. Robinson

said the Transvaal armaments were purely defensive. Up to April the Government had said they had no right to complain of the Transvaal armaments. There had been a conspiracy and there had been a plot, but it was the plot and the conspiracy of a band of goldhunters—a sordid plot against the peace of South Africa at the expense of the fame and the strength of the British Empire. Mr. Balfour had said the Government could not remonstrate against the arming because of the raid. Then why did they not stigmatise the raid properly, instead of restoring the leaders to the army, and whitewashing the archplotter? If the Government really believed in the conspiracy to drive the English into the sea, how could they expect to avert it by giving a few British subjects the franchise?

The obvious reply to one part of this indictment of the Government was that Mr. Morley, not having taken the opportunity of stigmatising the raid from his place in Parliament, had allowed the Boers to suppose that the policy of whitewashing the raiders was accepted by all parties, and consequently all parties were equally responsible for the war which had broken out. To some of the other charges, however, the answer was less complete. The influence of the capitalists at Johannesburg was admitted by all except by the Government which for some inexplicable cause had acted in accordance with their wishes, and was carrying out at the cost of the nation a policy in which a very small group of individuals, with enormous resources at their command, had a real interest after President Kruger had conceded nine-tenths of the British demands. The public at home, however, was apparently hypnotised, and the spirit of militarism had been so effectively evoked that all suggestions that our statesmen had blundered were branded as unpatriotic.

But it was not only among the Opposition leaders that divergent opinions as to the causes and conduct of the war were to be found. The Unionists, whether fretting under Conservative leadership or at their own anomalous position, from time to time gave expression to their feelings. The most outspoken and noteworthy of such utterances was that of the Duke of Bedford, and was all the more important as but a short time previously he had been selected as the mover of the address in the House of Lords. Speaking to a public meeting of Liberal Unionists at Bedford (Jan. 25), he said that the South African policy of the Government, judged by its action during the past few months, seemed to have been based upon the following misapprehensions:—

“(1) That the Transvaal would never of its own accord declare war against England; (2) that there was no practical risk of an offensive alliance between the Orange Free State and the Transvaal; (3) that in no circumstances would the Transvaal or the Free State invade British territory; (4) that the forces of the Transvaal all told amounted to about 30,000 men, with no artillery worth mentioning and no trained cavalry.”

They would not, he said, be in a position to understand how the Government arrived at these very erroneous conclusions until they had the following information: What were the reports of Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Conyngham Greene upon the condition of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and their probable intentions towards this country? Did they, or did they not, report on the existence of this vast armed conspiracy against the Imperial Power? What was Sir W. Butler's report to the Government as to the military situation at the Cape, and the measures necessary for holding Natal? What was the report of the Intelligence Department of our War Office to Lord Wolseley as to the military resources of the Transvaal? What action was taken by the Commander-in-Chief upon that report, and what was his advice to the Secretary of State for War? Did the Secretary of State act upon the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, or upon some other military opinion? If so, what was that military opinion? Without these papers, all inquiry was profitless.

That the Government, except under extreme pressure, would furnish materials for its own indictment, was altogether improbable, and confident in its parliamentary majority it could resist every attempt to throw discredit upon its action. There was, notwithstanding the eager interest with which the military operations were followed, a growing feeling that the Government in its negotiations had not been so much duped as it had been self-deceived. Some at least of its more prominent members doubtless persuaded themselves first and their colleagues afterwards that the Transvaal Government never intended to fight, but after much talk and protest would give way on the remaining one-tenth of the concessions demanded at the Bloemfontein Conference. When it was discovered, too late for withdrawal, that the Boers had reached a point beyond which they would not retreat, it was found advisable to bring forward the vague charge of a conspiracy against British domination and of the military measures prepared to overturn it. This knowledge after the event, upon which the Government apologists now insisted with fervent conviction, seemed to less hot partisans to be about on a level with the discovery that not 30,000 men, as first imagined, but 200,000 would be requisite to deal with the fierce national feeling of the Boers—especially those of the Transvaal, who on more than one occasion previously had shown themselves prepared to face any hardships rather than live under British rule.

If, however, there were doubts at home as to the intelligence displayed by the Ministry in its diplomatic and its military tactics, there was no such misgiving in the colonies. The response to the appeal for help was splendidly answered from north and south, east and west alike. Canada vied with Australia in a display of the true imperial spirit, New Zealand with Natal, and Cape Colony itself gave proof of its loyalty, whilst Indian

princes came forward with offers of men and money. With the arrival of Lord Roberts at Cape Town, the absurd restrictions which had been imposed upon the colonial troops were removed, and as the campaign advanced it was recognised that in many ways they were far better adapted to Boer warfare than the British troops, whose movements had to be governed in accordance with prescribed rules—often only half understood by the officers in command. General French, in command of the most active cavalry brigade, at once realised the value of his colonial troops, who showed themselves as mobile as the Boers, and as indifferent to hardship and fatigue. The regular troops were further supplemented by large bodies of Volunteers from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, some raised at the cost of their localities or by public subscriptions, like the City Imperial Volunteers, others by the great landowners, but in most cases at their own charge. Gentle and simple, peers and commoners, legislators and labourers, stood side by side in the ranks, and alike submitted to the hardships of barrack life, the discomforts of ocean transport, and the roughness of a trooper's life in the field. It was not long before they gave an account of themselves. The idea that they might be found useful in guarding the lines of communication very soon gave way before the immediate requirements of the campaign, and every despatch bore testimony to their willingness and their effectiveness.

Meanwhile there was at home a persistent search for a scapegoat for the mischances of the war. The outcry against the Secretary for War (Lord Lansdowne) was again taken up, and his fitness to preside over the military operations of a great campaign was seriously questioned. The Ministry, it was said, which had come into office over an incident of military administration, which for five years had enjoyed a free hand, and an overpowering majority in Parliament, had done nothing to effect any real improvement in the Army, or to bring its arms up to the level of those in use by other nations. In the press there was an almost unanimous demand for Lord Lansdowne's removal, but his colleagues were determined to stand by him, for possibly the so-called Committee of Defence, if it had ever taken up the duties assigned to it, felt that their responsibility was not less than that of the Secretary for War, who could not be sacrificed because his colleagues had neglected their duties and left to him the defence of the country. In the end nothing came of the outcry, although it was recognised that Lord Lansdowne had displayed feebleness or incapacity in raising the Yeomanry force destined to play an important part in the campaign; in appealing to the Volunteers to undertake duties which properly fell upon the Regulars, and in dealing with opportunities which needed vigour, decision and foresight. At the same time whispers of graver matters were not wanting, the selection of officers for commands in South Africa being the most serious. It was asserted that favour rather

than merit had determined the choice of several of the most prominent, and that the influences exerted on their behalf were first social, then political, but never professional.

The interest aroused by the war, with its side issues, was sufficient to occupy public attention to the exclusion of all other subjects. The disputes of the rival parties in the Church of England, which had attained unfortunate prominence in the previous year, seemed likely to fade out of notice, notwithstanding the efforts of the protagonists to keep them before the world. The English Church Union, which claimed to be the special guardian of the Church, found that the views of its more extreme members were not unanimously adopted, and the obvious intention of the former to reject the archbishops' "opinion"—the word "judgment" not being admissible—and to fight the bishops was not endorsed by a large section of the members of the Union. There was at the same time evidence that the more dignified and law-abiding members of the High Church party were indisposed to adopt the debatable extremes of latter-day ritualism. The exponents of this movement, of whom Lord Halifax was the chief spokesman, abandoned the position of the leaders of the former "Oxford" movement who had appealed to Christian antiquity, and taking their stand upon the practice of the mediæval Church, insisted that the continuity of the English Church meant the perpetuation of the law, ritual and doctrine of the Church, as unchanged by the Reformation. The members of the English Church Union for the most part, however, seemed disposed to follow Lord Halifax's leadership, although from time to time the withdrawal of some prominent member from the body was announced, and with it was probably snapped another link between the great body of the English laity and the Church, of which the extremists were endeavouring to obtain the control. The full measure of the extremist party was probably never expressed in words, but the body in a deputation to the Archbishop of Canterbury presented through Lord Halifax a document stated to have been signed by 13,794 lay communicants (the respective numbers of the two sexes and their ages not being stated). The terms of the document, which was subsequently repudiated by the English Church Union as a body, were as follows:—

"We, the undersigned, being communicants of the Church of Christ, desire, with all respect to your Grace's high office, to enter our solemn protest against the 'opinion' which your Grace and the Archbishop of York have recently put forward on the subject of incense and processional lights.

"And this we do on the following grounds:—

"Firstly, that your Grace has attempted, not merely to define by an individual and autocratic exercise of power the ceremonial practice of the Church in this land, but also to press such definition upon dioceses of which your Grace is not the ruler. And, however ready your Grace's suffragans may be to

submit to this, we, as Catholic lay people, must strenuously protest, and will resist to the utmost a precedent which may lead us into a position differing but little from that against which the Church rightly protested 300 years ago.

"Secondly, we protest against your Grace's attempt to foist upon the Church, as her rule of ceremonial, a penal Act of Parliament passed in days of regal autocracy, and intended to meet circumstances entirely different from those of to-day. And we are the more aggrieved, because we were led to suppose that your Grace had intended to investigate the question upon the principles of Catholic law and custom and liturgical science, and not upon the construction of the alleged law of the State."

In a long and dignified reply to this protest and to the speeches which were delivered on its presentation, Dr. Temple explained that it was left for the bishops to call upon the clergy of their respective dioceses to accept the opinion of the archbishops. No pressure would be exercised upon individual bishops, who, by their non-acceptance of the "opinion," would set the clergy free from obedience to that opinion. The situation was doubtless one full of difficulty and even of peril to the Church at large, and the archbishop's desire was to speak in favour of the widest comprehension, compatible with non-disruption or obvious surrender of the fruits of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

Meeting of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Address in the Lords and in the Commons—Lord E. Fitzmaurice's Amendment—Prolonged Debate—Victory of the Government—York and Plymouth Elections—Lord Lansdowne's Proposals for Increasing the Army Discussed in both Houses—Lord Wemyss on the Militia Ballot—The Jameson Raid Reviewed—The Navy Estimates—The Army Estimates—Additions to the Standing Forces—Militia and Volunteers—Civil Service and Revenue Estimates—The Preliminary Budget—Increased Taxation—The War Loan—The Supplementary Financial Statement—Youthful Offenders Bill—The Presidents' Proposals of Peace—The War Office and the Conduct of the Campaign—The Eight Hours Bill Rejected—The Queen and Her Irish Soldiers—Her Visit to Ireland—The Government and the Pro-Boer Meetings—Army Contracts—The Irish Catholic University—Old Age Pensions—Agricultural Holdings Bill—British Interests in China—Public Reception of the News from South Africa—The Delagoa Bay Railway Award—National Liberal Federation at Nottingham—Attempt to Shoot the Prince of Wales.

By bringing Parliament together a week earlier than usual (Jan. 30) ministers showed they were prepared to face the criticism of a divided Opposition without fear of the consequences. It was known that the whole South African policy of the Government was to be challenged, but not upon what lines, as it would be necessary to frame a resolution wide enough to enable Liberals of all shades to support it. The general scope was, however, settled at a meeting held at Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's private house, where a sort of understanding

was arrived at between the adherents of Lord Rosebery and those more intimately identified with the titular leaders of the party. The line agreed upon between them was a resolution charging the Government with lack of foresight, and demanding who was responsible for the policy which led to the war, and for any political action which had since taken place to interfere with the plans of the military authorities.

The resolution passed at the "Unity" conference held in Dublin "to invite all Irish National members of all sections to take measures to reconstruct a united party on old lines," seemed to promise but little result. A meeting was in fact convened by Mr. Harrington, and was attended almost exclusively by the followers of Mr. Redmond and Mr. Healy, but nothing was done to provoke the Dillonites, and subsequently, at a meeting attended by sixty-five Nationalist members, Mr. J. Redmond, a Parnellite, was unanimously elected sessional chairman of the united party, with the common object of separating themselves from the Liberal party, and of returning to a more militant policy.

Although Parliament was not opened by the Queen in person, and the ceremony thereby shorn of its most characteristic features, the interest in the position of affairs was keenly manifested. The speech from the throne, which included a number of measures which the Government might wish to advertise but not to submit for discussion, was from its length suggestive of an approaching appeal to the electorate.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"The peace which had recently been broken in South Africa when last I addressed you has unhappily not been restored; but otherwise my relations with other States are friendly.

"In resisting the invasion of my South African Colonies by the South African Republic and by the Orange Free State my people have responded with devotion and enthusiasm to the appeal which I have made to them; and the heroism of my soldiers in the field, and of my sailors and marines who were landed to co-operate with them, has not fallen short of the noblest traditions of our military history. I am deeply grieved that so many valuable lives should have fallen a sacrifice. But I have witnessed with pride and with the heartiest gratification the patriotic eagerness and spontaneous loyalty with which my subjects in all parts of my dominions have come forward to share in the common defence of their imperial interests. I am confident that I shall not look to them in vain when I exhort them to sustain and renew their exertions until they have brought this struggle for the maintenance of the empire and the assertion of its supremacy in South Africa to a victorious conclusion.

"A treaty has been concluded with the German Emperor for the adjustment of rights claimed by the two countries in

Samoa, Tonga, and other islands in the Pacific. To a portion of these stipulations the Government of the United States has also been a party.

"A bill will be introduced at an early date to give effect to the scheme of federation which has been adopted after the most careful consideration by five of my Australian colonies. I have watched with cordial satisfaction the gradual development of my greater colonies into self-governing communities. I feel confident that the establishment of the great federation of Australia will prove advantageous, not only to the colonies immediately concerned, but also to the empire at large.

"The brilliant courage and the soldier-like qualities of the colonial forces engaged in South Africa have already earned high admiration. Patriotic offers of assistance, which it was not possible to accept, have come from many other colonies with populations of various races.

"I have received from the ruling chiefs of native States in India numerous offers to place their troops and the resources of their States at my disposal for service in South Africa. These proofs of their loyalty to myself and of their devotion to the cause of my empire have afforded me much gratification.

"I regret that owing to insufficient rainfall in the autumn over a great part of Western and Central India the harvests and pasturage have failed to such an extent as to create a famine. Timely measures have been taken by my Government and by the rulers of the native States affected to relieve suffering and to prevent starvation.

"I regret to add that the epidemic of plague continues, and that, although its severity has not increased since last year, there is at present no prospect of its diminution.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"The estimates for the public service of the year will be laid before you. The provision for military expenditure must be largely increased on account of the charge for military operations in South Africa.

"The experience of a great war must necessarily afford lessons of the greatest importance to the military administrations of the country. You will not, I am convinced, shrink from any outlay that may be required to place our defensive preparations on a level with the responsibilities which the possession of so great an empire has laid upon us.

"At a time when several other nations are perfecting their naval preparations at the cost of increasing efforts and sacrifices, the solicitude with which you have provided for the efficiency of our Navy and of our coast defences will assuredly not be relaxed.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"The time is not propitious for any domestic reforms which involve a large expenditure.

"Proposals, however, will be made to you for several important changes which are not open to this objection. Amendments are required in the laws which govern limited liability companies and in those which relate to agricultural tenancies. Measures for amending the law of ecclesiastical assessments and in regard to education in Scotland and for the relief of tithe rent-payers in Ireland will also be laid before you. Your attention will also be invited to proposals for better enabling local authorities to aid secondary and technical education in England and Wales; for controlling the contracts of money-lenders; for the amendment of the factory law, of the law of lunacy, and of the Housing of the Working Classes Act.

"The labours of the commission appointed by me to inquire into the nature and causes of accidents to railway servants are now completed. A bill, framed with the object of lessening the number of such accidents, will be laid before you.

"It appears that service in South Africa may have the effect of disfranchising those who are taking part in it. You will be asked to sanction a measure by which this injustice will be prevented.

"I commend your deliberations in this anxious time to the blessing and guidance of Almighty God."

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Shaftesbury having respectively moved and seconded the address, the Earl of Kimberley, on behalf of the Opposition, at once, after a reference to our relations with other nations, put the case against the Government in very plain terms. If the former were satisfactory it was in great measure due to Lord Salisbury's conduct of them; and he regretted that the Premier's influence for peace had not been paramount in the Cabinet, but should have been thwarted by Mr. Chamberlain's imprudent speeches during the recess. With regard to the war in South Africa, he desired to express the admiration universally felt for the gallantry of our forces, both imperial and colonial. He should entirely abstain from criticising the conduct of the generals in command, as such criticism would be unwise and misplaced, for he was sure they had done their utmost to discharge the arduous task imposed upon them. As to alleged defects in our military administration, while he thought there would have to be a revision of the present system, he did not think it opportune to go into particulars at that time. Meanwhile, it was highly desirable that we should be thoroughly prepared to meet every possible complication. The whole of the Militia ought to be embodied, and the Navy not only brought up to the highest state of efficiency, but kept ready to discharge any duty that might be laid upon it. Lord Kimberley went on to criticise Mr. Chamberlain's policy of "bluff." Ministers, indeed, had confessed themselves unaware of the state of military preparation at which the Boers had arrived, and yet it was impossible to believe that the Government, in Mr. Balfour's

words, knew no more than "the man in the street." He had, however, no wish to derive any party advantage from the mistakes of those in office; he desired nothing so much as to support them to the uttermost in bringing the war to a successful close.

The reply of the Marquess of Salisbury on behalf of the Government was not wholly satisfactory even to his followers, for although he parried Lord Kimberley's attacks skilfully, he avoided meeting the charges temperately brought against his policy in a serious vein. He sneeringly remarked that it was a Liberal Government which concluded the conventions with the Transvaal, and that under these we had no right to control the importation of warlike stores into that country. He asked further how on earth ministers were to know that the Transvaal Government were accumulating munitions of war? We had no right of search at Lorenzo Marques; we had a very limited Secret Service Fund compared with that of other States, and information cost money. Even so late as last June the Cabinet had no knowledge of the extent of the Boer armaments. Suspicion there was, but no proof that could be laid before Parliament. The fault for what had happened lay in the treaties of 1881 and 1884, under which a bitterly hostile population, installed in our midst, enjoyed every facility for the introduction of all the arms they pleased. As to the conduct of the war, he did not himself think the British Constitution, as at present worked, was a good fighting machine. Notably, the Treasury exercised a power of control over the other departments which was not for the public good. "By the exercise of the power of the purse it claimed a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy," and he thought "that much delay and very doubtful resolutions had been the result of the peculiar position which, through many generations, the Treasury had occupied." In saying that, he was not supporting the idiotic attacks which had been made on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had exercised his powers with the utmost consideration. In spite of our reverses we had every ground for believing that if we set heartily to work and exerted all the undoubted instruments of power we possessed we should bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion. But we must defer the pleasing task of quarrelling among ourselves till that result had been attained. The situation was "full of humiliation and not free from danger," but although he deprecated alarm, it was therefore with some regret that he saw that this great issue was about to be submitted to a party test in the House of Commons. It was too grave a matter to be dealt with in that way, and the only place where the mover of the censure would meet sympathy or arouse enthusiasm was Pretoria.

It was not surprising that as soon as the Prime Minister had finished Lord Rosebery should have risen to explain the difficulties which plain men found in giving the Administration

unqualified support at such a serious juncture. He declared himself appalled by the manner and the matter of the Prime Minister's speech. If the Secret Service Fund was inadequate to the wants of the Government, why was an increased estimate not brought forward? The House of Commons, in which ministers commanded a large majority, was not likely to refuse them what they asked for the public need. They could not devolve their responsibility on the working of the Constitution. Adverting to a remark of Lord Salisbury's, to the effect that the youngest man living was unlikely to see the conscription adopted in this country, Lord Rosebery said he did not think it an immeasurably remote possibility that some form of compulsory service would have to be introduced to meet the growing exigencies of the empire; nor did he believe the country would shrink from the sacrifice, if its necessity could be shown. He insisted that they had a right to know what the Government intended to do. Vast masses of troops had been sent to South Africa, and they had not even a hint from the first Minister of the Crown as to what military measures the Government proposed to take in face of the disasters we had suffered, and of the sacrifices we might be called upon to make in the future. The Secretary for War, the Marquess of Lansdowne, however, declined to be drawn into the discussion, on the ground that the points raised as to Army administration could scarcely be dealt with in a debate on the address, but he promised to make a statement of the military measures in contemplation at an early date. Nevertheless he asserted (in apparent contradiction to his leader's ignorance of what the Boers were doing) that the War Office did not underrate either "the numbers or the armaments of the Boers, but only their value as fighting men."

The address was then agreed to *nem. dis.*, but it was not likely that the Treasury would submit in silence to the reproaches brought against that board by the Prime Minister. Although it was a matter of common knowledge that the relations between the Treasury officials and those of the great spending departments—the War Office and Admiralty—were seldom cordial and often exceedingly strained, the former were eager to disavow all responsibility whenever their devotion to red tape seemed harmful or aroused protests outside. Every effort known in the official world was therefore made to induce the Prime Minister to modify his remarks, and to this, possibly, as was said, to show his contempt for Treasury clerks, he at once assented, and (Feb. 1) explained that amongst other things in which he thought there was room for improvement, he had observed that the Treasury by exercising the power of the purse claimed a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy. He now wished to explain, in consequence of allegations since made in the other House, that he took care to point out at the time that he was not in the least degree intending any applica-

tion of these views to the action of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been singularly careful and considerate in the exercise of the power of the Treasury during the crisis of the last few months. In fact, Sir M. Hicks-Beach had never refused anything which the Admiralty or the War Office deemed necessary for the public service. At the same time, he thought the Treasury had gradually acquired a position, in regard to the defensive departments, very different from that which the Finance Department occupied abroad, and on the whole he was of opinion that for purposes of national defence this was not a satisfactory condition.

Lord Kimberley, who had held the seals of the Foreign and other Offices, generally concurred in the Prime Minister's strictures upon the habits of the Treasury, but thought that he had been rash in bringing them prominently to light.

In the House of Commons the debate on the address was less expeditious, a large number of members being anxious to express their own views or those of their constituents. Mr. J. Lowther's (*Thanet, Kent*) annual amendment with regard to the interference of peers in parliamentary elections having been defeated by 337 to 101 votes, the address was moved by Captain Pretyman (*Woodbridge, Suffolk*), and seconded by Mr. H. P. Pease (*Darlington*), both of whom seemed authorised to say that if desired a parliamentary inquiry into the reverses of the war and the under-estimate of the Boers' strength would "certainly not be refused." Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) "speaking on behalf of those for whom he was entitled to speak," expressed their readiness "to support the prosecution of the war with vigour and with unstinted means, in order that, as rapidly as possible, the integrity of the Queen's dominions might be vindicated, and a successful issue attained." At the same time his indictment of the Government was far more elaborate than that of his colleague in the House of Lords. He attacked the Government for their conduct before the war, as well as their management of the campaign. Whilst paying a willing tribute to the courage and endurance of the British and colonial troops, he took exception to the employment of Volunteers as an unusual method of recruiting our field forces. He held, moreover, that the Opposition were entitled to criticise the policy which had led to the war, and they thought the present was the right time for such criticism. The way in which the Government had carried on their negotiations with the Boers had created a suspicion in the minds of the latter that their independence was threatened; and, again, too little consideration had been shown to the loyal Dutch at the Cape, their ministers being treated with a coolness little calculated to foster good feeling. He adhered to his opinion that there was nothing last summer to justify war, and, therefore, nothing to justify preparations for war. In any case, to send out insignificant bodies of troops was ludicrous. He should be surprised to learn that

the Intelligence Department was not at that time aware of the enormous amount of the Boer armaments; and he wished to know whether the department communicated their information to the Commander-in-Chief, and whether it was then submitted to the Secretary for War and the Cabinet Council of Defence—which had been set up apparently to override the decisions of the Secretary of State and to diminish his responsibility. He also asked that the despatches of Sir William Butler, touching the forces required to cope with the Transvaal, should be produced. Mr. Balfour had intimated at Manchester that if Government had asked the House sooner for the vote of credit the demand would have been resisted by the Opposition. That was not so; but, even if it were, the argument was bad. It was the duty of ministers to make the proposals they thought requisite for the defence of the colonies, and, if they could not carry them, to resign. Sir Henry likewise asked for information as to whether Sir George White had taken his decision to occupy the northern angle of Natal, in deference to the opinion of the civil authority, without consulting the Imperial Government.

Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), replying on behalf of the Government, said that the support of the Opposition in the prosecution of the war did not extend beyond a willingness to repel invasion of our territory, but the Government meant to prosecute the war till the British power was supreme over the whole of South Africa. Whether the South African policy of the Government had been judicious or otherwise, it had, at any rate, been steadily pursued for years; and, if the Opposition disapproved it, they ought to have moved a vote of censure long ago. With respect to the military preparations, he could not allow the correctness of the statement that they had sent out troops in mere dribbles. He did not believe it would be possible to quote the opinion of a single soldier of any position whatever, or of no position, delivered before, say, July 31 or August 31 last, to the effect that the force which was in the first instance sent out would not be amply sufficient, or more than sufficient, for all purposes. Cries of "Butler" being raised, Mr. Balfour said: "We have not the slightest trace at the War Office in any communication, public or semi-public or private—no communication of any sort, kind, or description—which indicated that in Sir William Butler's opinion the force we sent out was not sufficient—I was going to say doubly sufficient—for any work that it might be called upon to perform. I know not where the opposite view found its origin, but it did not find its origin in any document in possession of the War Office or the Colonial Office." As to the relations between the generals at the front and the Government, the former had been given an absolutely free hand. With reference to the occupation of Ladysmith, and the arrangements between Sir George White and the Governor of Natal, papers would be laid on the table of the House. Here, again,

the responsibility rested with the military commander. In conclusion, Mr. Balfour twitted the Opposition with the divergent views of its members, declaring that the Government did not minimise the task before them; that they had no desire to conceal their shortcomings; and that they would never recommend peace until the military honour of the country had been amply vindicated.

With this speech, which was more rhetorical than convincing, the general discussion of the address may be said to have closed; as Mr. Balfour was at once followed by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice (*Cricklade, Wilts*), who moved, on behalf of the official Opposition, a definite amendment: "Deploring the want of knowledge, foresight and judgment displayed by her Majesty's ministers alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in the preparations for the war now proceeding." The amendment had been framed with the object of catching the largest possible number of supporters, and of provoking the absence of all who during the previous five years had seen reason to dissent from the administration of the Colonial and War Offices. More specifically, it rallied all the opponents of Mr. Chamberlain, who was, in the eyes of his former colleagues, the author or promoter of the actively mischievous policy of the Government and their silent abettor in legislation, in which he had no sympathy. Lord E. Fitzmaurice's speech was a careful and elaborate review of the negotiations which had preceded the war; and although a discussion of these points was obviously sterile, it served to show how important a part Mr. Cecil Rhodes had played in stirring up the elements of strife in South Africa. Lord E. Fitzmaurice, moreover, was placed in a somewhat awkward position when criticising the inadequacy of the preparations of the War Office, over which his own brother presided, and was, in general estimation, greatly responsible for the breakdown of the military commands. He suggested, therefore, that duties had suddenly been cast upon a reformed and fairly well organised department which it could not be expected to discharge satisfactorily. Under these conditions, he naturally addressed himself more especially to the political side of the question, and refuted energetically the theory of a gigantic anti-British conspiracy of the Boers or of serious military preparations in the Transvaal before the raid. These were, in fact, after-thoughts of those who, having decided upon a policy which was to make British influence predominant, needed some justification for the employment of force. Lord E. Fitzmaurice echoed the demand of his leader, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, that British territory must be cleared of invaders and our superiority established, but he demurred to the proposal that we ought not to be satisfied till Bloemfontein and Pretoria were reduced.

The debate was continued with unabated energy for an entire week, but with a conspicuous absence of any display of statesmanship. Party recriminations and carping criticism were

the chief objects of speakers of all shades, and it was shown that if the Opposition were weak and divided, the Government majority contained not a few grumblers and dissentients. In fact the deprecatory tone adopted by the official apologists of the Government was a distinguishing feature of the debate; whilst their unfortunate attempts to take refuge behind defects of the Constitution or of administration exposed them to much untoward criticism. It was in vain that an Independent Liberal, Mr. F. Stevenson (*Eye, Suffolk*), or a stalwart Conservative like Sir A. Acland-Hood (*Wellington, Somerset*), endeavoured to raise the level of the debate, and to obtain from the Government some statement with regard to their plans to retrieve the military situation, or some idea of how they proposed to deal with the political situation when the war was over. Mr. W. S. Robson (*South Shields*), a thorough Radical, who had taken the trouble to study the Transvaal question, effectually disposed of the theory held by some of his colleagues, that the war had arisen over a matter of seven or five years' qualification for the franchise. "What the (British) Government demanded was a general franchise, but the act passed (by the Volksraad) merely enabled Boer officials, with the consent of their superiors, in certain rather remarkable and almost impossible cases, to give the franchise to such Outlanders as they might be personally satisfied with. The conditions were such that it really did not matter whether the period named was one year or ten years." The official Opposition, however, so far as it was represented by the ex-Solicitor-General, Sir R. Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), was content to go back to the Jameson Raid, the Committee of Inquiry, and the misdeeds of Mr. Chamberlain, and to find in his claim for suzerainty, supported by a mendacious press, the source of a useless war, which would not heal the racial feud in South Africa nor advance the cause of humanity. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brodric (*Guildford, Surrey*), replying for the Government, was quite ready to follow his opponent over this barren field, and discoursed at great length on the grievances of Outlanders, the bad faith of the Boers, and the bad taste of any member of the Opposition to censure the findings of the Committee of Inquiry, of which the report had been signed by the leader of that party.

On the third night (Feb. 1) Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) contributed some incisive criticism on the conduct of the campaign, and of the defective administrative system it revealed. He urged that on this occasion the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility should be driven home, instead of being shifted from one pair of shoulders to another. The comforting doctrine that muddling was inevitable at the beginning of every war could not be reckoned upon in the event of a war with a great Power, which would leave us no time for recovery. Sir Charles Dilke then defended the Army Intelligence Department from the doubts thrown upon its efficiency, and contrasted the conflicting statements of the Prime Minister and the First Lord

of the Treasury with regard to their knowledge of the Boer armaments. More interest, however, was aroused by Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), representing the War Office, the special object of Lord E. Fitzmaurice's amendment, who began by explaining away what his colleague, Mr. Brodrick, had said with regard to the responsibility of the Cabinet. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs had stated that they had acted throughout the war on military advice, but by this he did not mean to shift the responsibility from its shoulders, but to reassure the public, which feared that the generals' decisions were being overridden. He regretted, however, the partisan recrimination into which Unionists were unavoidably drawn by the terms of the amendment, and he did not wish to pursue it. All that could be said about defects in the past was but as dust in the balance compared with what had to be done to meet the demands of the future. Mr. Wyndham passed on to a detailed vindication of the recent action of the War Office. Among other things he observed that, so far from reinforcements having been sent out in dribblets, they had been despatched in as large numbers as the landing capacity of the South African ports permitted. Moreover, reinforcements had been offered to Sir Redvers Buller which he had not in the first instance accepted. In two or three weeks time we should have 180,000 men in South Africa. The number of guns, including howitzers, which could now accompany the troops in the field was 324; our whole artillery force amounted to 410 guns, without counting those that were to go out with the Volunteers and those from our colonies. The force that the two Boer Republics had been able to put into the field against ours was, so far as they knew, rightly estimated by our Intelligence Department at a maximum of 59,000 men. Their artillery was reckoned last June at ninety-one guns, but they had probably imported some more since that date, and they had captured nineteen British guns. The Under-Secretary for War also explained the circumstances of the famous message in which the colonies had been asked to send infantry rather than mounted men; though he did not succeed in making the matter perfectly clear, and had to own that it was supposed at the time we had enough mounted men for the work required of them—an opinion apparently shared by Sir R. Buller. He (Mr. Wyndham) held that, when all the difficulties of survey were taken into account, the Intelligence Department had served them well in the matter of maps. In conclusion, he intimated that he should soon have to ask the House for large financial facilities to bring the war to the only end the country could tolerate; and, again, for further facilities towards placing our system of military defence on a sound and lasting basis.

In some ways Mr. Wyndham's defence of the War Office was recognised as satisfactory, but it was limited in its scope and did not attempt to deal with the wider issues raised by Sir

C. Dilke. His promises of a much-needed reform in our military system were received with general approval, but at the same time with general scepticism, and although he eagerly asserted the deference of the Cabinet to military opinion, he carefully abstained from indicating whether the Commander-in-Chief in Pall Mall or the generals in the field had been its advisers. The evening's debate was closed by Sir Edward Grey (*Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumberland*), who could not fail to accentuate the divergence of his views from those of Sir R. Reid, who sat upon the same bench. He insisted upon our duty to win equal rights for all white men in South Africa, and to make a repetition of the war impossible. He argued that the official assurance that the Intelligence Department was well informed only aggravated the situation of ministers who made it. If they had information of the Boer armaments, why did they embark in negotiations which might at any moment have ended in a war, for which they had made no adequate preparations. Further, they could not escape behind their military advisers, for they were responsible for the choice of those advisers and for accepting their advice.

The debate was resumed by Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), who oppressed with the duty of "informing the House as to the South African problem," went over again the oft-repeated story of the conventions, and denounced the various pleas on which the Government had from time to time defended its policy. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*), in reply characterised the speech as "a brief given to every foreigner to expose our injustice and immorality," whilst Sir Edward Clarke (*Plymouth*) wished that the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, would give a proof of their patriotism by transferring their duties to the Prime Minister and Lord Rosebery respectively. The debate was then again adjourned, because of the vanity, as Mr. Birrell (*Fife, W.*) pointed out, of the occupants of the two front benches, who insisted "upon the prime cuts of the parliamentary joint," and would only speak at stated hours and when sure of a full audience, impervious to the ridiculous part they played before the public at large. With regard to the war, while lamenting the lack of foresight exhibited by the Government, Mr. Birrell credited them with the wish to preserve peace, and believed that President Kruger, had he desired it, could have had peace with independence.

Sir W. Harcourt's (*Monmouthshire, W.*) intervention, although in support of the amendment, and patriotic in its tone, was greeted with doubtful enthusiasm by the Opposition, for it served chiefly to show the conflicting opinions of that body, and

the difficult and invidious the position of its
W. Harcourt, after vindicating the right
to forward a vote of censure in time of
precedents, examined the explanations

given by different members of the Government to account for the difficulties with which we had been confronted. The Prime Minister, he said, complained that the Government had been the victim of the British Constitution, but that institution had not received similar blame from such men as the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Chatham, and the Duke of Wellington. Then blame had been fastened on the Treasury, but subsequently that department was said to have done all that was required of it. He took exception to the view that we must always be defeated in war at first and must "muddle through" afterwards. He next read extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's speeches in 1881 to prove that in that year the Colonial Secretary held that to withhold from the Transvaal the independence of which it ought never to have been deprived would be an act of fraud and folly. Even more recently, in 1896, the Colonial Secretary had declared that to go to war with the Transvaal to force upon it internal reforms would be immoral and unwise. Subsequently the Government discarded those views and altered their policy, and the result was the present situation. To claim, as the Government had done, to prescribe what the internal policy of the Transvaal Government should be was a policy of war. The Government, no doubt, thought that the Boers would not fight, but they had no good ground for their belief. He blamed them for being guided by the opinions of the authors of the Jameson raid, when they should have listened to the counsel of President Steyn and others, who warned them that their policy would lead to war. As to the preparations made by the Government, they were based on a contemptuous estimate of the character and resources of the Boers. The Government ought to have borne in mind how indomitable was the energy of a free people fighting for their independence. The suspicions which had been entertained by the Boers with regard to the intentions of this country he ascribed in large measure to the raid. Replying to Sir R. Reid's strictures on the proceedings of the South Africa Committee, he declared that no member of that committee had any wish to hush matters up, and explained why the proceedings were not prolonged. The reason why the inquiry was not pursued was that for its prolongation it would have been necessary to adjourn the committee to the next session of Parliament, in which case they had reason to fear it would not be reappointed, and so no report at all would have been presented; in other words, they would have played the game of those who were really trying to burke inquiry. What he deeply regretted in this connection was the indulgent language used by the Colonial Secretary after the presentation of the report, with respect to Mr. Rhodes, notwithstanding the grave charges which the committee held to have been proven against that gentleman. That was not calculated to remove the Boers' suspicions as to the complicity of her Majesty's Government in the raid; though he himself entirely acquitted them

of such complicity. He believed himself that those who had tried to persuade the world that the Government had connived at the raid had been guilty of slander, and he was in favour of taking steps to expose the fraud and falsehood which had been prevalent. Turning to the war itself, after eulogising the valour of our troops, he said that no one could entertain doubts as to our ultimate success, but asked what was to follow when we had conquered. As to the hostility of other nations, it was a matter deserving serious attention in view of our having denuded the country of troops.

Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham W.*) promptly replied to this attack, and the reception given to his speech proved that he correctly represented the feelings of the majority of the House. His defence of the colonial policy covered the whole South African question, and his frank admission that mistakes had been committed, of which, pending inquiry, the whole blame should be borne by the Government, was well received. A critical stage in the war, he said, had been reached, and the people wanted guidance and encouragement from the Legislature. Yet at such a time Sir W. Harcourt attempted to show that the war was immoral and unjust, and announced practically that if it were in his power he would now do again what was done after Majuba. He insisted that the issues between Boer and Briton were great and substantial, and that the causes of the present conflict had not come into being since 1895, the date fixed upon in the vote of censure, but had existed even before Majuba. Ever since the mistaken policy of magnanimity then agreed upon, the history of the Boers' relations with this country had been a history of efforts on their part to escape from obligations which they had undertaken. The previous Government had found it necessary, in spite of the limitations of the conventions, to interest themselves in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. The real cause of what had happened must be sought in the difference between Boer and British character and civilisation; and in the aspiration of the Boers to get rid of British supremacy. The Government hoped up to the last moment to arrive at a peaceful settlement, and that accounted for their not having made greater military preparations. The ultimatum did not proceed from the Government, war was forced upon them, the only alternative being the surrender of the interests of the empire. As to the effect of our policy upon Dutch opinion at the Cape, he recognised the difficulties of the position in which our Dutch fellow-subjects were placed, and described their loyalty as greater than ordinary loyalty in consequence of the strain which was put upon them. Some members in their sympathy with the Dutch ignored the loyal British in Africa, who were bearing the stress of the war and were deeply hurt by the sneers of the Opposition. Commenting on the attitude of the majority of those on the opposite side of the House, he taunted them with not having the courage of their convictions.

Believing the war to be unnecessary and unrighteous, they ought logically to vote for immediate peace negotiations, and yet they were going to support the vigorous prosecution of hostilities. As to the minority opposite who agreed with the Government that the war was inevitable, how could they consistently vote for an amendment which assumed that the war could have been avoided? This policy might unite the Opposition, but it was calculated to throw doubt in Europe upon the union of the country. But the people, he maintained, were determined that the war should be prosecuted strenuously and that its results should be commensurate with the sacrifices involved. For checks and mistakes of the past, and there had been both, let blame be apportioned at the proper time between our system of administration and those who were responsible for its working; the important matter now was to retrieve the errors that had been committed. The Government had been blamed for sending out too few troops at first; they were now pouring men into South Africa; they had been blamed for not sending sufficient mounted men and for having failed to respond adequately to the offers from our colonies. Now very soon our mounted force in South Africa would be nearly, if not quite, as large as that of the Boers themselves, an unexampled force of artillery had been sent out, and the offers of the colonies were being gratefully and promptly accepted. Lord Roberts would shortly have under his command an army larger than that with which it was intended to carry out the original plan of campaign. Thus the mistakes for which the Government had been blamed had not been continued. As to the spirit of the nation, it was absolutely unbroken, and there was no sacrifice that the people would not make and none which the Government would not ask them to make should necessity arise. The war had demonstrated the enormous power of Volunteer troops fighting in defence of their country, and this lesson had not been wasted on the Government. Advantage, he believed, would be taken of the splendid volunteer material available in our own country for defensive purposes; and when the Government propounded their scheme of defence they would act not as a party, but as the representatives of the whole nation, and would welcome any criticism that would aid them to perfect their plan. Dealing with the allegation in foreign newspapers that the empire was bleeding to death, and that our prestige was gone, he stated emphatically that the position was a very different one from that. If defects in our system had been disclosed, and if any humiliation was felt in consequence, that humiliation was accompanied by the deepest pride when we thought of the troops from home and from the colonies who had performed almost impossible feats. Stating the objects which the Government had in view at the end of the war, he declared, amid loud cheers, that there must be no second Majuba settlement, that the Boers must never again be able to erect in the heart of

South Africa a citadel and centre of disaffection and race animosity, and that they must never again be able to endanger the paramountcy of Great Britain, or to treat an Englishman as if he belonged to an inferior race. He ridiculed the notion which was entertained, apparently, in some quarters that gloom had settled upon the nation, which had shown a most manful spirit under the reverses that had occurred. The part taken in the war by our colonies was a factor of which the importance could not be exaggerated. Never before had the empire realised to the same extent its great strength and unity. For the first time our colonies had claimed their share in the duties and responsibilities of empire. In this federation of our race and in other circumstances compensation was to be found for the evils of war.

If Mr. L. H. Courtney's (*Bodmin, Cornwall*) conscientious scruples met with a cold reception from the House, his singleness of purpose and humanitarian feelings were recognised, and his expression of definite views was welcomed as a contrast to the trimming utterances of so many speakers who addressed the House. Like Mr. Bryce, Mr. Courtney wished to inform the House on the South African problem, with which he was accurately acquainted, although he adopted a different standpoint from that of the member for Aberdeen. Regardless of the approach of a general election, which rendered many Liberals timorous, Mr. Courtney, although sitting on the Government side of the House, did not scruple to challenge the assertion that the war was justifiable because the nation supported the Government in the existing crisis, and he warned Mr. Chamberlain of the dangers of the situation he had created. He rejected the idea that the policy of this country after Majuba was in the circumstances magnanimous, and declined to admit that there was after 1881 an irreconcilable feud between the Dutch and English in the Transvaal. The Dutch authorities at the Cape and President Kruger had done their best to maintain peace, and he charged Mr. Chamberlain with having brought some of the negotiations with the Transvaal to an unnecessarily abrupt termination. War, he maintained, was precipitated by the incurable perversity of the Colonial Office. He was anxious that the war should be stopped at the first favourable opportunity, and trusted that the settlement would be such as would not create new trouble. Some of the errors which the Colonial Secretary had committed were, he fancied, attributable to the mistaken views publicly expressed by Mr. Rhodes, who had shown great ignorance of the Boer character. He feared that if the Government persisted in their present policy they would have to govern in South Africa by force, and urged that our experience in Ireland ought to deter us from such a course.

At the night of the debate the burden of the defence of the war was divided between Mr. Asquith, Q.C. (*Fife, E.*),

and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*), but they worked upon somewhat different lines, although they were agreed upon the general principle that neither should say anything which in the actual state of public opinion might weaken the Liberal party, should a dissolution be at hand. Mr. Asquith therefore began by pleading that it was the duty of the Opposition to call upon the Executive to explain the apparently inexplicable strategy pursued in South Africa, and the disasters and reverses which it had entailed, and of which different members of the Government had given contradictory explanations. However, as he could find no reason for believing that either the war or its blunders were inevitable, he was forced to the conclusion, first, that the war was never intended by the British Government, and hence their unpreparedness; secondly, that President Kruger, had he wished, might have avoided the war, as the British proposals did not aim at destroying the independence of the Transvaal. Mr. Asquith was further ready to acquit the British Government of having been the tools of interested speculators; but throughout the negotiations they had displayed an astounding lack of both foresight and insight, with the result of intensifying the suspicions of the Boers, especially since the Jameson raid. Adverting to the consequences of "the unhappy entanglement at Ladysmith," he asked whether before confirming the promise of the High Commissioner of Natal to the effect that the colony would be defended with the whole force of the empire the Colonial Secretary consulted the War Office as to the wisdom of the undertaking. Contemplating the future he said there was no ground for the croaking of pessimism or shivering fits of panic. There was compensation for our reverses in the valour and discipline of our soldiers and in the assistance of our colonies, whose action had made us realise that our empire was not merely a name or a sentiment, but a fact. He trusted that the war would be followed by a durable settlement, safeguarding our colonies against the risk of further invasion or menace, and securing equal rights to both white races throughout South Africa.

It was obvious from Mr. Asquith's speech that the policy of pressing Lord E. Fitzmaurice's amendment to a division was not approved by all the members on the Opposition side of the House. The Irish Nationalists, moreover, had notified their intention of taking no part in the debate or the division, so that the weakness of the attack would be too plainly revealed. There were, however, other influences which forced Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to take a different course in order that the bonds which held together the various sections of the Liberal party might not be wholly broken. Under such conditions it was scarcely possible for its leader to speak with either authority or effect. He claimed the right of the Opposition to press the amendment, and dismissed with contempt the charge of showing a want of patriotism. The country might be dis-

appointed at the actual results of the campaign, but there was no sign of national humiliation. The Opposition had shown its readiness to give the Government every facility for the prosecution of the war, and it was justified in demanding a strict account of the way in which the Government had acquitted itself. If the debate on the amendment had been at all likely to impede the development of the scheme of the Government for the defence of the country he would have done his best to shorten the discussion; but they had been assured that there would be no delay. The Opposition wanted more information on certain important points. They wished to know, for example, whether the Government were aware, during the negotiations last summer, of the disparity between the defensive strength of the colonies and the military resources of the Boers. With regard to this, contradictory statements had been made. Then the alleged conspiracy against us in the Republics and the Cape Colony was in his opinion an absolute invention. Who, he asked, told the Government of the existence of this conspiracy? He hoped that in future a wiser spirit would be shown in our dealings with the mixed Dutch and British races in South Africa than had been exhibited in the past, for the key of the situation was that these races had got to live together. As soon as our territory was freed from its invaders, and our military superiority asserted, the important question was the nature of the settlement to be arrived at.

Mr. Balfour in winding up the debate had a comparatively easy task before him; for there could be no doubt as to the result of the division. By some strange perversity of temper he chose to take a line which, although it brought him the cheers of his supporters, found no favour outside the walls of Parliament. Whilst every paper, irrespective of party and even of nationality, was overflowing with complaints of the management of the campaign, Mr. Balfour thought it wise to declare that the War Office was in perfect working order and its chiefs beyond reproach. After a warm panegyric on his colleague, Mr. Chamberlain, during whose tenure of office every British colony had, for the first time, joined the mother country in a great military undertaking, Mr. Balfour appealed to "the patriotism" of those who, holding that the war should be prosecuted to the end, intended to vote for the amendment. He airily admitted that the Government was to be held responsible for any errors that had been committed, but whilst declining to defend the Government at that moment, he carefully avoided giving the promise that such an opportunity would be found later. After a further florid and somewhat frothy appeal to "the consciences" of his opponents, he closed the debate. The division showed that however tender may have been the consciences of individuals, they voted almost strictly upon party lines. Liberals only voting with the Government, but a large party took no part in the division, which

showed a majority of 352 to 139 votes against the amendment.

The announcement of the result of the York election a few hours before the division was taken may have had some effect upon the consciences of the more timid members. Lord Charles Beresford, who, with the utmost difficulty and by the narrowest majority, had carried the seat for the Unionists, had been obliged to resign it on being appointed on active service, and it was thought not improbable that the Liberals might reassert their claim to one of the city seats. The Liberal candidate, Hon. A. Murray, although not personally connected with the county, was cordially accepted by the party, with every anticipation of a close contest. The Unionist candidate, Mr. G. Denison Faber, was more in touch with the constituency, and he had the good luck to come forward at a moment when Mr. Chamberlain's personality was very much in evidence. The latter was the object of the bitterest hatred from his former colleagues, and by them was credited with the disasters which had befallen the Liberal party. If he had failed to secure the hearty support of the older Conservatives in the House, his reputation in the country had been steadily increasing. He was looked upon, rightly or wrongly, as the only member of the Cabinet capable of reorganising the naval and military administration of the country. Lord E. Fitzmaurice's amendment was for some reason regarded as an attack upon Mr. Chamberlain, and the electors of York gave expression to a very widespread feeling that they wished the war to be pushed to its conclusion in the most vigorous fashion. Mr. Faber polled 6,248 votes against 4,818 given to his opponent, and members of the House of Commons, on hearing this surprising result, might not unreasonably have wished to show regard for similar feelings on the part of their own constituents.

On the same day (Feb. 12) a writ was moved for an election at Plymouth to the seat resigned by Sir Edward Clarke, who found that his views on the war and of its justice were not in accordance with those of his constituents. The council of the Conservative party conveyed to him the feeling of the electors, that as he habitually condemned the action of the Government, and advocated a repetition of the "disgraceful blunder" which followed on the repulse on Majuba Hill, he no longer represented their views. Sir E. Clarke, while declining to admit the accuracy of the council's statement, said that he was anxious not to say a word which would widen the breach between himself and those whom he had represented for twenty years. He therefore withdrew from Parliament, to the great regret of those who, not sharing his opinions, deplored the loss of a colleague who could fearlessly and independently express his sincere convictions. Under the circumstances, the Liberals decided not to contest the seat, and the Hon. Ivor Guest was elected (Feb. 19) without opposition.

The other amendments on the address were for the most

part the annual repetition of grievances for which no practical relief was anticipated, but the urging of them was a recognised duty. There were, however, some novelties of the present session, of which Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford City*), as leader of the newly united Irish party, introduced the first. He wished that on the conclusion of the war peace should be settled on the basis of the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This view having been negatived by 368 to 66 votes, and the union of the Irish party proved, Mr. Kearley (*Devonport*) called attention to the unsatisfactory administration of the Royal Patriotic Fund, making out so clear a case that the Government, with little demur, promised an inquiry into war relief funds, new and old. Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) wished to reclaim the deer forests of Scotland by means of crofters or small tenants, but after a short debate, which showed that Scotch members were not agreed among themselves on this delicate subject, the amendment was negatived by 186 to 113 votes.

The last night of the debate on the address (Feb. 9) was devoted to Irish grievances. That arising out of the oft-asserted over-taxation of Ireland was negatived, after a prolonged discussion, by 200 to 77 votes; and Mr. Daly (*Monaghan, S.*) was equally unsuccessful in convincing the House that a solution of the Irish land question would be found in a compulsory "general and immediate creation of an occupying proprietary" in that country. The address itself was then voted by 229 to 39 votes, the smallness of the numbers showing how little interest was taken in the many questions not directly connected with the war.

The Government proposals with regard to the increase of the Army were explained simultaneously in both Houses (Feb. 12). Lord Lansdowne's statement in the Upper House dealt exhaustively with the demands of the campaign in South Africa and the means by which they had been answered and possible emergencies might be met. According to a statement made in the other House (Feb. 8) the composition of the South African field force, exclusive of killed and prisoners, was in round numbers Regulars, 128,000; Royal Naval Brigade, 1,000; Militia, 20,000; Yeomanry, 8,000; Volunteers, 10,000; Colonials, 26,000, of whom about 20,000 had been raised in South Africa, making a total of about 194,000 effectives. Lord Lansdowne, in opening his speech, stated that at that time there were in the United Kingdom some 110,000 Regulars (including 12,000 Reservists not called out), 7,000 Yeomanry, 77,000 Militia and 215,000 Volunteers; or a total of 409,000 armed men serving in this country. He admitted that not every one of them was immediately available for military purposes, for the force required organisation and equipment. Meanwhile our first duty was to provide for an additional field army of about 130,000 men, from which we could take, if necessary, further reinforcements for the front;

and that force must at least have a backbone of regular troops. It was therefore intended to raise twelve new line battalions of infantry, beside the three voted in the preceding year and now being raised. These would be linked to existing line regiments, and would be formed of surplus men of the first and second battalions left behind, of Reservists, of ex-soldiers desiring to reenlist, and ordinary recruits. Artillery enough for two more army corps was to be provided—namely, thirty-six batteries of field artillery and seven of horse artillery, making forty-three new batteries in all. They would be armed with 15-pounder quick-firing guns of the latest and most modern type. When this increase had been effected we should at any time be able to send two army corps out of the country with a full complement of artillery, and at the same time have the full force of field artillery for three other army corps at home. Of cavalry, four fresh regiments were to be formed out of reserve squadrons left by regiments that had gone abroad, and what else was necessary would be furnished by a brigade of specially trained Yeomanry. Generally, the Yeomanry would be brought up to its full establishment or beyond it, if the men were forthcoming and converted into mounted infantry. There would also be an increase in the Engineers and a considerable increase in the Army Service Corps, the numbers of which were certainly insufficient for their work. Seventy-three battalions of Militia had been embodied already, and the remainder would be embodied as soon as the weather allowed them to be put under canvas, when they would undergo a course of training, and special attention would be paid to musketry. The Militia was about 30,000 men below its establishment, but it was hoped that by making the service more attractive they would be able to fill up the void. The Volunteers had a nominal establishment of 265,000 men, but their actual strength was only 221,000. All battalions would be encouraged to recruit up to their full strength, and even to form second battalions. Special rates would be paid to battalions provided with a mounted company. The Volunteer artillery would be rearmed with the most modern guns. Volunteer batteries would be encouraged to go into camp for three months in the year. It was intended to limit the numbers of Volunteers in each battalion to 1,000 rank and file. If more could be recruited, a second battalion, of lesser numbers would be formed. It was the wish of the Government, moreover, that wherever possible a company of mounted infantry should be attached to each battalion. During the year, Volunteers would be invited to undergo a special training under canvas; and for this purpose hired transport would be given, and every facility to improve shooting and military efficiency. Moreover the Government proposed to give a higher capitation grant to the Volunteers, but in return a higher standard of efficiency would be exacted. One of the most serious questions the War Office had to face was that of finding the large number of officers who

would be required; and commissions would be offered to the Militia and Volunteers, to the universities, and to a few public schools, as well as to the colonies. Altogether they might look to 100,000 more men as being the gross outcome of the present changes, but he added that organic changes in our military system could not be made in the middle of a war. The Earl of Kimberley, while fully recognising the necessity for temporary arrangements to increase the military strength of the country, hoped they would be such as to facilitate and not stand in the way of well-considered changes of a more permanent character.

In the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary for War, Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), made a similar statement on bringing forward the supplementary Army Estimates, 1899-1900, for 13,000,000*l.* to cover the expenses of an additional force of 120,000 men of all ranks up to the close of the financial year. Although there was a general desire on all sides of the House to refrain from embarrassing the Government, the proposals were received with coldness by the general public and but scant favour both by the "service" members and by civilian experts. It was pointed out on the one hand that the country was in danger of getting an armed mob instead of an organised army; and on the other that as long as the War Office was conducted on existing lines a mere increase of numbers in any branch of the service could only produce a very limited effect for good. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) regretted the absence of any allusion to the cost of the Government scheme. He believed that nine-tenths of the committee were ready to give the Government anything and everything it wanted to reinforce the Army in South Africa, and to make good the gaps in our home defence; but they were entitled to regard with the extremest caution proposals which went into the future, and to ask full time for their consideration. He was greatly relieved to know that the Government programme did not include conscription, which he believed to be impossible in this country. In this wish, it was clear that the leader of the Opposition differed from his quondam leader, Lord Rosebery, who a few days previously had taken the opposite view. Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) thought the ministerial plans dealt too exclusively with home defence, whereas the defence of outlying possessions—apart from those now threatened—had also to be considered, Mr. Wyndham having said nothing about India, whence troops had been withdrawn for service at the Cape. Captain Norton (*Newington W.*), speaking as a Radical, expressed great satisfaction with the Government proposals; but Sir A. Acland-Hood (*Wellington, Somerset*), a strong Conservative, said the country wanted an Army and seemed likely to get nothing better than an armed mob; Sir John Colomb (*Yarmouth*) complained that the War Department was merely tinkering with details instead of grappling with principles; and Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast W.*) contended that "as a military

expression "the 110,000 Regulars supposed to remain in this country "had no existence at all," being a wholly "unorganised and incoherent body." Replying, Mr. Wyndham called the Government scheme one of invitation as opposed to compulsion; and, summing its effect, said that whereas in the past a maximum of three army corps was aimed at, the maximum now would be five. The troops withdrawn from India would be replaced as soon as possible.

On the resumption of the debate (Feb. 15) Colonel Brookfield (*Rye, Sussex*), whilst holding the contemplated changes to be in the right direction, doubted whether their practical effect would be as great as was hoped. Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) did not think proposals for a permanent increase of the Army ought to be introduced by way of supplementary estimates. He advocated an increase in the pay of private soldiers and a reduction of officers' expenses, which prevented poor men, however capable, from thinking of commissions. Mr. Wyndham, who again intervened in the discussion, said it was nothing less than a scandal and a danger to the empire that we could not get young men into the cavalry unless their fathers or their friends were prepared to give them private incomes of 500*l.* a year. An important committee, over which General French presided, had recently dealt in detail with this subject but the outcome of their deliberations the Under-Secretary for War did not explain. He went on to say that the armaments and ammunition of the forts in this country were to be overhauled, and measures regarding them would be submitted to Parliament later in the session. The guns which had been ordered for the forty-three new batteries would fire eight aimed rounds a minute. If it should appear that they could be replaced by better ones, they would be superseded and transferred to the auxiliary forces, but the authorities wished to profit by the reports they would receive from South Africa before plunging into a rearming programme. It was not intended to raise Volunteers in Ireland. As to the question of cost, the addition of fifteen line battalions to the Army would involve a permanent charge of 785,000*l.* a year, besides an initial outlay of 1,500,000*l.* for barracks. The increase in the artillery would mean a fresh annual charge of 537,000*l.* a year. A good deal of desultory criticism followed from various speakers, who alternately praised and blamed the War Office administration. General Russell (*Cheltenham*) hoped that when the reorganisation of the Army took place the Council of National Defence, at that time without a single expert, would be reorganised too.

On the third night (Feb. 16) Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman repeated that the Opposition were ready to grant whatever was necessary for the energetic prosecution of the campaign and the defence of the country, but they would not be parties to any alteration in the character of our military forces that might be designed hereafter to assist in an aggressive or ambitious policy.

He could not help regarding Lord Salisbury's speech of the previous evening as a lament that it was impossible to adopt the "wise and beneficial" system of compulsory service on account of the "stubborn infatuation and prejudice of the British people." He agreed as to the stubbornness of the prejudice, but that was not the whole case. Having stated a number of stock arguments against the expediency of the conscription for this country, he said in effect that we could do with fewer soldiers if it were not for the policy of constantly extending the empire. Mr. Balfour did not see how the meaning which Sir Henry sought to put on the Prime Minister's words could, by any process of interpretation or exegesis, be read into them. As to the number of troops permanently required for home defence, there had been an interchange of ideas on that subject between the War Office and the Admiralty as far back, he thought, as 1888, when it was agreed that, in order to make ourselves absolutely secure against any contingency reasonable men could contemplate, three army corps were needed, as well as a sufficient force to garrison our principal arsenals and military stations. With respect to our recent foreign and colonial policy, he was not one of those who watched imperial expansion without a sense of anxiety. He thought the expansion necessary, but certainly it was not to be undertaken with a light heart. So far, however, from thinking that our present difficulties, or any difficulties that might be anticipated for us in the future, were due to that expansion, he believed that an impartial and critical survey of what was going on in all parts of the world would lead to precisely opposite conclusions. Mr. Wyndham, replying to the general criticism, expressed confidence in the patriotism of employers of labour who would not, he believed, put difficulties in the way of Volunteers. He then showed, in answer to some critics of the scheme, that it was impossible to separate the permanent portion of it from the emergency portion, and supported the demand for more infantry battalions by saying that for want of them the Army had been racked and strained. The speeches of Nationalist members in that House and elsewhere he described as gallery displays indulged in for the edification of foreign countries, and he contrasted them with the glorious deeds of Irish soldiers. Defining the proposals of the Government with regard to the auxiliary forces, he stated that they were enabling, and not mandatory, and in the main emergency proposals. If a Volunteer corps could not train for a month, it could do so for a shorter period. What the Government promised the Volunteers was that for the future they would treat them better, and they undertook that this year the expenses of training would be defrayed by the taxpayers. Volunteers would be given the most favourable opportunities for shooting practice. Having touched upon the question of uniform, he stated that special instructions had been sent to Lord Roberts to select capable non-commis-

sioned officers for promotion. The plan of modified compulsion for military service the Government refused to countenance, because it must lead to great abuses. He believed that the scheme which had been submitted to Parliament would improve on acquaintance. The debate was being continued by one or two irreconcilables, when Mr. Balfour moved that the question should be put. The Chairman accepting the motion, several Nationalist members raised points of order, complaining that they had not had a chance of moving amendments. The closure was nevertheless carried by 185 to 47, and the vote passed by 213 to 32. A resolution authorising the Exchequer to issue the money was then moved in Committee of Ways and Means, when Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford City*) at once moved to report progress. Mr. Balfour, however, insisted that the resolution was urgent, the War Office having heavy payments to make, and being unable to make them till it was passed. Mr. Redmond's motion having been defeated, the closure was once more applied, and the resolution carried by 224 to 32.

In the meanwhile the House of Lords had been similarly engaged in discussing the military proposals of the Government, and had taken an even more far-reaching view of the situation than had been raised in the House of Commons. The Earl of Dunraven in opening the discussion (Feb. 15) said that the proposals of the Government did not seem to him to be conceived with a view to possible eventualities which, although remote, ought not to have been disregarded in determining what steps should be taken in order to put the nation into a fit condition both for defence and offence. He doubted whether those proposals would even be sufficient for the requirements of the war in which we were at present engaged, and certainly he did not perceive in them any indication that steps of a permanent nature would be taken to adapt the Army to the now proved requirements of modern warfare, and to improve the machinery of the War Office.

After a few remarks by Lords Wenlock, Newton and Blythswood (the last named thinking that compulsion might be resorted to to prevent the ruin of the country), Lord Rosebery adopted a course which in a former stage of parliamentary procedure would have been known as "calling attention to the state of the nation"—a course often resorted to by the minority in the days of Pitt's ascendancy. At considerable length, and in a speech of much oratorical power, Lord Rosebery referred to the gravity of the crisis in which we stood, and to the total inadequacy of the proposals of the Government to meet that crisis. They had the authority of the First Lord of the Admiralty for the statement that the country was denuded of its regular troops and of its Militia. Surely that was a very grave statement. The Secretary of State for War had brought forward a force on paper of 409,000 armed men within these

islands, but he doubted whether the figures would stand a very searching analysis. For the Volunteers he entertained the highest respect, inasmuch as they gave their time and energy to the service of the country, but they could not by any stretch of imagination be called soldiers in a scientific sense. It was perfectly clear, indeed, that they could not be soldiers, as the Secretary of State for War himself recommended that they should have a month's training when the weather permitted so as to keep them efficient. If another 50,000 men were wanted in South Africa he did not know where they were to be obtained. It might be urged that it was not wise to lay bare the weakness of the country, but their lordships might depend upon it that other nations knew our condition quite as well as, and perhaps even better than, we did ourselves. The crisis was urgent; the danger was upon us. He did not keep his eye on South Africa alone. We had interests and engagements in every part of the world. At a time when we were sending every available man and gun to South Africa we could not reckon on the benevolent and amicable dispositions of foreign nations. Last December the Government made overtures to Germany and the United States for an alliance, but they were not received with such cordiality as to encourage the Government to pursue them. It did not seem likely that the friendship of France would bear any great strain, and with regard to Russia he need only observe that events had recently been witnessed in Persia which in the past England would have had something to say about, but which were now allowed to take place without any protest from England. When we saw a want of amity on the part of foreign Powers, we ought to pause and ask the Government to take a large grasp of the situation, and to make proposals to the country that would be adequate for that situation. He did not think her Majesty's Government had the faintest notion of the feeling of danger that was pressing on the public mind. If we lost South Africa, we should lose the most important base which we had outside these islands. We should then lose the enthusiastic colonial support which was given to us by the colonies because they believed they were associating themselves with a most powerful empire. If this were not a crisis—a matter of life and death—he did not know what could be.

Lord Lansdowne, avoiding all reference to the political questions raised by Lord Rosebery, confined his reply to the points concerning his own department. He argued that those who objected to the proposals of the Government because they were of an experimental character must make up their minds to adopt the only alternative—namely, some form of coercion. No doubt there were important lessons to be learnt from the present war, and the Government would take those lessons to heart. They had no objection to the fullest inquiry into past events when it could be made without interfering with the action of those who were responsible for the conduct of the war. Lord Roberts had

not asked for more troops than had already been ordered to proceed to South Africa, but if he should ask for more they would be sent out. He did not believe there was the slightest foundation for the charge that either in regard to field artillery or heavier guns this country had been left behind by other countries. To him it seemed that, using the materials they had ready to hand, the proposals of the Government would enable them to send adequate reinforcements to the theatre of war, and also to place our home Army in a state of efficiency sufficient for the defence of these islands.

Lord Kimberley once more urged the political questions involved or raised by the condition of our military system, which was unfitted for the requirements of our foreign and colonial policy in view of that of foreign nations. He said that personally he felt all the dangers of the situation quite as strongly as Lord Rosebery did. He could see all around us a temper displayed by our neighbours which should make every one pause and reflect upon the position in which we found ourselves. The pressing question of the north-west frontier of India was always present to his mind. Though he did not ascribe any direct hostile design to the Russian Government at the present moment, he could not ignore the fact that there was going on a movement of troops which, if not menacing, showed at all events that the possibilities of the future were not absent from the mind of the Russian Government. He confessed he was not at all satisfied that the proposals of her Majesty's Government were sufficient for the contingencies which might arise, and expressed his belief that there was a danger of a remarkable kind pressing upon us, and that the Government had not risen to the full height of the responsibilities of their position.

There was an obvious reluctance on the part of the Prime Minister to be drawn into a debate which had wandered away from its original purpose, but he could hardly refrain from taking notice of the speeches of two peers, both of whom had been Secretaries for Foreign Affairs. In reply to Lord Kimberley's "gloomy collection of lugubrious vaticinations," Lord Salisbury expressed regret that he was debarred from speaking of several subjects—such as Russia and Afghanistan—to which the previous speaker had alluded, and he was likewise shut off from discussing the matters which led to the outbreak of the war or which related to the conduct of it. He also felt a difficulty in entering now upon the question of the resources which this country might have at its command in certain contingencies. He did not himself believe that those contingencies were at hand or were likely to be at hand. But he did say that we could not discuss the situation and the probable resources without indulging in a good deal of conjectural matter. As we did not, like foreign nations, have compulsory military service we must necessarily rely upon conjecture as to what are the resources which we have at our disposal. With regard to the

present war he hoped that even now a change in the tide was coming; but we could, at all events, take a lesson from the example of those who had gone before us, and not allow ourselves to be cast down or discouraged by the difficulties produced by a very remarkable conjunction of military developments and political events. Her Majesty's Government were convinced that they would bring their undertaking to a successful issue, and he did not think good could be done by any attempt to wreck the institutions of the country or to bring before the minds of the people dangers which did not really exist.

In the press, regardless of party bias, letters as well as articles showed that the general feeling was that the Government proposals were regarded as wholly inadequate, and that the War Office had failed to understand popular opinion. Although credit was given to Lord Lansdowne for his diligence and good intentions, he had, as Secretary for War, shown no strength of will and determination to overcome the routine and upset the musty traditions of the War Office. The proposals showed no effort to keep in touch with the men who had been trained to military service, but had passed out of the Reserve, no real intention of making the Volunteers effective and retaining their services, but merely to use their numbers as an excuse for not increasing the regular Army. It was incidentally admitted by Lord Lansdowne (Feb. 19) that so far not a shilling of the 40,000*l.* voted in the previous year for Volunteer ranges had been allotted. The War Office had proceeded on the usual lines of dilatory routine, and had done nothing to carry out the promises held out by ministers when the vote was taken. It may have been only a coincidence, but following close upon the general criticism of the Government proposals, a letter from the Queen was published in all the newspapers (Feb. 20) appealing to all ex-soldiers to rejoin the Colours in regiments to be called Royal Reserve Battalions, and although the terms offered by the War Office were not such as to induce men with families to give up their civil employment, the response was fairly satisfactory.

The hesitating and halting policy of the War Office was, however, more strongly brought into evidence by the attitude of the Government towards a resolution moved by the Earl of Wemyss (Feb. 20) in favour of re-establishing the Militia ballot. All that he required was that once in a man's life he should be liable to ballot for the Militia, unless he were serving in the Yeomanry or Volunteer force. Three years' service in the latter, with five or seven more might be accepted as an equivalent for Militia service. At the close of the previous session the Government had brought in, but had not attempted to carry, a measure which practically empowered them to establish the Militia ballot. On the present occasion they altogether opposed Lord Wemyss' resolution, but in doing so Lord Lansdowne was apparently more anxious to avoid reference to his change of views than to give any adequate explanation of it. He was of course able to

speak of the Militia ballot as "a valuable reserve of power," which should not be given up, but it should not be used at that time. The ballot, he believed, would be deeply and radically unpopular among the classes upon which it would press, but he did not go on to say that with the prospects of a not far distant general election, it would be impolitic for the Government to take a step which would cost them many votes. Meanwhile the War Office was content with the more expensive but less dangerous method of offering pecuniary inducements to ex-soldiers and ex-militiamen to re-enlist. Lord Salisbury closed the debate by observing that the resolution, if adopted, would affirm the opinion that Government ought to bring in a bill for effecting a purpose which no one had proved to be possible. Such a measure would raise many questions beside that of the ballot, and would not have the slightest chance of passing without the most angry and acrimonious debates, which were especially undesirable at the present time. Nor did he believe they could have the ballot by itself; it would inevitably lead to conscription. For his own part he preferred a more cautious way, a way which would not divide the nation when it was above all things necessary that Englishmen should work together in harmony. The resolution was thereupon negatived by 69 votes to 42, showing a very much larger dissentient minority than had been anticipated, so rapidly had the idea of conscription, as possible, if not probable, grown up in the public mind.

The question of reinforcing the troops in the field was again brought before the Upper House (March 1) by Lord Blythswood, who called attention to "the great necessity of at once calling upon 10,000 more Volunteers to fill up the regiments now in South Africa," and urged that all expenses in this connection should be defrayed by the Government instead of by private subscription. The Marquess of Lansdowne observed that a little over 7,000 Volunteers were either in or on their way to South Africa; and when it was decided that the Volunteers should be offered an opportunity of thus contributing to the strength of the field force it was announced in an Army order that an equal number of waiting companies might be maintained at home to supply the requirements of the companies which had gone out. Lord Blythswood now asked them in effect to see that these waiting companies were thoroughly equipped and ready to start at short notice for the theatre of war. But they had to deal with the difficulty that only four waiting companies had yet been formed, and of course Volunteers could not be compelled to come forward. Meanwhile, individual Volunteers would be accepted for service at the Cape, and sent out as drafts. Lord Lansdowne went on to show that the capitation grant for equipment had been calculated on a liberal scale, and reminded the House that Volunteers also received the full pay and allowances of soldiers while on service, so that it could not fairly be said they were maintained by

private subscriptions. As to the question of reinforcements generally, there was not much risk of the army in South Africa suffering from inanition.

"In the week ending on March 4," the Secretary for War continued, "eight ships are due carrying 4,700 men; in the week ending March 11 fifteen ships are due carrying 11,800 men; in the week ending March 18 eleven ships are due carrying 9,900 men; in the week ending March 25 nine ships are due carrying 8,900 men; and in the week ending April 1 six ships are due carrying 3,200 men, making in all the total of 38,817 men. And, over and above these, there are other troops about to proceed to South Africa, but not yet allotted to ships, who will arrive after the beginning of April, to the number of 17,880 men. They include 6,000 drafts for battalions of the line and the infantry of the eighth division numbering 5,500, all regular troops."

The Earl of Leven suggested the expediency of establishing short-range shooting galleries of 100 yards where Militiamen and Volunteers might practice and receive instruction. Lord Lansdowne said the War Office preferred to encourage local authorities to deal in the first instance with this matter. Under the existing law County Councils could purchase land compulsorily to provide ranges, and if they used their powers they would be assisted with grants from the Exchequer. Beside the sum already taken under the Military Works (Loans) Act, Government meant to ask for another 100,000*l.* to assist local ranges.

A few days later (March 15) the Secretary for War was forced to admit in reply to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Blythswood that some of the Militia had been sent to South Africa without having gone through a recruit's course of musketry, and further that the equipment of Militia regiments was of an older design than that issued to the rest of the Army. It was intended to employ them mainly on the lines of communication, which, as events showed, was the most exposed to sudden attack and constant danger. The Yeomanry also, which for years had been neglected by the War Office, were admitted by Lord Lansdowne (March 20) to be worth consideration, and it was proposed to invite them to go into camps of instruction for twenty-eight days. Every Yeoman attending would be allowed 5*l.* for a suitable horse, and the contingent allowance would be raised from 3*l.* to 5*l.* under special conditions. Any regiments desiring a longer course of training might be affiliated to cavalry regiments of the line.

The proceedings in Parliament, when not dealing with the progress of the campaign in South Africa or the proposals for national defence, were as a rule colourless and inanimate. Some little life was thrown into them by Mr. D. A. Thomas' (*Merthyr Tydvil*) resolution for a fresh inquiry into the Jameson raid (Feb. 20), based on the general ground of the dissatisfaction

produced by the abortive proceedings of the former South African inquiry. He further urged that the correspondence recently published in the *Indépendance Belge* had seriously discredited the character of the inquiry held in 1897, for it showed that Mr. Hawksley, who was really the solicitor for the defence, had a good deal to do with the empannelling of the South Africa Committee. Another ground for questioning the impartiality of that body was that Mr. Chamberlain, himself the defendant-in-chief, sat on it. Mr. Thomas went on to censure the Colonial Secretary for his declaration, after the close of the inquiry, that Mr. Rhodes's honour was unaffected by the verdict. To allay for ever the suspicions which Mr. Chamberlain's language and action had aroused, some thoroughly independent tribunal, on the lines of the Parnell Commission, should be appointed to thresh out all the facts of the case. The motion was seconded by Mr. S. T. Evans (*Mid Glamorgan*), in a speech of remarkable vigour and ability, in which he marshalled the suspicions rather than the charges against Mr. Chamberlain with great cogency, allowing the House and the public to draw the almost inevitable conclusion that between Mr. Rhodes and the Colonial Secretary there had been at least a tacit understanding if not actual negotiations.

Mr. Chamberlain's reply was vigorous and in so far as regarded his own individual action, satisfactory. He reminded the House that when he undertook that there should be an inquiry into the circumstances attending the Jameson raid, he wished to have a judicial commission appointed, but to that proposal the Opposition objected. He had been reproached for serving on the committee when, as a matter of fact, he only consented to take part in its work at the solicitation of the leaders of the Opposition. It was at their suggestion, again, that the inquiry was brought to an end, for reasons they had often stated. As to his having "exonerated" Mr. Rhodes, there were two charges against that gentleman. He was accused of conspiring to bring about an invasion of the Transvaal and to foment an insurrection at Johannesburg, and on that charge he was found guilty; but he was further accused of having acted in the matter, not from patriotic ambition, but from the sordid motive of a pecuniary benefit to himself. In support of that allegation not a tittle of evidence was ever brought forward, and it was to his complete acquittal on this head that he (Mr. Chamberlain) had referred on the occasion in question. As to the precious collection of documents stolen from Mr. Hawksley's desk, and purchased by Dr. Leyds for 100*l.* after English newspapers of every shade of politics had declined to have anything to do with them, they contained nothing that was not known to the committee. Once it was decided that the committee should be constituted on the usual parliamentary model—that is to say, that it should represent all interests—it was natural enough that a person holding Mr. Hawksley's position should

be sounded as to whom he would like to see in charge of the defendant company's interests. In conclusion, the Colonial Secretary said gentlemen opposite did not want an inquiry; they wanted an execution. For himself, they were welcome to do their worst. He relied on the good sense and generosity of the House and of his countrymen outside, and ventured to say that this attack and all those which had preceded it would recoil on the shoulders of those who made them.

The debate was continued almost exclusively by members who had formed part of the South Africa Committee, and from their reticence as much as from their statements a fairer idea was obtainable of the consideration which had guided them in framing their report than appeared from that most unsatisfactory document. Sir William Harcourt disclaimed any personal animosity against Mr. Chamberlain, but would vote for the motion because he desired that the attempts which had been made by agents of Mr. Rhodes to implicate officials of state departments in order to divert suspicion from themselves should be exposed. Speaking as a member of the South Africa Committee, Mr. Cripps (*Stroud, Gloucestershire*) maintained that it had inquired fully into all material issues. So far as the cablegrams were concerned, a mountain had been made out of a molehill. Another member of the committee, Mr. Blake (*Longford, S.*) attacked the Colonial Secretary more directly than the majority of the Opposition speakers, declaring that anybody who read Mr. Chamberlain's telegrams to the colonial authorities immediately after the raid would find it difficult to believe that they were not dictated by an accomplice. Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) who, with Mr. Blake, represented the minority on the committee, and Mr. James Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*) having spoken in support of the motion, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, while vindicating the course followed by the committee of 1897, recognised that the situation had somewhat changed since its report was presented. Suspicions had been engendered and encouraged by the conduct of Mr. Chamberlain, notably by his exculpation of Mr. Rhodes. There was an idea abroad that Parliament had not been absolutely sincere in its endeavour to discover the truth, and he held that steps should be taken to re-establish our fair fame before Europe and South Africa. Mr. Balfour ridiculed the idea that there ought to be a fresh inquiry, because more than two years ago Mr. Chamberlain made a speech in which he spoke well of Mr. Rhodes. And what reason was there to suppose that another inquiry would have the excellent results that some gentlemen anticipated? The resolution was negatived by 286 to 152, several Liberals, among them Sir Henry Fowler and Sir Edward Grey, walking out of the House before the division. Mr. Courtney, as well as Mr. J. Lowther, voted against the Government, and Mr. Chamberlain did not vote.

The gloom and depression which for some weeks had hung

over the country was suddenly lifted by the news of the almost simultaneous successes in Cape Colony and Natal. Lord Roberts had spent the short interval since his arrival in the former colony in reorganising the situation, and adopting measures for carrying out the original plan of campaign, which for political reasons had been changed. The large force under his command was steadily pushed forward, and by means of a series of flanking movements, the Boers were outflanked, and in order to save their line of retreat were forced to abandon positions which were practically unassailable. Similar tactics, with some modifications had been adopted by Sir Redvers Buller in Natal, after having received some costly lessons in the new art of war. The general results of the joint movement of the British and Colonial troops were the unconditional surrender of General Cronje and upwards of 4,000 Boers at Paardeberg on the anniversary of Majuba (Feb. 27), and the relief of Ladysmith on the following day. Almost simultaneously, General Brabant, commanding the Cape loyalists, defeated a strong force of Boers and their allies in the disaffected northern districts of the colony. The news of these successes was received with the wildest enthusiasm in London, the provinces, and throughout the empire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India giving expression to their satisfaction in various ways.

This news came opportunely to smooth the way for the increased estimates which Government had to present, and for the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he had to show how the country was to meet its huge liabilities. Priority was accorded to the demands of the Navy, which this year showed only a modest increase of nearly a million. The First Lord (Mr. Goschen) had, however, prepared the public by issuing an elaborate explanatory statement, in which he pointed out that nearly one half of the increased expenditure was due to the increased numbers of seamen and marines, and to the improved pay of the latter—no less than 4,240 officers, seamen and marines being provided for in excess of the preceding year. The total number borne on the ratings on February 1, 1900, was 110,273 as compared with 105,280 on the same date of 1899, and under the estimates now presented these numbers would be 114,880. The condition of the Royal Naval Reserve was less satisfactory, the number of men enrolled during the current year showing a marked falling off from the numbers anticipated. Various causes were assigned for this result, but the state of trade at the commercial ports and the high rate of wages were important factors.

The construction branch was also hampered by trade difficulties, the abnormal activity in merchant shipbuilding and engineering causing delay in the delivery of material and throwing obstacles in the way of obtaining additional labour. The result was that the contract work on ships fell short to the extent of nearly a million and a half, and on dockyard-built

ships to nearly half a million. The *Canopus* was the only ship of the class bearing her name which was handed over by the contractors, but Mr. Goschen promised that the remaining five should be handed over to the naval authorities in the course of the year. Of the six vessels of the *Formidable* class, the last three had been launched—the *Bulwark* within seven months after laying down—and it was hoped that all six would be completed in the course of 1901. Of the armoured cruisers, two out of the six of the *Cressy* class had been launched, but none of the *Drake* or of the *Monmouth* classes. All the first-class protected cruisers promised in 1898 were completed, except the *Albion* and the *Spartiate*, and three of the second-class. The seven third-class cruisers (*Pelorus* class) under construction at the beginning of the financial year 1899, would, with the exception of the *Pandora*, be ready for commission within the year.

It had been contemplated to lay down three new third-class cruisers of rather larger dimensions than the *Pelorus* class, and of high speed, and a small sum was inserted in the estimates for their commencement. After a thorough investigation however of alternative designs for the proposed vessels, and of the designs for vessels of a similar class projected or building for foreign Powers, and after full consideration of all the circumstances, and weighing the fact that the cost involved in building such vessels was out of proportion to their fighting value and sea-keeping qualities, the Admiralty decided not to proceed with their construction. In their place it was proposed to build an improved second-class cruiser of the *Hermes* type, with about twenty-one knots speed, to be built in a dockyard, the cost of which would remain within the limits of liability for the three third-class cruisers sanctioned by Parliament.

Of greater importance, however, was the question of speed obtainable for the torpedo boat destroyers, of which there were already 108 in commission or in course of construction. Of these forty had passed the test of twenty-six to twenty-seven knots on their trials, and forty-four boats that of thirty knots. Of four other destroyers, intended to develop speed exceeding thirty knots, one obtained thirty-two knots on her preliminary trial, and the *Viper*—fitted with Parsons' steam turbine—had for short periods obtained thirty-five knots. The new ship-building programme of the year, which included only such ships as it was proposed to lay down, included two battleships, six first-class armoured cruisers, one second-class cruiser (improved *Hermes*), two sloops (twin-screw), two light draught gunboats and two torpedo boats. Of these, two battleships, two armoured cruisers, one second-class cruiser, and two sloops were to be built in the dockyards, and four armoured cruisers, two gunboats, and two torpedo boats by contract. The complete programme, therefore, of the year, including the completion of ships already in course of construction, was seventeen battle-

ships, twenty armoured cruisers, one first-class protected cruiser, two second-class protected cruisers, one third-class cruiser, eight sloops, two light draught gunboats, four torpedo boats, twenty-one torpedo boat destroyers and one royal yacht.

To meet the necessary cost of this programme Mr Goschen proposed to resort to a novel method of estimating, which would seem to reduce the amount actually required, and avoid the repayment of a large unexpended balance at the close of the financial year. The estimated expenditure for construction was 8,460,146*l.*, against 8,855,481*l.* for 1899-1900. But it was anticipated, on the data of former years, that by March 31, 1900, only 7,328,967*l.* would be expended, and that this would represent a million more than had ever been reached. If the contractors by chance should earn more instalments than usual a supplementary estimate would be taken.

On the subject of naval ordnance, the First Lord's statement was less explicit, but it held out the hope that in some more or less remote future the new 9·2-inch and another new pattern 7·5-inch gun, throwing a projectile of 200 lbs., would be "ready for trial." It was more satisfactory to learn that the conversion of the 6-inch breech-loading guns to quick-firers had been completed for all ships where the expense was justified, but for the Royal Naval Reserve batteries and drill ships the work was only proceeding. The 303 Maxim gun was to be adopted for naval purposes in place of the 45 pattern, but the Vickers-Maxim automatic 37 mm. (1½-inch) was not to supersede the 3-pounder quick-firing gun.

The new works contemplated in the estimates were not of any great importance, and the greater portion of the money was required for pushing forward works already in progress either in a general way or under the Naval Works Acts.

The annexed abstract of the Navy Estimates shows the comparative expenditure of 1900-1 and of the previous year.

Mr. Goschen, in bringing forward the Navy Estimates (Feb. 26), made a lengthy statement, dealing successively with the questions of mobilisation, the Reserve squadron, the coal supply, the training squadron, the transport service, the Reserves, the engineers and the Medical Service. He then reviewed the proposed shipbuilding projects of the year at home and abroad, referring more especially to the naval programmes of France and Germany. At the outset of his speech, he admitted that when he took office in 1890 the Navy Estimates were 18,700,000*l.*, whereas he was asking for 27,500,000*l.*, or nearly half as much again. He could not regard the average increase of 2,000,000*l.* a year as spasmodic, but as the result of the altered condition of affairs in Europe, and the Admiralty had followed national sentiment in strengthening the Navy. The Government realised thoroughly the situation in which the country stood, and without wishing to hint at anything sensational, Mr. Goschen declared that if mobilisation were necessary the Admiralty

Votes.		Net Estimates.		Difference on Net Estimates.	
		1900-1901	1899-1900	Increase.	Decrease.
	I.—Numbers.	Total	Total		
		Numbers.	Numbers.	Numbers.	Numbers.
A	Total Number of Officers, Seamen, Boys, Coast Guard and Royal Marines - - -	114,880	110,640	4,240	—
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£	£
1	Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen and Boys, Coast Guard and Royal Marines - - -	5,527,000	5,242,700	284,300	—
2	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy - - - - -	1,715,300	1,606,700	108,600	—
3	Medical Establishments and Services - - - - -	208,800	176,600	32,200	—
4	Martial Law - - - - -	13,300	12,200	1,100	—
5	Educational Services - - -	92,300	90,600	1,700	—
6	Scientific Services - - -	66,900	69,500	—	2,600
7	Royal Naval Reserves - -	271,100	271,000	100	—
8	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc. :-				
	Section I.— <i>Personnel</i> -	2,512,000	2,417,000	95,000	—
	Section II.— <i>Matériel</i> -	4,084,000	3,799,000	285,000	—
	Section III.—Contract Work - - - - -	6,329,000	6,601,000	—	272,000
9	Naval Armaments - - -	3,004,700	2,710,800	293,900	—
10	Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad - -	845,800	795,100	50,700	—
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services - - -	271,200	248,200	23,000	—
12	Admiralty Office - - -	267,100	261,600	5,500	—
	Total Effective Services -	25,208,500	24,302,000	1,181,100	274,600
	III.—Non-effective Services.				
13	Half Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay - - - - -	786,700	774,700	12,000	—
14	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities and Compassionate Allowances - -	1,123,600	1,116,000	7,600	—
15	Civil Pensions and Gratuities -	343,500	341,500	2,000	—
	Total Non-effective Services - - - - -	2,253,800	2,232,200	21,600	—
	IV.—Extra Estimate for Services in connection with the Colonies.				
16	Additional Naval Force for Service in Australasian Waters—Annuity payable under -	60,300	60,300	—	—
	Grand Total - - -	27,522,600	26,594,500	1,202,700	274,600
Net Increase, 928,100 <i>l.</i>					

would ask Parliament for the necessary supplies; but at present they did not think that the time for mobilisation had come, and they hoped it would not come. There was one administrative measure which the Admiralty did intend to take. The ships of the Reserve squadron, which had gone every year to Portland for prize-firing and exercise, would go there again this year, but they would act together and not independently as hitherto, and they would be exercised in tactics. He doubted whether people

always realised the enormous number of fighting ships which were commissioned; 258 sea-going ships were now in commission with crews numbering in all 56,000, as compared with 139 ships and 25,000 men in 1888. With reference to the transference of officers and crews from the sailing ships of the training squadron to men-of-war at the time when the demand for cruisers for the Cape was considerable, he explained that the Admiralty had not yet decided whether that transference was to be permanent, but that, according to the balance of opinion among officers on the active list, the sailing training squadron was doomed, and that on such a subject it was the duty of a civilian First Lord to be guided by the advice of his naval colleagues. With regard to the complaint that nothing had been done to stop the export of coal to France and Russia, Mr. Goschen held that such measures could not be considered to come at that moment within the sphere of practical politics, but the Admiralty were taking every means in their power to ensure their obtaining at any time all the coal they might want. Of the total output of coal in the United Kingdom only 4 per cent. was exported to France and Russia, and there was no occasion for anxiety. With regard to the transport service, he drew attention to the magnitude of the operations undertaken in conveying troops to South Africa, and complimented the mercantile marine on the success of the efforts made, accidents having been extremely few, and not a single human life having been lost. Since July, 1899, 181 transports or freight ships had been despatched, conveying 132,000 men, 23,300 horses and 23,600 mules.

Passing to the other heads of the estimates, he mentioned that a large portion of the increase of 928,100*l.* in the works vote was in connection with hospitals; the ordnance vote, which stood at 3,000,000*l.* had been almost doubled in five years. The proposed increase in *personnel* would bring the numbers up to 115,000, and he believed the additional men required would be obtained. There were, however, some drawbacks to a rapid increase of *personnel*, involving young crews, and there was a difficulty about getting petty officers of a certain seniority.

With regard to the Naval Reserves, Mr. Goschen stated that the Admiralty wanted to obtain power to call up in the future a certain number of the Reserves, instead of having to summon the whole of them, and he announced that he proposed to introduce a measure conferring upon the Board the power in question, under which the quality of the men would be improved, as every naval reservist would have to go to sea for six months in a man-of-war. With a total of 40,000 pensioners and others, all liable to service, and 115,000 on the active list, we were entitled to call out 150,000 in case of emergency. The Admiralty were also considering how the services of the Seamen and Pensioners' Reserve could be put to the best use, and how they could add to the Reserves by attracting marines who had taken their discharge and seamen who had served twelve years and been dis-

charged. They were also planning a scheme under which we should obtain Reserves from our colonies; but negotiations on the subject with Australia would be suspended until federation was established. The arrangements with Canada were further advanced, but no final decision had yet been taken.

After stating that the Admiralty had tried to meet the wishes of the engineers, and were giving the medical officers greater opportunities for study, while relieving them of some burdens, Mr. Goschen passed to the question of *matériel*. He explained the causes of the failure of the contractors to earn the money voted for armour, hulls and machinery. The programme of the Admiralty, therefore, had been limited by the estimated amount of the output of machinery, hulls and armour. Comparing our proposed expenditure on shipbuilding before 1901 with the proposed expenditure of France, Germany and Russia, he showed that whilst we were to spend 8,460,000*l.*, France would spend 4,154,000*l.*, Russia 4,300,000*l.* and Germany 3,500,000*l.* But he believed that shipbuilding in France, and probably in Russia also, was 20 per cent. dearer than here, and that gave us a considerable advantage. As to Germany's sensational programme of spending 70,000,000*l.* in sixteen years, he observed that it was much more important to regard the sums spent annually than the gigantic total; and were we to prepare a programme for sixteen years our total expenditure would appear as 124,000,000*l.* A Naval Defence Act was now unnecessary in this country, because the people were accustomed to a continuity of policy. The large programmes of France and Germany and other countries ought not to alarm us; but constant vigilance must be exercised and care taken to keep abreast of the great development of naval power not only in Europe, but in America and Japan. Having stated that more labour was to be employed in our dockyards, and that it would be employed on repairs and refits, he assured the House that the Admiralty would not repair vessels that did not deserve repair, and that some of the older ships were to be struck off the naval list. The question of telegraph ships, he went on to say, had been most carefully considered. But the Admiralty did not think it would be wise to buy or construct such ships themselves, believing that it would be better to rely upon private enterprise. For repairing purposes at sea it was proposed to purchase ships, there being vessels engaged in the transport service which were very suitable. With regard to the supply of colliers, arrangements were being made with owners to ensure that a sufficient number of such vessels would be available in time of war. The Admiralty were also engaged in considering the best means of carrying stores and munitions of war from our bases to our fleets. Having summed up the proposals appearing in his printed statement, he ended by declaring that the Intelligence Department was studying most carefully the strategical uses to which our great naval force could be put, and where our ships should be in time of war so as to protect our commerce.

Although there was no serious objection taken to any points of the Admiralty programme, Mr. Goschen's proposals were not allowed to pass without considerable criticism from naval and civilian experts, the most disturbing question being the introduction of water-tube boilers into the Navy, foreign nations having already taken the lead in this matter. The status and pay of engineers and engine-room artificers were also discussed at some length, but Mr. Goschen held out no hope that the Admiralty would make any further concessions. It was, however, noteworthy that Sir Charles Dilke, the best-informed of civilian critics, and an advanced Radical, held that the chief fault of the Government programme was that it was not adequate to the possible requirements of the political situation. What was equally significant was the apparent unwillingness of the Government, or at least of the Admiralty, to allow any reference to this subject in Mr. Macartney's official reply on the points raised in debate (Feb. 27) on the estimates.

Although curiosity as to Army Estimates for the following year had been somewhat satisfied by Mr. Wyndham's speech on the supplementary estimates for the current year, there was much interest shown in the proposals of the Government to deal with Army reform, of which the urgent need had been revealed by the events in South Africa. Very little information or guidance on this point could be gathered from the memorandum appended by Lord Lansdowne to the Army Estimates, beyond the facts that they had been framed under abnormal conditions. There were the necessary provisions for carrying on the war, the need of an immediate and permanent addition to the strength of the Army, and of temporary measures for increasing the number and efficiency of our home defences. A comparison between the number of all ranks serving with the Colours at home and abroad on January 1, 1900, and on the same date of the previous year showed:—

Home and Colonies.	1899.	1900.
Household Cavalry - - - - -	1,298	1,327
Cavalry of the Line - - - - -	12,169	18,890
Royal Artillery, Horse and Field - - -	10,195	18,803
Royal Artillery, Mounted and Garrison - -	15,722	18,119
Royal Engineers - - - - -	7,637	10,210
Foot Guards - - - - -	7,249	12,008
Infantry - - - - -	87,085	133,743
Colonial Corps - - - - -	7,242	8,778
Army Service Corps, etc. - - - - -	9,266	13,085
India (all arms) - - - - -	157,863	234,963
	74,467	66,581
Total - - - - -	232,330	301,544

The above numbers did not include the Militia, the whole of which had been or was about to be embodied (about 100,000 men), the Imperial Yeomanry (about 10,000 men), the enlisted

Volunteers (about 9,000 exclusive of the waiting companies) or a large force of colonial troops, estimated at about 35,000 men. These with the remaining Reservists and the men of the Royal Reserve battalions, but excluding the force remaining in India, made up a total of about 500,000 men, for whom full pay and subsistence had to be provided. The force temporarily withdrawn from the Indian establishment and brought upon the British estimates consisted of four cavalry regiments, two Royal Horse Artillery batteries, three Royal Field Artillery batteries, four infantry battalions, three mounted infantry companies. The actual breaking out of war had directly affected the recruiting service, for the number of recruits raised in 1899 was 42,700 as compared with 40,729 in 1898, 35,015 in 1897, and 28,532 in 1896. Of these the total number of British recruits alone in 1899 had been 40,207.

The measures contemplated for the permanent increase of the forces had been explained by Mr. Brodrick in introducing the supplementary estimates, 1899-1900. They included the raising of seven batteries of Royal Horse Artillery and thirty-six batteries of Field Artillery so as to provide for two more army corps and two additional cavalry brigades. Three howitzer batteries were to be formed for each army corps, making twelve in all; and additions to the Royal Engineers to a total of 2,038 of all ranks were to be made. A considerable increase of infantry, available for colonial service, was also found necessary. Prior to the outbreak of the war, the number of battalions at home was sixty-nine, exclusive of three others authorised but not raised. Making allowance for the latter, although non-existent, there were four battalions abroad in excess of the theoretical balance to be maintained between home and foreign service battalions, *viz.*, India, fifty-two; Colonies and Egypt, sixteen and a half; South Africa, six and a half; Crete, one, making a total of seventy-six battalions, and of these that at Crete was counted as countervailing the deficiency of one battalion at Malta. To make good the actual deficiencies, and to meet the certain need of the prolonged maintenance of an increased force abroad, it was proposed to raise twelve new line battalions, attaching them as third and fourth battalions to existing regiments. Inducements were to be offered to add to the number of the three years' men serving at home with the Colours; large additions were to be made to Army Service Corps (2,220 men of all ranks), the Army Ordnance Corps (450 men) and the Army Medical Corps (260 men), the Militia were to receive a messing allowance during their annual training; the Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers to be provided with regimental transport, and the Volunteer Artillery were to be rearmed, partly with semimobile 4·7-inch, and partly with 15-pounder field guns.

The temporary measures for increasing the strength of the Army were more especially directed towards providing for home

defence. It was proposed to treat the non-commissioned officers and men of the Household Cavalry as supernumeraries, and to fill up their places at home by enlistment, and four cavalry regiments were to be raised from the Reserves. In the infantry officers and men were invited to rejoin the Colours for a short time, and to be embodied as Royal Reserve battalions, the men receiving 22*l.* bounty. The whole of the Militia was to be embodied and specially trained in large camps, and bounties of 5*l.* per man were given to men re-engaging if then serving, or re-enlisting after having left the force. The Yeomanry also, after long years of neglect, were to receive increased allowances and a special grant of 5*l.* for bringing a horse to camp. Large promises of everything in the shape of drill and training were held out to the Volunteers; but the question of pay and allowances was reserved for further consideration. It was also stated that steps would be taken to accelerate the rearmament of fortresses at home and abroad, and to largely augment the reserves of warlike stores.

The Army Estimates for 1899-1900 having been originally framed without anticipation of the war in South Africa, supplementary estimates had been presented, so that the comparison between the expenditure of that year and of the year 1900-1 stood thus :—

	1899-1900.			1900-1.
	Original Estimate.	Supplementary Estimate.	Total.	
Vote A - -	184,853	155,000	339,853	490,000
Votes 1-16 - -	£20,617,200	£23,000,000	£43,617,200	£61,499,400

Of the total of Vote A (men), 212,449 could be regarded as permanent, the balance being due to the war in South Africa and to the special measures for home defence; the estimates showing in detail only the normal or permanent establishment.

The 61,499,400*l.* was thus accounted for :—

1. Normal estimate - - - - -	£21,777,700
2. Permanent additions to the Army - - - - -	1,925,000
3. Special temporary measures for home defence - - - - -	6,228,000
4. War charges - - - - -	31,568,700
Total - - - - -	<u>£61,499,400</u>

The normal estimate of 21,777,700*l.* showed an increase of 1,160,500*l.* as compared with the original estimate for 1899-1900; this was mainly due to the provision made for further instalments of the increases to the Army commenced in previous years, to the provision for the full Volunteer capitation grant, to the rise in prices, and to an additional annuity required under the Barracks Act.

The war charges were based on the assumption that the full field force would be maintained in South Africa till September 30, and a reduced force for the remainder of the year, but the estimates contained no provision for terminal charges, such as the transport home of the troops and gratuities on demobilisation.

Lord Lansdowne then went on to deal with the votes *seriatim*, explaining the causes of the increases required to place the various branches upon a footing of greater efficiency. Of the increased cost there was immediate evidence, but of increased efficiency only the vaguest promise. The figures as submitted to Parliament were thus stated :—

Votes.		Net Estimates.		Increase. on Net Estimates.
		1900-1.	1899-1900.* As per Ap- propriation Act, 62 & 63 Vict., c. 49.	
A	I.—Numbers.	Total Numbers.	Total Numbers. 184,853 (Army Act, 1899, 62 Vict., c. 3)	Numbers.
	Number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India - - -	430,000		245,147
	II.—Effective Services.	£	£	£
1	Pay, etc., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) -	15,200,000	6,509,000	8,691,000
2	Medical Establishment: Pay, etc. - -	555,000	305,800	249,200
3	Militia: Pay, Bounty, etc. - - -	2,288,000	571,000	1,717,000
4	Yeomanry Cavalry: Pay and Allowances -	144,000	75,000	69,000
5	Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances -	1,230,000	624,200	605,800
6	Transport and Remounts - - -	10,000,000	790,000	9,210,000
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies -	13,100,000	3,425,500	9,674,500
8	Clothing Establishments and Services -	4,680,000	†1,086,800	3,593,200
9	Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair - - -	8,000,000	2,531,000	5,469,000
10	Works, Buildings and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services -	2,670,700	1,211,900	1,458,800
11	Establishments for Military Education -	113,800	111,100	2,700
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services - - -	66,900	60,200	6,700
13	War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges - - -	275,000	†251,500	23,500
	Total Effective Services - - -	58,323,400	17,553,000	40,770,400
	III.—Non-Effective Services.			
14	Non-Effective Charges for Officers, etc. -	1,611,000	1,555,000	56,000
15	Non-Effective Charges for Men, etc. - -	1,379,000	1,325,500	53,500
16	Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - -	186,000	183,700	2,300
	Total Non-Effective Services - - -	3,176,000	3,064,200	111,800
	Total Effective and Non-Effective Services - - -	61,499,400	20,617,200	40,882,200

* Exclusive of the supplementary estimate for war services (10,000,000*l.*) presented October 17, 1899, and of the similar supplementary estimate (13,000,000*l.*) presented February 8, 1900, and of the additional men (35,000 + 120,000) included in those estimates.

† 3,200*l.* transferred from vote 8 to vote 13 in 1899-1900.

In bringing forward these estimates for discussion (March 12), the Under-Secretary for War, Mr. Wyndham, in a lucid and even fascinating speech, explained the enormous charges thrown upon the country by the unexpected opposition of the Boers, from which, however, many valuable lessons were to be learnt. Dealing with the various votes, Mr. Wyndham explained that in the sum provided for pay, subsistence, transport, etc., of the forces in South Africa, the number of the colonial forces in the field or under orders to proceed to South Africa was 29,273, but provision was made in the estimates for 35,000, as it was possible the force might increase. The original arrangement was that our self-governing colonies were to send the men at their own cost, and that when the men were landed the Imperial Government was to provide for them at imperial rates of pay. But the colonies had behaved so well that the Government had determined to enlarge the terms of agreement and to provide for the transport of the colonial troops now under orders to go to the seat of war. The question of the pay of the local South African forces was complicated, and if the Government had haggled over details they might have prevented the formation of a force which might have the result of revolutionising the subject of Imperial defence. He deprecated, therefore, any attempt to raise a controversy as to the rates of pay given, reminding the House that Canada, Australia and New Zealand came forward to assist us of their own free will, obeying the instincts of an imperial race. Developments must be awaited before the authorities could hope to grapple in detail with the points arising out of the employment of these colonial forces; but a time might come when in Canada, Australia and South Africa there would be forces akin to our own Militia and Volunteers, so organised as to render it more easy for our colonies to repeat the splendid efforts which they had made during the present war. Having paid a tribute to the heroism of our troops, especially the Irish, in the field, to the stolid tenacity of Sir G. White, to the promptitude and versatility of the Naval Brigade, to the dogged determination of Sir Redvers Buller, to the swift precision of General French, to the yeoman service of the Cape colonists under General Brabant, and to the deep laid strategy of Lords Roberts and Kitchener, he stated that the successes which had been gained, while they justified a hope that the campaign would not be protracted, did not, in the opinion of the Government, justify any diminution in the provision necessary for the further prosecution of the war. Therefore the Government were asking in the estimates for enough money to enable them to continue their military efforts at full pressure for another period of six months and at half pressure for a further period of six months, and the Government thought that 31,500,000*l.* would cover everything except the final charges. In these he included the cost of bringing the troops home, and the gratuities to be given.

With regard to the item of 6,228,000*l.* for special temporary measures for home defence, involving the proposed additional number of 217,551 men, he explained that the calling up of the Reserves to the Colours accounted for 80,000; the estimated number of men in the Royal Reserve battalions was 50,000 soldiers invited back to the Colours for one year; troops transferred from the Indian to the home establishment accounted for 10,000, and colonial troops 35,000; the Imperial Yeomanry 10,000, and the Imperial Volunteers 15,000. The gain from recruiting, arising from the fact that discharges had been stopped, was estimated at 17,000, and there was a figure of 557 for additions to the staff, etc. The sum asked for in respect of the Royal Reserve battalions, who represented the material for a second reserve of trained men or *Landwehr*, was 1,262,000*l.* These ex-soldiers of the Queen, upon whom there was no obligation, had been invited to return to the Colours, and the response had been magnificent, 17,400 men having come forward already. They were, of course, mature men who were mostly engaged in civil employments, and therefore it was necessary to give them not merely pay, but what he called compensation for disturbance. To these men who came back of their own free will 12*l.* would be given on their return to the Colours, and 10*l.* at the end of their term of service. This was, no doubt, an emergency scheme, some people might call it a makeshift; but he maintained that at a period like the present it would be unwise to attempt to frame a symmetrical and final plan for making the country safe for ever. With regard to the auxiliary forces, it was intended for the future to have a staff at the War Office who would be charged with their interests. Militiamen were to have 3*d.* a day messing allowance during training, and the bounties given to them were to be consolidated and increased. Militia regiments would be asked to undertake the obligation to serve abroad, but only when they were wanted in grave imperial emergencies, not for small wars. Recruits, it was thought, should train for six months, and it was proposed to create a reserve for the Militia. Every line regiment was to have its complementary Militia battalion, and Militia battalions were to be given full regimental transport, and were to be encouraged to associate themselves as closely as possible with their linked battalions in the line. Officers were to be given greater opportunities for instruction. As an emergency measure the whole of the Militia was to be embodied and a bounty of 5*l.* would be given to any ex-Militiaman who enlisted during the year, and an extra grant to any Volunteer who had been efficient for three years and who enlisted in the Militia. The emergency proposals of the Government for the current year with regard to the Volunteers were enabling, not mandatory. The Government still thought that the period of training in camp to be aimed at should be twenty-eight days, but the pay and capitation grant would be earned by any Volunteer corps of which half the

strength went to camp for fourteen days. The officers and men would be paid at the Army rates and would have a capitation grant of two guineas. For those corps which did not conform to the emergency scheme there would be the ordinary Easter training in camp. For carrying out the emergency scheme relating to the Volunteers 409,000*l.* would be required; 100,000*l.* would be set apart for the provision of ranges, and free ammunition would be supplied for the use of Volunteer Reserves. Volunteer bicycle companies would be encouraged by an additional capitation grant of 2*l.* Transport would be given the Volunteers, and they would be rearmed with modern artillery. Looking forward to a time then when it would be possible to organise some far-reaching scheme with our colonies for reciprocal defence, Mr. Wyndham replied to the arguments of those who averred that the auxiliary forces were being asked to make too great sacrifices, or that thereby the industry of the country would be dislocated. Turning next to the military situation, he said that the Government's idea was to train and organise in the course of the spring and summer, in addition to the Volunteer forces, a mobile force of three army corps and three cavalry brigades. He denied that the Government were to blame for not having such a force ready to their hands now. Our troops were in South Africa, and the critics who blamed the Government because the Army was not here he characterised as Jeremiahs. The important question to consider was whether the authorities had a reasonable prospect of being able to organise such a force as he had described, and, recollecting the response which had come from the Royal Reserve battalions and the number of Militia battalions remaining at home, he could not believe that the scheme was impracticable. The estimates included a sum of 1,925,000*l.* for the permanent additions to the Army which had been previously announced. The proposal to raise twelve new infantry battalions had been criticised on the ground that this addition was only rendered necessary by a recent policy of imperial expansion. This supposition was a figment of the imagination. Having given the names of the countries and stations garrisoned by our troops, he pointed out that none of them were at all recent acquisitions. He then stated that the Government proposed to have a normal garrison in South Africa of twelve infantry battalions. After a defence of the short service and Reserve system, he urged the House not to make changes in a moment of exasperation or excitement. He had never claimed that everything in our military system was satisfactory, but he insisted that now we were making progress in the right direction.

The Under-Secretary's speech was generally regarded as more eloquent than convincing. He had given ostentatious prominence to the points upon which the Government had been able to come to an arrangement with the War Office, and upon which all were agreed, points involving a general expansion of

the existing Army, but he had evaded, as Sir Charles Dilke pointed out, the most important questions to which answers were awaited with anxiety by the public. There was evidence certainly of a permanent increase of 1,000,000*l.* to the Army Estimates, but this was for the most part automatic, and due to the changes which had been authorised two years previously. There was also a new charge of 48,000*l.* for new storehouses for increased equipment. "We are determined," said Mr. Wyndham, "that the outbreak of war shall never again find this country with such a small reserve of stores and ammunition," nevertheless there was little in the plans of the Government as explained by the Under-Secretary which was not of a temporary and makeshift nature. There was not, as Sir Charles Dilke said, the smallest sign that the Government had taken into consideration the real problem of the defence of the country, whether the Fleet or the Army should be made the chief concern. Although Mr. Wyndham had spoken a great deal about the Royal Reserve battalions, which formed an important feature in the Government's emergency proposals, not a word was said as to their condition for service, and the statements of the Under-Secretary for War in the House, and of the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester (Jan. 8), as to the actual state of the Army could not by any possibility be brought into agreement, especially in the matter of guns. By degrees the War Office had been forced to admit that the three army corps were short of guns, and even the ammunition columns, after those of the first army corps, were not properly equipped, and the result of the way in which the troops were sent out was that Lord Roberts was unable to march northwards until February. Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast, W.*), from the Ministerial side of the House, also subjected the Under-Secretary's speech to severe criticism, declaring that it did not contain a single suggestion which would help forward the solution of the numerous questions with regard to Army reform which were agitating the public mind. He protested that at such a critical time the House had a right to expect something more definite and coherent from those who claimed to represent the majority in the country. Instead of that everything that could be said to shelter the War Office from responsibility was put forward as if it were incontrovertible, although it was known that when war was declared in the previous autumn not a single battalion was ready for foreign service.

The cause of the Army reformers was not advanced by the leader of the Opposition, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who having been War Minister himself seemed more disposed to defend the department than to provide for the defence of the country. He would put no obstacle in the way of the proposals of the Government, but he asked the House not to forget that the strength of this empire was derived from its being an empire of peace and commerce and good relations. With regard to the scheme of mutual colonial defence he expressed a doubt whether

it would be wise to bring Volunteers from one set of colonies to garrison and police others, for such a practice might tend to interfere with the thorough independence of self-governing communities. What ought to be aimed at here was to put the defence of the country beyond doubt and to make our coaling-stations safe throughout the world. Whether in order to do this it was necessary to maintain abroad as many battalions as the Government contemplated was a matter of doubt. The war had rendered necessary the employment of such a force as might not be required again for very many years and, therefore, he deprecated the tendency to make our present experience the test of what the military policy of the country ought to be.

Colonel Earle-Welby (*Taunton*) was less reticent and insisted that there must be some far-reaching reform of our military system, and that separate responsibility should attach to each chief of the headquarters' staff. Another supporter of the Government, Sir A. Acland-Hood (*Wellington, Somerset*) ridiculed the proposal of a month's training for the Volunteers as fantastic, for eight days' drill in camp under military law would be more effective, and he did not hesitate to declare the Militia force, notwithstanding the assertions of the Government, to be in a deplorable condition, but that it would be greatly improved by the infusion of the Royal Reservists into its regiments.

Mr. Wyndham, in his reply, deprecated further destructive criticism of a military system which, like all other things in the world, fell short of perfection. He agreed with a statement made in the course of the discussion to the effect that after the eighth division reached Africa no more units ought to be sent out, and he stated that up to the end of January more than 12,000 men had gone out as drafts to make good the losses that had occurred. The inroad made for this purpose upon the Militia Reserves had not been nearly as large as some members imagined. The proposal made by Sir A. Acland-Hood that the Royal Reserve battalions should be incorporated in the Militia had been considered by the military authorities and rejected. As to the scheme of the Government respecting the Volunteers, he said it was approved by many experienced officers, who believed it to be quite practicable. With regard to the supply of men for the Army, he reminded the committee that more recruits had come forward in the last three years than formerly, and he held that this promised well for the future. He agreed with Colonel Welby that it was desirable to reduce the fatigue work performed by soldiers as far as possible, and he added that steps had already been taken in that direction. As to remounts for the cavalry, he stated that about 12,000 horses had been sent out to Africa in addition to the horses with the units, and there were 8,000 more on their way. He was satisfied with the proportion of mounted troops and the proportion of guns now in Africa, and he believed that Lord Roberts was satisfied also. He justified what was being done to meet the exceptional

demand for officers, and explained that particular care was being taken to prevent hardship or injustice to candidates.

After a few more criticisms from various quarters, the votes for 430,000 men and 15,200,000*l.* for pay were allowed to pass, but with the general feeling that the War Office as constituted was not competent to deal with such forces or to administer satisfactorily such large expenditure.

The Civil Service Estimates, which were preceded by a minute of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, showed that notwithstanding Mr. Hanbury's (*Preston*) criticisms in Opposition, he was unable when in office to check the yearly and mostly automatic increase of civil expenditure. The gross amount required for the service of the year 1900-1 was 24,400,456*l.*, as compared with 23,923,637*l.* of the previous year. In each case there were appropriations in aid of numerous votes arising from various sources, fees, stamps, sale of stores, etc., by which the net sum required was reduced to 22,838,808*l.* It was attempted, too, to make these figures more palatable by showing that in addition to the amounts appropriated in aid of the several votes, a further sum of 1,500,000*l.* was received in cash and stamps in the various public departments. As, however, this sum also appeared as an integral part of the regular income of the year, and was included as such in the Budget, its claim to appear in mitigation of the cost of Civil Service administration was somewhat illusory. There were also other ways by which this class of expenditure had been largely increased, by the transfer of tax revenue to local authorities, and at the same time by transferring other charges from local to imperial funds. In the first-named category was the proportion of revenue raised by imperial taxation from excise (5,220,000*l.*), estate, etc., duties (4,116,000*l.*), and customs (215,000*l.*). These amounts were deducted from the imperial revenue, and paid over in aid of local taxation, in pursuance of a system inaugurated many years previously. In addition to this aid from the State, a sum of 1,150,000*l.* was charged in the Budget of the year as payment to local taxations account, raising the total sum given in relief of rates to nearly ten and three quarter millions. It, however, appeared from the Civil Service Estimates that the liability of the State for local services was not limited to this sum; for there was certain other expenditure of a local character, or in the nature of charges transferred from local to imperial funds, amounting in the aggregate to 3,165,645*l.* Amongst such charges, the most important were rates on Government property—nearly half a million; prisons and reformatories: England and Wales 668,700*l.*, Scotland 130,000*l.*, Ireland 200,000*l.*; Irish constabulary and Dublin police 1,426,000*l.*; compensation for charges incurred in the enforcement of the Diseases of Animals Act; expenses of criminal proceedings and prosecutions, etc.

The gross estimates as framed were :—

Class.		1900-1.	1899-1900.
		£	£
I.	Public Works and Buildings - - -	2,034,288	2,057,655
II.	Public Department - - - - -	2,887,471	2,758,863
III.	Law and Justice - - - - -	4,545,209	4,499,584
IV.	Public Education - - - - -	12,638,985	12,248,907
V.	Diplomatic and Colonial - - - -	1,642,209	1,660,138
VI.	Non-Effective - - - - -	588,196	592,185
VII.	Temporary Commissioners - - -	64,098	106,305
	Total - - -	24,400,256	23,923,637

The total expenditure under Class I., on account of local rates on Government (474,103*l.*), showed an increase of 36,698*l.*, but there were reductions under most of the other heads of this class. Under Class II. the most important item was that for Secret Service, which was increased from 30,000*l.* to 65,000*l.*, whilst requirements of the Stationery Office, in view of the decennial census, and of the Colonial Office for the expense of telegrams, were unavoidable. The Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, costing 128,245*l.*, included a number of services hitherto borne on other votes, but in future to be discharged by the new department. Under Class III. provision was made for 25,000*l.*, as part payment of the reconstruction of Brixton Prison (58,297*l.*), but at the same time 25,000*l.* was to be received from the City of London in part payment for Newgate Prison. Class IV., dealing with Education, Science and Art, showed an aggregate increase of 387,278*l.* following immediately upon an increase of 243,179*l.*, testifying to the efforts made to extend the benefits of education, as well as to higher average of day scholars and the higher grant to be earned. The estimate also included 4,000*l.* for the salaries and expenses of the National Physical Laboratory, 12,000*l.* towards the cost of building and equipping the laboratory, and 11,250*l.* as a grant in aid of the National Antarctic Expedition, the first of four instalments of a like amount. Class V. included 75,000*l.* for the administration of the Niger Territories, of 467,000*l.* for Uganda, Central and East African Protectorates—showing an increase of 62,723*l.*, attributable to the additional annuity required for the repayment of sums grievously wasted on the Uganda Railway. Apart from this railway muddle and scandal, the three Protectorates seemed to be in a way of fair progress, the cost being reduced for Uganda by 45,000*l.*, for British Central Africa by 8,000*l.*, and by 12,000*l.* for British East Africa. On the other hand, 70,000*l.* was required to meet the deficiency of revenue in Bechuanaland, as against 42,000*l.* in the previous year; and 32,000*l.* to meet a similar deficiency in Cyprus as compared with 13,000*l.* Taking a hopeful view of the colonial possessions on the West Coast of Africa, the Treasury reduced by 30,000*l.* the grant in aid for the

Gold Coast Northern Territories, and by 50,000*l.* the charge for the West African Frontier Force—estimates to be ruthlessly destroyed before many weeks had passed.

The Revenue Estimates showed that nearly the whole of the increased net expenditure (435,511*l.*) was attributable to the enlarged business of the Post Office in London and the provinces, but especially to the rise in wages, etc., in the Telegraph branch; while 93,500*l.* was incurred for laying new submarine cables to Holland and Belgium, these countries contributing 38,000*l.* towards the cost. The net sums required, after deducting the appropriations in aid, were:—

Service.	1900-1.	1899-1900.
	£	£
Customs - - - - -	838,500	846,600
Inland Revenue - - - - -	1,995,083	1,966,232
Post Office - - - - -	13,386,950	12,972,100
Total - - - - -	16,220,533	15,784,932
The last-named service was made up as follows:—		
Post Office - - - - -	8,843,605	—
Packet Service - - - - -	773,015	—
Telegraphs - - - - -	3,770,330	—

The cost of the Post Office Savings Bank work figured for 15*l.* only in the estimates, the actual cost (513,426*l.*) being repaid from the Post Office Savings Bank Fund. In like manner only 210*l.* was required to be voted for the service of Government Annuities and Life Insurances, although the actual cost was estimated at 3,047*l.* The conveyance of mails by railway cost 706,590*l.*, those by road 347,000*l.*, and by private ships within the United Kingdom 3,750*l.* The total cost of the Packet Service was placed at 947,489*l.*, of which 174,474*l.* was repaid by British colonies and dependencies.

The requirements of the public service were now clearly set forth, and the statement of the means by which they were to be met was awaited with some anxiety. It had long been foreseen by those engaged in trade that an increase in the charges on dutiable articles was inevitable, and the custom receipts since the beginning of the year had been swollen in an abnormal fashion, and in the two days interval between the announcement and the unfolding of the Budget, duties to the amount of 2,500,000*l.* had been paid, instead of about 168,000*l.* the average amount. To meet this encroachment upon the revenue of the following year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, adopted the unusual but not wholly unprecedented course of introducing his Budget a full month (March 5) before the close of the current financial year. Consequently he was unable to deal with the actual results of receipt and expenditure, but these he undertook to lay before the House as soon as they were ascertained. The charges to be met were enormous, but

happily the condition of the country was prosperous, and it was comparatively an easy matter for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise the amount required. How that was to be done, depended upon the character of the Finance Minister, and there was nothing heroic in the means which Sir M. Hicks-Beach suggested. Roughly speaking an additional 60,000,000*l.* was required, and of this amount he proposed to raise one half by loan and the other half by taxation, the latter being pretty equally divided between direct and indirect. In the course of his statement the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he had spoken in October of the capacity of the Transvaal to bear a reasonable share of the cost of the war, but that was now a less important factor in the situation owing to the enormous increase of their military expenditure, and the circumstance that claims for compensation to our loyal colonists in Natal and the Cape for the losses they had sustained at the hands of the Boers would have to be pressed. It was calculated that the revenue for the year ending March 31 would amount to 116,040,000*l.*, as against an estimate of 111,157,000*l.*, so great had been the industrial activity and the commercial prosperity of the country. The expenditure for the year had been estimated at 110,927,000*l.*, and but for the war would not have exceeded 110,540,000*l.*, so that under ordinary conditions they would have had a surplus of about five and a half millions. The supplementary estimates had changed that surplus into a deficit of 17,770,000*l.* The total expenditure for the year 1900-1 was calculated at 154,082,000*l.*—an increase of 43,155,000*l.* over the Budget provision for 1899-1900; while the total revenue to be expected without the imposition of fresh taxes was 116,900,000*l.*—leaving a deficit of 37,182,000*l.* Taking, then, the deficits of the two years together and allowing a margin of five millions for contingencies, they had to find an additional sum of 60,000,000*l.* As to ways and means, they believed that the costly phase of the war was not likely to last long, and that it was, therefore, unwise from a financial point of view to meet the present necessity by permanent fiscal changes. What they proposed to do was, in the first place, to raise the income-tax from 8*d.* to 1*s.* That would yield 6,500,000*l.* in the coming year, beside 1,900,000*l.* of arrears in 1901-2. An extension of the duty on contract notes for produce sales would give them another 150,000*l.* An additional shilling a barrel on beer would provide 1,752,000*l.*; an added sixpence a gallon on spirits, 1,015,000*l.* The duty on tobacco was to be raised by 4*d.* a pound, the present legal limit of moisture being retained, while 6*d.* a pound more would be charged on foreign cigars; and from these augmentations of duty they hoped to get 1,100,000*l.* Tea would also be taxed 2*d.* more the pound, with a further profit to the Exchequer, as was hoped, of 1,800,000*l.* Altogether the new taxes, not counting arrears of income-tax for 1901-2 would produce 12,317,000*l.* The suspension of the Sinking Fund would again diminish the charge to be

met by 4,640,000*l.*, leaving about 43,000,000*l.* which they must ask leave to borrow. Of that sum 8,000,000*l.* would be provided by renewing the Treasury Bills issued in the autumn, and probably another 5,000,000*l.* by a fresh issue. The remaining 30,000,000*l.* would be raised by bonds or stock issued for a term of years, not exceeding ten; the precise terms of the loan would be stated subsequently. The amount, however, was not to be added to the permanent debt in the shape of a fresh issue of Consols, and it was too large to be added to the floating debt. He did not propose to make any special provision at present for the repayment of the loan. Such provision would be premature before knowing our total liabilities, and how much of these liabilities could be made good by the Transvaal. The general results of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement were thus summarised:—

ESTIMATED REVENUE FOR 1900-1.

	1900-1.	Probable Exchequer Receipts, 1899-1900.
	£	£
Customs - - - - -	21,900,000	22,130,000
Excise - - - - -	31,800,000	31,000,000
Estate, etc., Duties - - - - -	13,000,000	13,300,000
Stamps - - - - -	8,400,000	8,400,000
Land Tax - - - - -	800,000	800,000
House Duty - - - - -	1,650,000	1,650,000
Property and Income Tax - - - - -	18,800,000	18,600,000
Post Office - - - - -	13,800,000	13,300,000
Telegraph Service - - - - -	3,550,000	3,350,000
Crown Lands - - - - -	450,000	450,000
Interest on Suez Canal Shares, etc. - - - - -	850,000	840,000
Miscellaneous - - - - -	1,900,000	2,220,000
Total - - - - -	116,900,000	116,040,000

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE FOR 1900-1.

	1900-1.	Probable Exchequer Issues, 1899-1900.
	£	£
National Debt - - - - -	23,250,000	23,270,000
Other Consolidated Fund - - - - -	1,600,000	1,581,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts - - - - -	1,150,000	1,149,000
Army - - - - -	61,500,000	43,600,000
Navy - - - - -	27,523,000	26,000,000
Civil Services - - - - -	22,839,000	22,530,000
Customs and Inland Revenue - - - - -	2,833,000	2,800,000
Post Office - - - - -	8,844,000	8,480,000
Telegraph Service - - - - -	3,770,000	3,620,000
Packet Service - - - - -	773,000	780,000
Total - - - - -	154,082,000	133,810,000

FINAL BALANCE SHEET, 1900-1.

EXPENDITURE.		REVENUE.	
	£		£
National Debt Services—		Customs - - - -	21,900,000
<i>Less</i> - - - -	23,250,000	Additional Tobacco Duty -	1,100,000
Sinking Fund Suspended -	4,640,000	Additional Tea Duty -	1,800,000
	18,610,000	Additional Beer and Spirit	
Other Consolidated Fund		Duties - - - -	217,000
Services - - - -	1,600,000	Excise - - - -	31,800,000
Payments to Local Taxation		Additional Beer Duty -	1,750,000
Accounts - - - -	1,150,000	Additional Spirit Duty -	800,000
Army (including Ordnance		Estate, etc., Duties -	13,000,000
Factories) - - - -	61,500,000	Stamps - - - -	8,400,000
Navy - - - -	27,523,000	Contract Notes - - - -	150,000
Civil Services - - - -	22,839,000	Land Tax - - - -	800,000
Customs and Inland Re-		House Duty - - - -	1,650,000
venue - - - -	2,833,000	Property and Income Tax -	18,800,000
Post Office - - - -	8,844,000	Increase of 4d. in £ -	6,500,000
Telegraph Service - - -	3,770,000	Post Office - - - -	13,800,000
Packet Service - - - -	773,000	Telegraph Service - - -	3,550,000
		Crown Lands - - - -	450,000
		Receipts from Suez Canal	
		Shares and Sundry Loans	850,000
		Miscellaneous - - - -	1,900,000
		Total - - - -	129,217,000
		Deficit - - - -	20,225,000
Total - - - -	149,442,000		149,442,000

(The clause dealing with brokers' contract notes was omitted from the Finance Bill.)

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman recognised that the Budget was statesmanlike and courageous, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer had very properly put part of the war burden on the shoulders of the taxpayers. While withholding his views on details until the discussion on the Finance Bill, he thought it right to say that he rather regretted the addition to the spirit duty, for there was a general belief in Scotland and Ireland that the drink consumed in those countries was more heavily taxed than the drink of the English community.

Sir W. Harcourt also expressed approval of the principles upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to proceed, but asked how the Government could be sure of obtaining a considerable contribution towards the cost of the war from the Transvaal. If after the war the people of that country were going to become a free and independent community, charged with their own taxation, he failed to see that we were likely to get the money. If, on the other hand, the country was to be made a Crown Colony there would also be difficulties in the way. He hoped that means would be found to make the financiers pay.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his reply, thanked the committee for the manner in which it had received his proposals, and for the recognition of the fact that the principles on which he had proceeded were sound. Answering Mr. Redmond, he recorded his opinion that the prosperity of Ireland was largely increasing, and remarked that he was anxious to encourage the cultivation of tobacco in that country. Noticing some suggestions which had been made with regard to the tea duty, he

stated that it was not now practicable to impose *ad valorem* duties on tea. As to the contribution of the Transvaal towards the expenses of the war, he undertook not to forget anything that had been said in favour of relieving the British taxpayers from a considerable amount of the cost. The time, however, had not yet come for arranging how we were to be repaid.

Various divisions were taken upon the different resolutions, but in no case did the minority ever obtain more than sixty votes, even on that of raising the tea duty. On the other points the opponents of the Government seldom mustered above thirty.

On the following day (March 6) a resolution was proposed authorising the raising of 30,000,000*l.* by means of the creation of stock or bonds redeemable in ten years, or by an issue of Treasury bills. Sir W. Harcourt took this opportunity of explaining more fully his opinion of the financial proposals of the Government, which, whilst disapproving, he did not intend to resist. By this and other operations the Government were adding 48,000,000*l.* to the country's debt, a considerably larger amount than was added to the debt at the time of the Crimean War, when 40,000,000*l.* were raised out of taxation, and only 32,000,000*l.* by borrowing. While the doctrines of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were admirable, his practice fell sometimes below the level of his principles. But he rejoiced over the gallant stand which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made on behalf of the sound fiscal system of the country, which was originated by Sir Robert Peel, and he had heard with great pleasure his denunciation of the proposal made recently to raise the whole cost of the war by loan. He did not believe that the resources of direct taxation were yet exhausted. He approved the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan of having a short loan, which would be ear-marked as a war loan, and would not be merged and lost in the volume of Consols. He questioned whether the loan was likely to be redeemed within ten years, for what prospect was there that the expenditure of the country would be reduced even if the war were to come to an end in September? The Crimean War was followed by a reduction of expenditure on establishments, but there was little prospect of such reduction now, and he was disposed to think that the increased taxation proposed by the Government would be permanent, for everywhere there was a disposition to spend more, whilst there was also a disposition to pay less. With regard to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's hope that a considerable part of the loan might be repaid by the Transvaal, he expressed a fear that it might be found difficult to extract the money out of the gold diggings of that country. But as this country was going to bear taxation to the amount of 12,000,000*l.* for the war, it would be just that the resources of the Transvaal should provide for the loan, especially as the value of South African mining shares would ultimately be greatly enhanced. As to the resources of this country, he held that they were

inexhaustible if handled prudently, but national extravagance had become the fashion. The majority shouted "Pay, pay, pay," but meant "Borrow, borrow, borrow." They were willing enough to endorse proposals for expenditure, but wished to postpone payment of the bills.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer insisted that the increase in our expenditure in recent years had been absolutely necessary, and instanced the outlay on naval defence. He agreed that our expenditure would probably grow because the country was determined that our defences should be put on a proper footing, whatever the cost might be. But the country was capable of meeting all the demands that might be made upon it. There had been practically no increase of taxation since 1894, and yet the revenue had gone up beyond any one's expectations. Its expansion was due to our sound fiscal system, and if the plausible nostrums advocated in some quarters were adopted a very different state of things would ensue. With regard to the redemption of the loan, he agreed with Sir Wm. Harcourt that it would be desirable to charge this 30,000,000*l.* on the Transvaal, and he assured the committee that he was keenly interested in that possibility. Indeed, he regarded the Transvaal as the first source from which to obtain the money; but there were other sources at his disposal if that should fail.

After a pertinent argument raised by Mr. James Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*) on the narrow limits within which the revenue was raised, the resolution was agreed to by 161 to 26 votes.

Before leaving the subject it may be mentioned that a month later (April 6) the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to lay before the House the supplementary statement of the receipts and expenditure of the financial year 1899-1900, which had resulted more prosperously than he had anticipated.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1899-1900.

EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS.		EXCHANGE ISSUES.	
	£		£
Customs - - - -	23,800,000	National Debt Services - -	23,000,000
Excise - - - -	32,100,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services - - - -	1,584,000
Estate, etc., Duties - -	14,020,000	Payments to Local Taxation Accounts - - - -	1,150,000
Stamps - - - -	8,500,000	Army (including Ordnance Factories) - - - -	20,600,000
Land Tax - - - -	790,000	Navy - - - -	26,000,000
House Duty - - - -	1,670,000	Civil Services - - - -	22,530,000
Property and Income Tax -	18,750,000	Customs - - - -	840,000
Post Office - - - -	13,300,000	Inland Revenue - - - -	1,960,000
Telegraph Service - - -	3,350,000	Post Office - - - -	8,480,000
Crown Lands - - - -	450,000	Telegraph Service - - -	3,601,000
Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and sundry Loans -	834,000	Packet Service - - - -	760,000
Miscellaneous - - - -	2,276,000		
Total - - - -	119,840,000	Total - - - -	110,505,000
Deficiency - - - -	13,882,000	Interest on Treasury (War) Bills - - - -	217,000
		Grants to meet War Charges -	23,000,000
Total - - - -	133,722,000	Total - - - -	133,722,000

With reference to these figures, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that in the current year he expected from Customs 23,620,000*l.*, excise 33,550,000*l.*, estate duties 13,000,000*l.*, stamp duties 8,550,000*l.*, land tax 800,000*l.*, house duty 1,650,000*l.*, income tax 25,800,000*l.*, being a total of 106,970,000*l.* Adding to that 20,550,000*l.* of non-tax revenue, which, he thought, should be left at the same figure as given on March 5, there was a total estimated revenue of 127,520,000*l.* As to expenditure, there were Consolidated Fund Charges (less 4,640,000*l.*, the repayment of capital wrapped up in terminable annuities which the House has practically agreed to accept) amounting to 21,360,000*l.*, and to that were added 619,000*l.* for interest on the War Loan, a total from Consolidated Fund service of 21,979,000*l.* The supply services amount to 128,082,000*l.*, a total of 150,061,000*l.* expenditure. The revenue being deducted from that, the deficit for the year would be 22,541,000*l.* Adding to that the actual deficit for last year, 13,882,000*l.*, there would be an aggregate deficit of 36,423,000*l.*, which would be provided partly by Treasury bills for 8,000,000*l.* and the remainder by the proceeds of the War Loan. This, after replacing the amount temporarily taken out of balances towards any further expenditure that might be required, would leave 1,127,000*l.*, besides the further borrowing powers of 5,000,000*l.*, which were included in the bill now before the House, and which had not yet been exercised. Sir W. Harcourt hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take advantage of the unexpected surplus of last year to diminish the amount of Treasury bills to be issued. On the whole Sir M. Hicks-Beach's Budget was accepted with satisfaction, although his anticipation of the temporary nature of the increased taxation was not so widely shared. It was admitted that he had fairly levied the cost of the war upon those who had most loudly acclaimed it, or who had fostered the militarism of the day.

The War or Khaki Loan as it was called, was contrary to the usual practice in this country, offered at 98½ to the public direct instead of through the intervention of bankers and financial houses. It was for a total of 30,000,000*l.*, to bear interest at 2½ per cent. for ten years, when it could be redeemable at par. The success of this method of issue was complete in spite of the forebodings of those who stuck to the older ways. The number of applicants for allotment was 39,800, who applied in the aggregate for 335,500,000*l.* Of these the number of applications for sums ranging from 100*l.* to 1,000*l.* was 30,800; from 1,100*l.* to 100,000*l.* it was 8,630; and from 100,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* it was 344; and there was one application for 10,000,000*l.* It was arranged in the allotment that as far as possible the applicants for the smallest amounts should receive in full; but the principle adopted was to give 6 per cent. on all applications for 10,000*l.* and upwards, and as much more as available to the applicants

for lesser sums. There were several cases where it was obvious that the applicants belonged to a different class to the ordinary investors, for a large number of persons applied to the Bank of England, paying the deposit money in cash and not by cheque. In the majority, if not in all, of these cases the application was for 100*l.* of the War Loan.

The Government, once the estimates had been presented and the Budget brought forward, showed so little eagerness in carrying out the promises made in the Queen's Speech that rumours of an approaching dissolution grew rife. Although nothing had been said to justify such an idea, it was keenly discussed, and the morality of an appeal to the country whilst an important military campaign was in progress was called in question. Possibly the discussion thus raised may have been sufficient to determine the Government not to take the step which some of its irresponsible supporters had been urging; and it may further have had the result of stimulating a greater attention to the legislative needs of the day. In the House of Lords Lord James of Hereford moved (March 5) the second reading of his harmless but humanitarian Youthful Offenders Bill, which provided that a child or young person, being a male convicted by indictment, or summarily of any offence other than homicide, might (instead of being sent to prison) be adjudged to be privately whipped with a birch rod by a constable, in presence of an inspector, to the extent of six strokes for a child of six, twelve for a boy under fourteen, and eighteen in other cases. A boy charged with an offence, and remanded, might be placed in the custody of any fit person willing to receive him; his parent or guardian being liable to a contribution of not more than 5*s.* a week for his maintenance. Courts of assize and quarter sessions were empowered to commit to an industrial school. Earl Carrington thought the maximum of strokes rather too high, reminding his brother peers that they had not themselves been wont to receive more than twelve. Lord Norton expressed his gratitude for the bill. He believed that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the parents were the really guilty persons. The Earl of Kimberley did not view the bill with unqualified dissatisfaction, but thought they must not shut their eyes to the disadvantages of a system of whipping. Some boys did not care in the slightest degree how often they were whipped. The Bishop of Winchester cordially supported the measure. It had been urged that there was a danger in entrusting these powers to justices at large, who might exercise them unwisely or with too much severity; but he maintained that if in after-life a boy would be the worse for a mistaken whipping, he would be ten thousand times worse for six months' imprisonment, which was the alternative. He could not express too strongly his approval of the provision that a boy or a girl should not be sent to prison on the way to a reformatory. The bill was then read a second time without a division.

A week later the bill passed through committee, but not with-

out some characteristic remarks by Lord Salisbury, who made light of the suggestion that flogging young offenders was a bit more degrading than was the flogging in public schools to which a large number of members of that House had been subjected without ill effects. He could not understand why the arm of a policeman should be more contaminating than the arm of a parent. He was sure that in the public schools it would be thought an odd thing if you had to send for a parent, perhaps from a distant county, in order that the operation of flogging a pupil should be performed by the parent. On this subject there was in the country a great deal of silly sentimentality, which, however, was not shared by the vast mass of the people.

Lord Kimberley acknowledged that there was a great deal of force in what the Prime Minister had said, but at the same time he knew that there did exist among the class to which these boys belonged a prejudice against the punishment of flogging; but Lord Salisbury stuck to his belief that such a feeling did not exist extensively and generally throughout the country, and the bill was allowed to pass.

A bill to amend and extend the Scotch Education Acts was brought in by Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Secretary for Scotland. It was carefully discussed in committee (May 21), but although it passed the Upper House it was dismissed with scant courtesy in the Commons, its promoters urging nothing in its support. Its chief objects were to organise in one system the administration of the various funds now devoted to purposes of higher education in Scotland, and to establish local representative bodies with statutory powers for the management of such education. The area of their authority would be a county or a large borough, and it was hoped that the higher schools would be brought within the reach of any boy or girl who was likely to profit by them. The bill also dealt with the attendance of children at elementary schools. It was proposed that every child should be kept at school, independently of his passing any standard, till the age of fourteen; though the School Board might exempt him from attendance after the age of twelve if he went to an evening continuation school. Another clause sought to provide a remedy for cases of hardship in respect of the dismissal of teachers by School Boards. He had not seen his way to set up a court of appeal, but the department would be authorised, at its discretion, to grant a certificate to a teacher who had been dismissed that, in spite of his dismissal, his work had been satisfactory.

The only other incident of importance before Easter of which the House of Lords was the scene was the reading of the proposals for peace forwarded by Presidents Steyn and Kruger shortly after the surrender of General Cronje and the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith. In reply to a question from the Earl of Kimberley, the Prime Minister read (March 13) the following correspondence:—

"The Presidents of the Orange Free State and of the South African Republic to the Marquess of Salisbury.

"BLOEMFONTEIN, *March 5, 1900.*

"The blood and the tears of the thousands who have suffered by this war, and the prospect of all the moral and economic ruin with which South Africa is now threatened, make it necessary for both belligerents to ask themselves dispassionately, and as in the sight of the Triune God, for what they are fighting, and whether the aim of each justifies all this appalling misery and devastation.

"With this object, and in view of the assertions of various British statesmen to the effect that this war was begun and is being carried on with the set purpose of undermining her Majesty's authority in South Africa, and of setting up an Administration over all South Africa independent of her Majesty's Government, we consider it our duty solemnly to declare that this war was undertaken solely as a defensive measure to safeguard the threatened independence of the South African Republic, and is only continued in order to secure and safeguard the incontestable independence of both republics as sovereign international States, and to obtain the assurance that those of her Majesty's subjects who have taken part with us in this war shall suffer no harm whatsoever in person or property.

"On these conditions, but on these conditions alone, are we now, as in the past, desirous of seeing peace re-established in South Africa, and of putting an end to the evils now reigning over South Africa; while, if her Majesty's Government is determined to destroy the independence of the republics, there is nothing left to us and to our people but to persevere to the end in the course already begun, in spite of the overwhelming pre-eminence of the British Empire, confident that that God who lighted the unextinguishable fire of the love of freedom in the hearts of ourselves and of our fathers will not forsake us, but will accomplish His work in us and in our descendants.

"We hesitated to make this declaration earlier to your Excellency, as we feared that as long as the advantage was always on our side, and as long as our forces held defensive positions far in her Majesty's colonies, such a declaration might hurt the feelings of honour of the British people; but now that the prestige of the British Empire may be considered to be assured by the capture of one of our forces by her Majesty's troops, and that we are thereby forced to evacuate other positions which our forces had occupied, that difficulty is over, and we can no longer hesitate clearly to inform your Government and people in the sight of the whole civilised world why we are fighting, and on what conditions we are ready to restore peace."

"The Marquess of Salisbury to the Presidents of the South African Republic and Orange Free State.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, *March 11, 1900.*

"I have the honour to acknowledge your Honours' telegram dated the 5th of March from Bloemfontein, of which the purport is principally to demand that her Majesty's Government shall recognise the 'incontestable independence' of the South African Republic and Orange Free State as 'sovereign international States,' and to offer, on those terms, to bring the war to a conclusion.

"In the beginning of October last, peace existed between her Majesty and the two republics under the conventions which then were in existence. A discussion had been proceeding for some months between her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic, of which the object was to obtain redress for certain very serious grievances under which British residents in the South African Republic were suffering. In the course of these negotiations, the South African Republic had, to the knowledge of her Majesty's Government, made considerable armaments, and the latter had, consequently, taken steps to provide corresponding reinforcements to the British garrisons of Cape Town and Natal. No infringement of the rights guaranteed by the conventions had, up to that point, taken place on the British side. Suddenly, at two days' notice, the South African Republic, after issuing an insulting ultimatum, declared war upon her Majesty; and the Orange Free State, with whom there had not even been any discussion, took a similar step. Her Majesty's dominions were immediately invaded by the two republics, siege was laid to three towns within the British frontier, and a large portion of the two colonies was overrun, with great destruction to property and life, and the republics claimed to treat the inhabitants of extensive portions of her Majesty's dominions as if those dominions had been annexed to one or other of them. In anticipation of these operations the South African Republic had been accumulating for many years past military stores on an enormous scale, which, by their character, could only have been intended for use against Great Britain.

"Your Honours make some observations of a negative character upon the object with which these preparations were made. I do not think it necessary to discuss the questions you have raised. But the result of these preparations, carried on with great secrecy, has been that the British Empire has been compelled to confront an invasion which has entailed upon the empire a costly war and the loss of thousands of precious lives. This great calamity has been the penalty which Great Britain has suffered for having in recent years acquiesced in the existence of the two republics."

No discussion followed the reading of these despatches, but in the press, Lord Salisbury's attitude was generally approved, the Boer offer being regarded as an offer on their part to forgive British resistance to their invasion of British territory. The telegram to Lord Salisbury, however, was not the only attempt made by the South African leaders to obtain a cessation of hostilities. Dr. Leyds, the accredited agent of the Transvaal Government in Europe, had been actively engaged in obtaining the intervention of some European Powers, and had expended vast sums in manufacturing the expression of sympathetic feeling on the Continent. He was doubtless as much aided by the generous impulses of some as by the energy and hostility of others, for the anti-British feeling of continental nations showed itself almost unanimously, and became more intense as the success of the Boers seemed possible. With the turn of the tide in favour of the British forces, it was only reasonable that foreign feeling should express itself in a desire for intervention, and this was loudly demanded in irresponsible quarters. The Cabinets of Europe were, however, not to be swayed by mere popular emotion; and although it was fairly inferred from a speech made by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs (March 15) that France would have intervened if the other Powers would have joined her, he distinctly stated that after Lord Salisbury's refusal to guarantee independence to the South African Free States, France alone could do nothing. The United States Government took a somewhat different line, President McKinley instructing his ambassador in London to inform Lord Salisbury "by way of friendly good offices," that a request to intervene had been received from Pretoria, and that he should be glad to aid in any friendly manner to bring about a cessation of hostilities. The message, which was read with the reply in the House of Commons on 15 March was most cordially acknowledged by Lord Salisbury, who thanked the American Government for the friendly tone of their communication, but stated that her Majesty's Government "does not propose to accept the intervention of any Power in the South African war." Practically the appeal to the European Powers coincided with the abandonment of Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and the flight of Mr. Steyn, a step which was promptly followed by the withdrawal of the independence of that State and its annexation to British South Africa as the Orange River Colony.

The important part which, under Mr. Chamberlain's guidance, the Colonial Office played in the policy of the country, a part hitherto unrecognised and even ignored, gave interest to the question of colonial defence in the case of war between the mother country and a foreign Power. The point was raised in no hostile spirit by the Earl of Camperdown (March 29) and answered by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies on behalf of his chief. The questions asked were, first, whether the duty of

self-defence was imposed on a self-governing colony; secondly, whether in the event of war between her Majesty and a foreign power a self-governing colony could declare itself neutral; and, thirdly, whether a colonial Government which declined to call out its forces or otherwise defend the colonial territory against invasion was liable to compensate those who suffered damage from the enemy within the territory. The Earl of Selborne replied that a self-governing colony was bound to defend its own territory against invasion, but there was an obligation on the mother country to do all she could to assist the colonies. The relations between the mother country and the self-governing colonies in respect of an attack by sea were, in general principles, that the land defence lay in the sphere of the self-governing colonies, while the defence of the coaling-stations from sea attack lay with the mother country. With regard to the second question, it was obvious that no part of her Majesty's dominions could claim to be at peace with a Power with which her Majesty was at war. As to the third question, it was a purely abstract proposition, because there was no case to the point in connection with the war in South Africa. What her Majesty's Government had aimed at from the beginning was to endeavour to exact compensation for those to whom it was due from those who caused the damage. This was a matter of co-operation and consultation between the colonial Government and her Majesty's Government, and the whole question was now being most carefully considered.

In the House of Commons, apart from the Government business, little occurred calling for special notice. Attempts were made almost daily to elicit from the occupants of the Treasury bench information as to the military operations in South Africa; but the representatives of the various departments concerned refused to be drawn. In face of the repeated blunders and disasters, which, notwithstanding the strict press censorship exercised at the seat of war, were revealed, the Government were severely upbraided, even by their own supporters, for not taking the public more into confidence. Rumours which might have been dispelled by a breath gathered in consistency, and charges of jobbery in the selection of the commanding officers, and of gross favouritism in the choice of their staff-officers were passed from mouth to mouth. It was asserted that the conflict between the civil and military authorities in Pall Mall was more acute than it had been even when St. James's Park separated the offices of the rival powers. The Secretary for War had acted upon his own impulse, or on outside pressure, rather than upon the advice of the Commander-in-Chief in the selection of the generals at the front, and personal influence and feeling had governed the appointment of dozens of their subordinates. It seemed as if the War Office still adhered to the ways which at the beginning of the century and during the Crimean campaign had marked its administration

by a bloody record of unreadiness, incompetence and jobbery. No one, however, was willing to take up these charges, and even in the press any attempt to investigate their truth, or to fix their responsibility was treated as unpatriotic. The Nationalist members of the House of Commons, who were the most pertinacious in their questions, were put aside by the Minister interrogated without protest from the official Opposition, which under ordinary conditions would have insisted upon closer investigations of the charges brought against the Army commanders and of the causes which led to their appointment and dismissal. "No official information has reached the War Office, and the Secretary of State does not propose to make any inquiries on the subject," was the stereotyped official reply, which the House of Commons accepted without demur. When further pressed Mr. Balfour deprecated either inquiry or discussion, vaguely hinting that the close of the war would be the proper moment for any investigation into its conduct. That any such inquiry should take place, he was careful to avoid the promise, and the general feeling was that being in possession of such numerical strength in the House of Commons the Government could and would resist any attempt to open the question when the war was over. As the session progressed it became evident that not only the Prime Minister but his representative in the Lower House, Mr. A. J. Balfour, were getting more and more out of touch with public feeling and with popular sentiment. The haughtiness and aloofness common to the joint leaders of the Conservative party were in strong contrast with the sympathetic attitude adopted by Mr. Balfour when he made his reputation—chiefly on the Irish question—in the House of Commons. His replies to the questions on the conduct of the war, and the blunders of commanders, and the inefficiency of the War Office, showed how thoroughly he acted upon his own methods for keeping himself uninformed as to the opinions of the press or of his fellow-men, and how completely he disregarded the warnings of those who anticipated injury therefrom to their party.

The difficult question raised by statutory interference in freedom of contract between employers and workmen was raised again on the Eight Hours (Miners) Bill, when for the first time the South Wales men, through their representatives, actively supported the measure. In moving (Feb. 28) that it should be read a second time, Mr. J. H. Lewis (*Flint District*) claimed that South Wales might now be regarded as solidly in favour of the bill, which, he believed, was opposed by not more than a sixth of the mining community. Attempts had been made again and again to obtain this reduction by agreement with employers, but those attempts had failed; and, though it had been suggested that the pressure of a strike might prove more effectual than negotiation, he doubted whether any member of the House would commend that barbarous method for the settlement of an

industrial question. Sir James Joicey (*Chester-le-Street, Durham*) asked the House to reject the measure on the ground that the miners of Northumberland and Durham were still firmly opposed to such legislation. As a matter of fact, miners' hours of labour had been greatly reduced by agreement between masters and men, and it was held that any further reduction would seriously diminish the output of coal. Mr. John Wilson (*Durham*) was equally of opinion that the miners of the North preferred to manage their own affairs without parliamentary interference. Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) challenged members who opposed the bill as disliking State regulation of adult labour to say whether, if it were thrown out, they would be ready to support a bill limiting the hours of boy labour in mines. Sir Alfred Hickman (*Wolverhampton, W.*) thought the bill singularly inopportune at a time when there was a scarcity of coal almost amounting to a famine—when, for instance, working men in Wolverhampton were paying three times the average price of coal. Mr. Burt (*Morpeth*), while he would gladly see the hours of the boys reduced, thought they could not further reduce the hours of labour at the present time without causing greater evils than those they wished to remove. Mr. Woods (*Walthamstow*) laid stress on the support to the bill given by the Miners' Federation, 98 per cent. having voted for it at the last ballot. The closure having been carried, on the motion of Mr. Lewis, by 257 to 118, the bill was rejected by 199 to 175. In the minority were thirty-four Unionists, including Mr. J. W. Lowther, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Fortescue Flannery, and Sir M. Bownagree. Eleven Liberals voted with the majority.

The Ministry were not more successful with an attempt at State regulation proposed by the Home Secretary, Sir M. White Ridley (March 2), to amend the Factory and Workshop Acts by abolishing the system of arbitration and providing regulations of uniform application. Dangerous processes were to be dealt with, out-work in unhealthy places was to be inspected, and laundries brought under supervision. The measure was received with such faint praise, that the Government made no attempt to carry it beyond its initial stage, and did not even consider it worthy of formal dismissal.

No less than three bills were brought forward by private members having for their object the registration and inspection of boilers; that introduced by the working men party, and led by Mr. Fenwick (*Wansbeck, Northumberland*), Mr. J. Wilson (*Durham*) and others, being the most important. The serious risk to life and property from boiler explosions was not denied by any one, but the Government, by the promise of a select committee (March 7), managed to avoid dealing with the matter for the moment.

The temperance party was able to show its strength and its weakness on the proposals to amend the Welsh Sunday Closing Acts by the inclusion of Monmouthshire within their scope, and

by limiting the abuses due to bogus clubs and so-called *bond fide* travellers. The former bill, on which the Government held a neutral attitude, was read a second time (March 14) by 188 to 124 votes, and both measures were then sent to committee but no further action upon them was taken.

If, however, the Queen's ministers had lost touch with the public, the Queen herself found the way to the hearts of her people to an extent rarely reached in constitutional countries. She had shown herself keenly interested in all that concerned her troops, and on several occasions, despite her age and the season, had bidden them farewell, and encouraged them by a few gracious words. Amongst the earliest she had visited the sick and wounded sent home or in hospital, and at all times had displayed the keenest interest in the progress of the campaign. Before her ministers she realised the full extent of the ill-will with which her subjects were regarded by the press, if not by the natives, of foreign countries, and her spring visit to the shores of the Mediterranean was abandoned; whilst at the same time she announced her intention of showing her admiration for her Irish troops by a visit to their country, by the creation of a brigade of Irish Guards, and, anticipating the slow action of the Army and Navy authorities, by ordering the sham-rock to be worn by Irish officers and men in the two services on St. Patrick's Day. She also made a prolonged visit to London, during which she drove through the outlying and poorer suburbs—never before included in a royal procession—and in this way strove to show her recognition of the classes which had spontaneously sent their representatives to fight her battles in South Africa. The enthusiasm with which she was received; the ovations of which she was the object, showed how thoroughly she understood her people; and undesignedly she allayed the irritation against her ministers, which had been steadily growing since the beginning of the year, and threatened to increase as the cost in blood and money of their inefficiency or carelessness became more felt.

The crowning proof of the Queen's tact and insight was her visit to Dublin, where, after an interval of forty years, she was received (April 3) with a hearty welcome and even with fervour. In her reply to the Lord Mayor of Dublin's address, she replied: "I came to this fair country to seek change and rest, and to re-visit scenes which recall to my mind, among the thoughts of the losses which years must bring, the happiest recollection of the warm-hearted welcome given to me and my beloved husband and children. I am deeply gratified that I have been able at this time to see again the mother land of those brave sons who have borne themselves in defence of my crown and empire with a cheerful valour as conspicuous now as ever in their glorious past." The anticipation of a friendly reception, on which the Queen relied, was fully realised. "Erin's honour and Erin's pride" were touched by the Queen's confidence, and in her refusal to

listen to the warnings of those about her, who were incapable of understanding either Irish character or Irish national feeling. The Queen's visit, which lasted over three weeks, was marred by no untoward incident, and its successful conclusion only raised the question as to who had been responsible for keeping the Queen apart from her Irish subjects for so many years.

Some dissatisfaction found expression in the House of Commons on the question of how far the Government had refrained from giving proper protection to those who were desirous of discussing the war and its cause from an anti-ministerial point of view, and even to bring about an immediate suspension of hostilities. Meetings of the so-called "Pro-Boers," or "Stop the War" party had been shamelessly disturbed and broken up in various parts of the country without any protection being given by the authorities. This had been seen at Mile-End, where hundreds of people, assembled by invitation, had been attacked; at Exeter Hall, where a ticket meeting had been broken up by an invading mob; at Edinburgh, where the Yeomanry and the police apparently fought on opposite sides; and at Scarborough, where the shops of Quaker tradesmen were wrecked. The onslaught upon these meetings was so well planned that a prior organisation of opposition seemed obvious. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman therefore brought the subject before the House (March 15), and asked whether an inquiry would be made as to how far and by whom these disturbances were organised, and whether steps would be taken to prevent their repetition and to punish offenders. Mr. Balfour, in a tone which greatly irritated the House, replied that every case reported to the Home Secretary had been carefully examined, and there was not the slightest evidence that any of these demonstrations had been organised: they appeared to have been absolutely spontaneous. The local authorities were, of course, responsible for the maintenance of order and for the punishment of rioters; but any aid the Government could give them in carrying out their duties would be readily afforded. While he strongly deprecated the recent demonstrations as opposed to the best traditions of English life, he was bound to say that the responsibility for them rested in part on those who had called the meetings at a time when public opinion was so deeply stirred. Persons in every district had lost relatives or friends, and most people believed these meetings were called for an object which would, if effectual, render the recurrence of these great calamities possible: "They think that in no other country in the world, and least of all in the Transvaal itself, would such meetings be tolerated; and they are aware that the fact of such meetings being held is, by people who know little of our methods and traditions, used abroad as an indication of a divided country and of a hesitating Government. In these circumstances, the tension of public opinion must necessarily be of a kind affording grave anxiety to those responsible for the public peace; and I venture to add that those who call these

meetings ought to be careful lest they ask more of human nature than after all history shows that human nature is capable of giving."

This reply, which had been permitted to assume the length and form of a party speech, was received with very mixed feelings; and the ex-Solicitor-General, Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), at once rose to give expression to the dissatisfaction it had caused on the Opposition side of the House, and in order to do so moved the adjournment of the House. The tone and substance of Mr. Balfour's reply, he observed, was more in the nature of a lecture to people who had not asked his advice than an indication that he was prepared to do his duty to preserve the right of free speech. Having referred in detail to various disturbances, Sir Robert demanded an assurance from the Home Secretary that he would send a circular to those responsible for public order, pointing out the danger of passing over such occurrences, and that he would insist on the prosecution of the law-breakers. Sir M. W. Ridley went into the different cases mentioned, and showed that such action as was possible had been taken for the maintenance of the peace. He admitted the serious character of some of the disturbances, though he thought it had been exaggerated by Sir R. Reid; and for the rest took Mr. Balfour's line—that some consideration ought to be shown in the exercise of the right of free speech during a period of acute public excitement. Sir W. Harcourt thought the language of the First Lord of the Treasury was liable to be misinterpreted; and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman also regretted that the Government had not condemned the rioters more severely. The matter was then allowed to drop; but not until it was made manifest that the Government was relying upon the "jingo" feeling still abroad to carry them through their difficulties.

Upon the matter of Army contracts, and the ways of the War Office, the Government was less successful in putting an end to the discussion. The complaints as to the quality of both food and forage which had been provided for the troops on their voyage and after their arrival had been frequent, and several questions had been put in the House of Commons, to which only evasive replies had been given. Mr. James Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*), however, raised the question in a formal way (March 20), and insisted that the names of contractors who had attempted to cheat the Government should be published and their names struck off the office lists. The Financial Secretary for the War Office, Mr. Powell Williams (*Birmingham, S.*), made an irritating reply in defence of the carelessness and indifference of the War Office, on the ground that such publicity might injure respectable firms for trivial mistakes. His speech naturally failed to convince the House; and although Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was unwilling to speak unfavourably of a department over which he had formerly presided, he could not conceal his belief that small frauds were constantly practised. Mr. Bal-

four made a long speech, in which he assured the House that the authorities of the War Office were actuated by the highest motives and best intentions, but he said nothing as to the steps which the Government was prepared to take to prevent the employment of a firm of contractors which, after having been struck off the War Office list under one name, was permitted to tender under another. There were, however, a few members who refused to be satisfied with official excuses and palliations, and finally, with very ill grace, the Government consented to the appointment of a committee to inquire into the allegations of fraud and irregularity in connection with War Office contracts, but with the proviso that the inquiry should not go back farther than twelve months.

The independent line taken by the Irish Nationalist party in Parliament scarcely improved its position or added to its strength. Their formal separation from the Liberal party did not prevent their seeking the society of their former friends on the debate on the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland (March 22), which, however, presented no new features and found no fresh allies. The discussion was preceded by a serious conflict of opinion as to the relative importance of the ratepayers and water-consumers of London, and the tax-payers and whisky makers of Ireland. The London County Council was promoting a bill to enable them to purchase the interests of the Metropolitan Water Companies, and as a private bill it had precedence and was outside the control of the Government whips when arranging for the orders of the day. After a heated discussion, in which the Irish members played the chief part, and the waste of much valuable time, they carried their point. The remainder of the evening was then given up to them; and eventually the resolution moved by Mr. A. O'Connor in a studiously moderate speech was negatived by 220 to 102 votes.

A far more interesting debate arose (March 23) on the proposal of Mr. J. P. Farrell (*Co. Cavan, W.*) to establish in Ireland a university for Roman Catholics. Mr. Grant Lawson (*Thirsk, Yorks*), who opposed the resolution, maintained that the grievance of the Irish Catholics, to whom Trinity College, Dublin, and the Royal University of Ireland were both open, was purely sentimental. Whilst not objecting to the grant of a charter to a Catholic university, he opposed the demand to erect and endow a sectarian university out of public funds, Sir Wm. Anson (*Oxford Univ.*), who supported the original resolution, was the most important convert to the Nationalist cause. The determination of the Irish Roman Catholics not to take advantage of any education which was not under their own control, was as decisive as the argument that the application of State money to denominational purposes was of no avail when it excluded a large section of citizens from the benefits which others enjoyed. Another important convert was Mr. Wm.

Jones (*Arfon*), a Nonconformist, and, as he called himself, "a Protestant of the Protestants," a devotee of undenominational education, to which he attributed much of the contentment of the Welsh. In a speech which drew applause from both sides of the House, he urged the claims of Ireland for a Catholic university as essential to her prosperity and happiness. The ideal principle for which the opponents of the proposal contended was in this case inapplicable and injurious. Mr. Lecky (*Dublin Univ.*), whilst warmly defending Trinity College against the suspicion of bigotry, admitted that there were many Irish who wanted a Catholic university, and he thought that their wishes should be regarded, and suggested that the Catholic College on St. Stephen's Green, already partially endowed, should be enlarged and given greater assistance. The official spokesman of the Nonconformists, however, Mr. Carvell Williams (*Mansfield, Notts*), opposed the resolution, much upon the same grounds as the Conservative Mr. Lawson. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), sat upon the fence, on the pretext that there was no definite scheme before the House. Mr. A. J. Balfour, speaking only for himself and dissociating himself from his official colleagues, made a speech of such power and convincing argument that had members been left free to act upon their own convictions the resolution would probably have been carried. He would not admit that a university which would be only undenominational in name would be an evasion of the Test Act, or that it would give greater power to the Roman Catholics. "I do not in the least believe," he said, "that university education will be an instrument for the conversion of Roman Catholics to Protestantism; but I do believe that, if the evils which we believe to result from the growth of Roman Catholicism in some of its forms exist now in Ireland, they will be diminished rather than aggravated by anything you can do in the way of higher education. Take the case of Germany. I do not believe that the actual proportion between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in Germany has in the last two or three generations been materially altered. At all events, I have no grounds for believing that it has been altered in favour of the Protestants. Yet there you have university education, and can see what education can do for the great Roman Catholic population, because the German Roman Catholics are by universal admission, by the admission of every student in every branch of knowledge, the most advanced, the most enlightened, and the most learned of any of their co-religionists." Mr. Balfour, with rare subtlety of thought, then made of Presbyterian Calvinistic Scotland an illustration of the advantages of a Roman Catholic university. "I remember that of all parts of the United Kingdom Scotland is the one where university education has, perhaps, done more good, where it has penetrated more completely through every section of the population—upper class, middle class, lower class—and I ask myself

whether that result would ever have been attained if the Scotch universities in the periods of their earlier activity had not been in active religious and political sympathy with the people. We are now told that the Irish Roman Catholics are throwing away their opportunities for higher education in not going to a university whose atmosphere is Protestant, but whose doors are open to them. Supposing the Universities of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and St. Andrews had manned their teaching staffs from top to bottom with Roman Catholics since the Reformation, supposing that the main bulk of the students of these universities had been, in consequence of that fact, Roman Catholic, does any human being believe, knowing anything of history or of human nature, that these four great universities would have been used by the Scotch as they have been used to such great advantage for 400 years? "What was wanted in Ireland was higher education for the mass of the people. It was thought by many that if this want were met new strength would be given to the Irish hierarchy, but for his part he was unable to understand the argument that the spread of higher education would aggravate any evils that were supposed to accompany the Roman Catholic religion. Were not Roman Catholics, he asked, likely to become less prejudiced when they were better educated? Whilst every assistance ought to be given to Irish Catholics who wished to obtain the benefits of education, the leaders of Roman Catholic opinion ought on their side to make it clear that what they desired was education and not ecclesiastical influence. By making that clear they would do much to advance their cause. They should therefore proclaim unequivocally that the university for which they asked would be an institution for lay Roman Catholics. In an eloquent peroration he appealed to the great powerful Protestant majority of this country to grant the demand which their Irish fellow-subjects made. Before resuming his seat he suggested that the Irish members would be consulting their own interests by not dividing, for owing to the form in which the question would be put supporters of the Government who approved of the motion would feel bound to vote against it.

Mr. John Morley (*Montrose Burghs*) followed with a compliment to Mr. Balfour's independence and eloquence, but he could not refrain from dwelling on the division of opinion in the Cabinet, in apparent forgetfulness of the division of opinion on the same subject which had overthrown Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet on a former occasion. His opinion, however, was that the Irish members had only to wait a little longer, and they would find the House prepared to follow in the direction of Mr. Balfour's suggestions. Mr. T. M. Healy (*Co. Louth, N.*) thanked Mr. Balfour for his sympathy, but was unable to accept his advice, and the resolution was consequently lost by 177 to 91 votes, many members on both sides leaving the House without recording their votes.

The purely administrative measure for taking the decennial census was not allowed to pass without the ever-recurring squabble over the declaration of religious profession. Churchmen and Dissenters alike openly professed that there was no reason to put Great Britain under greater restrictions than Ireland, where the census return showed that "the inquisitorial system" was not objected to. Lord H. Cecil (*Greenwich*) put the question to the test (March 15) most temperately in a speech of great courtesy, declaring that the Church of England did not shrink from the ordeal. For some unexplained reason a Scotch member, Mr. T. R. Buchanan (*Aberdeenshire, E.*) at once attacked the speaker in a heated and not very intelligible speech, declaring the motion to be a bogus one, and intended to attack the Nonconformists. On behalf of what sect of the latter Mr. Buchanan constituted himself the spokesman did not appear, for neither the Established Church nor the Free Church of Scotland had protested, and it was evident from the subsequent discussion that he did not represent the views of any of the larger bodies of English Dissenters. These objected to the census chiefly on the ground that it would be misleading, because such a return would not be a real test of Church membership. They would, however, be willing to give the numbers of members of various denominations in every parish, but to such a return it was averred that the clergy and Churchmen objected. Eventually the proposal was negatived, Churchmen and Dissenters having equally asserted their willingness to see it passed.

The sensitive feelings of the House were further tested by Mr. Wharton's (*Ripon*) Corporal Punishment Bill, and Sir F. Flannery's (*Shipley, W.R., Yorkshire*) Old Age Pensions Bill, whilst the Government, anxious to avoid the charge of neglecting their friends, proposed to amend the Agricultural Holdings Act by removing certain defects to the detriment of both landlords and tenants found to exist in previous legislation. The fate of the three measures was very different. Mr. Wharton's bill which was negatived by 195 to 72 votes on the second reading, had for its object the sanctioning of the punishment of flogging in cases of assault upon women and children, when the offence committed was accompanied by actual violence or participated in by more than one person. The measure was based upon the expressed views of several judges and magistrates, and was so limited in extent as to be more regarded as deterrent than as an actual penalty. The humanitarians of the House found themselves actively supported by the politicians on both sides, Mr. Asquith, an ex-Home Secretary, finding himself in accord with his successor, Sir M. White Ridley, who held that the unanswerable objection to the bill was that its operation would be uncertain. He was in favour rather of longer periods of imprisonment than of shorter periods with two or more floggings, whilst there was always some danger of inflicting an

irrevocable punishment in cases where the actual issue was often obscured.

The Old Age Pensions Bill may have been brought in as was said with the desire of extorting from Mr. Chamberlain an expression of his views, but in that case his friends and followers must have been ill-informed as to their leader's intention. The bill, which was talked out (March 7), was backed exclusively by Unionists and Conservatives; it had for its object to give members of friendly societies the right to a payment of 5s. a week at the age of sixty-five. It provided for the payment of the money by the County Councils, and excluded from the proposed benefit persons who had received poor-law relief between the ages of twenty-five and sixty years, who had been imprisoned in the ten years preceding the date when the pension would become payable, who were in regular employment and receiving more than 5s. a week in wages, or who had an income over 40l. The bill also provided that two-thirds of the cost of the scheme should be defrayed by Parliament and one-third out of the county rates. The attitude of the Government was one of benevolent neutrality throughout. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), Secretary of the Local Government Board, earnestly assured the House, without expressing any opinion on the bill, that the Government was giving sympathetic attention to the report of the Cottage Homes Committee so far as it related to the aged and deserving poor in workhouses. The President of the Board, Mr. H. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) dilated at length upon the enormous cost involved in the scheme of the committee which had examined the subject in the previous year, and suggested that probably some less elaborate proposals might meet with more favourable consideration. He, however, carefully abstained from expressing any direct opinion on the measure before the House, or of committing the Government to a definite opinion on the possibility of dealing with the whole question. The debate was soon afterwards adjourned and never resumed. The report of the Departmental Committee "on the financial aspects of the proposals made by the select committee of the House of Commons, 1899, about the aged deserving poor" had been issued shortly before the debate. The investigation was carried out by the clerks of the Boards of Guardians on the lines of an interesting experiment made by Colonel Milward, M.P., in South Warwickshire, and the results were summarised in the following tables with references to the paragraphs of the report of the select committee of 1899:—

1. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE PENSIONABLE AGE IS FIXED AT SIXTY-FIVE.				
Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1901	7,550,000 (par. 99).	1,400,000 (par. 102).	1,350,000 (par. 104).	10,300,000
1911	9,800,000 (par. 112).	1,600,000 (par. 115).	1,450,000 (par. 119).	12,650,000
1921	12,300,000 (par. 118).	1,850,000 (par. 116).	1,500,000 (par. 120).	15,650,000
2. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE PENSIONABLE AGE IS FIXED AT SEVENTY.				
Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1901	4,200,000 (par. 149).	850,000 (par. 149).	900,000 (par. 149).	5,950,000
1911	5,450,000 (par. 150).	1,000,000 (par. 150).	1,000,000 (par. 150).	7,450,000
1921	7,300,000 (par. 151).	1,150,000 (par. 151).	1,100,000 (par. 151).	9,550,000
3. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE PENSIONABLE AGE IS FIXED AT SEVENTY-FIVE.				
Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1901	2,050,000 (par. 152).	450,000 (par. 152).	450,000 (par. 152).	2,950,000
1911	2,700,000 (par. 153).	500,000 (par. 153).	500,000 (par. 153).	3,700,000
1921	3,750,000 (par. 154).	650,000 (par. 154).	550,000 (par. 154).	4,950,000

The Agricultural Holdings Bill, which had been introduced by the President of the Board of Agriculture, Mr. W. Long (*West Derby, Liverpool*), without a word of explanation (March 12), was similarly treated on the motion for its second reading, and its aims and intentions were to be learned from its critics and not from its authors. The bill was so framed as to sow discord in the ranks of the Radical party, and at the same time to render dangerous any strong opposition to its promises on the eve of a general election. Thus Mr. Lambert (*South Molton, Devon*), essentially a representative of the tenant farmers, and a strong Radical, congratulated the Government on this effort to fulfil their repeated pledges to benefit the farmers, but at the same time he found in it very little which would attract capital or encourage more skilful farming. Mr. A. F. Jeffreys (*Basingstoke, Hants*), a Conservative representing a constituency in which landlordism was very strong, held that the bill deserved approval because it provided for the tenant a cheap and easy method of obtaining compensation, but he suggested that it would be improved if the period within which notice must be given of a claim for compensation were reduced from three months to six weeks, and if the expiration of a lease. He admitted, however, that the bill was capable of amendment in various

ways. Mr. Channing (*Northants, E.*), on the other hand, as a Radical, denounced the bill as reactionary and detrimental especially to outgoing tenants; whilst Major Rasch (*Essex, S.E.*), representing one of the counties most affected by the low price of corn, was of opinion that the bill ought to be accepted with gratitude by the agricultural interest, although he thought that continuous good farming should be allowed to establish a claim for compensation. The Scotch members of the Opposition side protested against the inclusion of their country in the bill, and the Welsh members were dissatisfied because it did not provide compensation for disturbance and for the sitting tenants; in other words, because it was not a Land Bill applicable to the Principality, but only a measure to remedy certain defects of the act of 1883, and to carry out some of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and of the Central Chamber of Agriculture.

It having been understood that the adjournment for the Easter recess was dependent on the second reading of the bill, Mr. Long's summing up and general reply was not delayed. He began by referring to the charge against the Government that they had been tardy in promoting the farmers' interests, and twitted the Opposition with their disregard when in office of the wants of agriculturists. With regard to the contention that the needs of Scotland ought to have been provided for in a separate bill, he held that it was expedient to have one agricultural department for the whole country, and showed that the differences between the agricultural customs of Scotland and England were so few that no practical difficulty would be caused by applying the same law to both countries. In reply to those who demanded a more comprehensive measure, he expressed the hope before he quitted office to introduce a bill for the consolidation of the law with regard to agricultural holdings. He then passed on to consider the specific criticisms which had been passed upon the details of the bill. It having been urged that a tenant who wished to lay down permanent pasture ought to be allowed to do so without obtaining the consent of the landlord, he explained that the condition of consent was necessary in order to prevent injury to the interests of an incoming tenant who ought not to have to pay for an improvement which might be worthless. As to the provision that a claim for compensation for improvements to which the consent of the landlord was required must be made within three months from the termination of the tenancy, he expressed his readiness to consider alternative proposals in committee. For a sitting tenant's improvements, he observed, it would not be consistent with the principle of the act of 1883 to grant compensation, and the Government were not prepared to give effect to the Welsh Land Commission's recommendation with regard to that point. Many points which in the opinion of some critics ought to be settled by legislation must be decided between landlords and tenants

acting in harmony; and it was not the intention of the Government to do anything which might induce tenants to make unwise experiments. The bill, after a further attempt to exclude Scotland from its scope, was read by 115 to 30 votes—to such proportions was the agricultural interest reduced in a measure which held out no profit of a dole, or of a remission of taxation.

Amongst the various topics of debate which were raised during this barren session, was that introduced by Mr. J. Walton (*Barnsley, W.R., Yorkshire*), who drew attention (March 30) to "the failure of her Majesty's Government to uphold British commercial and political interests in China." Five years ago, he observed, our prestige and influence were predominant in China, to-day they were non-existent, and the blue-book just issued was largely a record of failure to deal successfully with the Tsung-li-Yamên. The understanding arrived at between the United States and the other Powers interested in the trade of China—securing, if faithfully observed, the policy of the open door—afforded another golden opportunity for the promotion of administrative reforms in that country, which would be further facilitated by joint action to replace the deposed Emperor on the throne. But the Chinese Government would be helpless to resist oppression without a reorganisation of its Army and Navy, for which again a large increase of revenue was needed; and he urged that the time had come for a revision of the Customs tariff. The duties might be substantially augmented on condition that the interior of the empire was freely thrown open to foreign trade, and part of the additional revenue thus obtained should be ear-marked for military purposes, and expended under the direction of officers appointed by the Powers that did not desire the partition of China. If America, England, Germany, and Japan agreed to such a policy, it would be difficult for Russia and France to hold aloof. On behalf of the Foreign Office, Mr. Brodrick claimed that we were not the only people who had been foiled by the obstructive tactics of the Yamên. Her Majesty's Government had not been backward in obtaining concessions, but in too many cases those for whom they were obtained had taken no serious action in regard to them; and the Chinese authorities were justified in requiring that some progress should be made, for instance, with the railway concessions already granted, before any more were given. The policy which we should henceforth pursue would aim at no further territorial acquisitions, but would be directed to keeping open the waterways to our commerce and that of all nations. In conjunction, moreover, with other Powers, we intended to put such legitimate pressure upon the Pekin Government as was required to that end. Sir Edward Grey thought there could be no doubt that British influence in China had declined as compared with the influence of Russia. A large part of our treaty rights had been gradually eaten away—not altogether, he admitted, through the fault of the present Government. The most satisfactory

thing in the new blue-book seemed to him to consist in its evidence that there was now some agreement among the Powers as to a common line of action.

An interesting, although purely academic discussion was also raised (April 3) by Mr. Hedderwick (*Wick Burghs*), who moved a resolution affirming that it was desirable in the interests of the empire that the colonies should be admitted to some direct representation in the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Chamberlain, while cordially acknowledging the good intentions of the mover and seconder, endorsed Mr. Gladstone's theory of the impropriety of abstract resolutions, and had no difficulty in showing that for the House to commit itself to such a resolution would be premature and possibly mischievous. Mr. Chamberlain made an excellent point in his allusion to the "magnificent rally of the colonies to the cause of the empire." It was an injustice, he continued, to say that they had answered our call, because we made no call. They had voluntarily offered the assistance we had so gladly accepted, and great as that had been and valuable as it was, he believed that if in any stress or difficulty or crisis of our fate we did make a call on the colonies their efforts would be immensely greater even than those they were making on the present occasion. The main suggestion of his speech was that in the matter of imperial representation it would be wiser to follow the colonies than to appear to dictate or suggest. The motion was then withdrawn by its proposer.

If military matters, questions of national defence and of national finance had monopolised the attention of Parliament and tinged all its proceedings, a similar monotony prevailed elsewhere. Even the conflict between Church parties, which at one moment threatened to become acute and general, shrank into comparative insignificance and was left to a few zealous champions, on whose proceedings onlookers bestowed a lukewarm attention. The excitement consequent upon the relief of Ladysmith and the occupation of Pretoria was altogether out of proportion to their importance as military achievements, but the policy of the Government in accepting so largely the assistance of Volunteers of all classes had brought interest in the campaign into the family life of the nation, and few—whether high or low—could escape the contagion. The House of Peers, the House of Commons, the landed gentry, the moneyed class, the universities had sent men to the front as ordinary troopers or privates with the same alacrity that the factories, the shops and the fields had sent out their representatives. The personal influence of the Queen, and the tact with which she had called forth the deep-seated but generally silent loyalty of her subjects, had doubtless been a prominent cause of this national feeling; but there may have been also a latent desire to show to foreign nations that Great Britain was able and ready to maintain its rights when threatened, and its supremacy within the borders of its own colonial empire. That this feeling was fully realised

abroad might be traced in the eagerness of the German Emperor to obtain the sanction of his Parliament to create a powerful Navy, and in the lavish expenditure voted by the French Chambers in order to put the naval defences of the country into a more effective state, and to create a colonial Army. These efforts naturally attracted attention in this country, and in the feverish state of public opinion it was not difficult to find persons of apparently sound judgment convinced that an immediate descent upon the British coast was in contemplation as soon as the Paris Exhibition was closed. The frothy articles of French, Russian and German newspapers in some degree may have induced this belief, although there was nothing in the correct attitude of the Cabinets of Europe to justify it. If newspaper writers had but looked back a few years they would have learnt that in 1871 M. Thiers, after visiting the various courts of Europe in search of an ally for France, had appreciated the resources of Great Britain and its reserve of strength in India and her colonies. He had even ventured, by way of warning his fellow-countrymen, to prophesy "whenever England is in conflict with a foreign Power, Europe will see her colonies rally round and co-operate with her. Without the slightest expense to her they will equip their soldiers, their only ambition being to show their close union with her and to demonstrate that their strength and energy are at her disposal, just as her enormous resources are at theirs. I predict this in spite of your smile of incredulity, and although perhaps none of us will live to witness it." This prophecy, of which it would be hard to find a parallel among English publicists, was now being fulfilled to the letter, and continental politicians were driven to the conclusion that the strength of the British Empire was not to be measured by the resources of the United Kingdom.

After nine years' laborious investigations, the Swiss arbitrators chosen to decide upon the claims put forward by an American contractor and a British company against the Portuguese Government for a breach of agreement in the matter of the Delagoa Bay Railway, delivered their award. The facts of the case showed that the original concession was revoked by Portugal under pressure from President Kruger, who wanted the railway to be under his own and not under British control. He, therefore, induced the Portuguese Government to insist that the railway should be completed within an impossible time, and on their failure he seized the whole works. The award made condemned the Portuguese Government to pay to the claimants 612,500*l.*, with 5 per cent. interest from 1889, making a total of 950,000*l.* This was about one-half of the sum anticipated in this country and the United States; but it was a large sum for so impoverished a country as Portugal to provide. So great, however, was the jealousy of England and America that offers to provide the money were im-

to Portugal from

both France and Germany. There was a feeling that the non-payment of the award would have afforded Great Britain a reasonable pretext of occupying Delagoa Bay, through which the Transvaal had been receiving reinforcements and munitions of war without any real restraint, although the Portuguese Government protested that everything was done by their officials to prevent the introduction of volunteers and contraband articles. The temporary occupation of Delagoa Harbour and of Lorenzo Marques by the British would have materially altered the course of the campaign; but it was well known, although never publicly stated, that Lord Salisbury, having informally sounded the Powers on the subject, realised that such an attack would have provoked a declaration of war from more than one of them.

The general depression of the political barometer was shown in a striking way by the proceedings of the National Liberal Federation at its annual gathering (March 27) at Nottingham, where violent speeches by irresponsible politicians were made to show the gulf which divided them from the recognised leaders of the party; as the president, Dr. Spence Watson, observed, the division of the Liberal party was the more serious because it was difficult to change differences of conviction. A colourless resolution condemning the policy of the Government and calling for a durable settlement on a common understanding was not favourably received by the more vehement partisans of peace and the denouncers of the capitalists. The conference, which was largely attended by representatives from all parts of the country, was fairly divided as to the immediate responsibility for the appeal to arms, but the majority seemed to realise the impracticability of allowing the republics to retain their independence. The most interesting feature of the meeting, however, was the substitution, at the last moment, of Sir Edward Grey for Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to deliver the presidential address. The views of the titular leader of the Liberal party on the war question were notoriously vague and indistinct, whilst the ex-Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs had consistently supported the policy of the present Government. He had, in fact, come to be looked upon as the most prominent of the Liberal Imperialists—Lord Rosebery not excepted. He spoke firmly of the present and hopefully of the future. He said that he could see no alternative to the annexation of the Dutch Republics, and that the "imperial paramountcy must be changed into imperial control." Had such control existed before "that miserable raid" it would never have occurred. He believed, however, that local self-government might be granted sooner than was expected, for the Boers as yet did not know the British. When they did, as they soon would, for "wherever we passed as victor his object was to leave not only confidence behind him," they would be able to live in concord and co-operation. There was bitterness

now, but he did not believe that "success would find us either passionate or vindictive."

The Liberal Unionists by a coincidence were also taking stock of the present, and expressing their aspirations as to the future. At its annual council meeting, the Hon. Arthur Elliot, M.P., expressed the hope that the day was rapidly approaching when we should see the end of the mutual slaughter of brave men in South Africa. The Dutch and English had to live together as fellow-citizens, and therefore, when peace came, every man who said anything to foment racial antagonism would be acting in a way detrimental to the interests of the whole empire. We had to draw out of this war a great success and a great triumph for the empire, but never had a heavier task been imposed on our statesmen.

The only other extra-parliamentary speech requiring notice was that delivered by Lord Rosebery (April 4) at the meeting of the Edinburgh Unity of the Empire Association, upon which occasion he paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. W. E. Forster, the founder of the Imperial Federation League, and recalled the action of Mr. Dalley, the New South Wales Premier, who in 1884-5 despatched a contingent of colonial troops to take part in the Soudan war. Lord Rosebery cordially endorsed Mr. Chamberlain's view, as expressed in his speech on Mr. Hedderwick's resolution, that it was inexpedient for the mother country to impose any scheme of organisation upon the empire, absolute freedom being left to each constituent part to testify its adherence in its own way and degree.

The Queen's decision not to go abroad was in a way justified by the attempt made to shoot the Prince of Wales when passing through Brussels (April 4). A lad named Sipido, of respectable parentage and earning his own living, had joined a political club, in which violent anti-British sentiments seem to the taste of its members. It was, of course, suggested that this feeling was the result of the press utterances controlled by Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal agent, but there was no evidence to show the connection. Sipido, at any rate, conceived that he had a mission to kill the Prince of Wales, because he was "an accomplice of Chamberlain in killing the Boers." With this view he purchased a pistol, obtained a pass to the railway platform from which the Prince's train would start, and as the train was leaving the station jumped on to the footboard and fired four times, the revolver twice missing fire, but two bullets passed very near the Prince, who, however, remained unmoved, and after shouting to the crowd, who had promptly seized Sipido, to do him no harm, he continued his journey to Copenhagen. The carelessness of the Belgian police was not a matter of surprise, but the conventional and perfunctory apologies which appeared in the continental press showed there was some foundation for Professor Mommson's assertion that out of England there was not a single voice raised in defence of the South African war.

CHAPTER III.

Troubles in West Africa—The Spion Kop Despatches—Speeches of the Recess—The Australian Commonwealth Bill—The Uganda Railway Debate—The Spion Kop Despatches—Lord Salisbury at the Albert Hall—Foreign Opinion of England—Rifle Clubs—Mr Chamberlain at Birmingham—Lord Salisbury and the Temperance Question—Housing of the Working Classes—Australian Commonwealth Bill—The Appeal Clause—Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister Vote—War Office Proposals Discussed by the Lords—The Charity Commissioners and the Birmingham Schools Bill—Relief of Mafeking—Reception of the News—Bye-Elections—Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour.

THE pause in the advance of the British troops in South Africa which followed upon the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith revived the feeling that the War Office had failed again in anticipating the requirements of the campaign, or that the resources of the department in supplies and remounts had been exhausted. But if the Intelligence Department of the War Office was at fault with regard to the Boers' power of resistance, an even greater recklessness and ignorance had been displayed in other departments. At the Colonial Office, where, at least since the dispute with France over the Niger Territory, it might have been supposed that West African affairs had been studied with intelligent interest, a feeling of strong resentment against British rule had been excited by an attempt on the part of the Governor of the Gold Coast to obtain possession of the gold stool of royalty, a sort of fetish in the eyes of the Coomassi and Ashanti tribes. On the occupation of their capital the stool had been carried away, and all efforts to discover it had remained fruitless. So long, however, as it remained concealed its danger as a rallying standard to the disaffected tribes was but small. Acting upon information, and presumably upon instructions from the Colonial Office, the governor attempted to obtain possession of the stool, and a small body of men was despatched to seize it. The tribal or national feeling was aroused, and resistance ensued. The detachment of troops was beaten back, and the whole country roused against the British Government.

On the other side of Africa an instance of similar ignorance or carelessness on the part of the Foreign Office was brought to light by the admissions forced from its apologists in the matter of the Uganda Railway, for which a vote for 3,000,000*l.* had been obtained. This sum had been promptly squandered, and the line was not even half completed. The Foreign Office, instead of obtaining expert opinion, had relied upon the reports of their own employees, many of whom seemed to have been satisfied with hearsay evidence as to the country to be traversed and its requirements. Full warning had been given to the Foreign Office of the difficulties in the way, but no attention was paid to outside advice and opinion, and the result was that a confession of lamentable blundering and costly obstinacy by irresponsible subordinates had subsequently to be extracted from the responsible heads of the department.

But perhaps the crowning blunder of all was that of the War Office in publishing Sir Redvers Buller's report of the operations at Spion Kop, with Lord Roberts' remarks thereon, and almost simultaneously Lord Methuen's report upon the still more serious check on the Modder River, without any remarks from the Commander-in-Chief. With regard to the first-named report, the scathing judgment of Lord Roberts was to the effect that the failure of the attack was due in some measure to the difficulties of the ground and the commanding positions held by the enemy, "probably also to errors of judgment and want of administrative capacity on the part of Sir Charles Warren. But whatever faults Sir Charles Warren may have committed, the failure must also be ascribed to the disinclination of the officer in supreme command to assert his authority, and see that what he thought best was done, and also to the unwarrantable and needless assumption of responsibility by a subordinate officer."

The publication of this report six weeks after its receipt at the War Office, the maintenance of the officers censured in their commands during that period, and subsequent to the censure thus passed upon them, were alike inexplicable to the public. The reflection, moreover, upon Colonel Thorneycroft, who alone among the officers on Spion Kop had displayed competency and intelligence, was considered as an attempt to protect British officers at the expense of the colonial troops, whose officers throughout the campaign had displayed capabilities of command and direction in which the British officers had shown themselves lamentably deficient. Although popular interest was keenly excited by these despatches, there was a general consent that their publication was indiscreet, if no action was intended to be taken. Moreover, the absence of any remarks from Lord Roberts on Lord Methuen's disasters led to the conclusion that the intervention of the Secretary of State had caused their suppression or withdrawal. The three lines with which Lord Methuen's report was ostensibly submitted to the Secretary of State were obviously inadequate, and it was soon known that the actual memorandum on the operations on the Modder River was even more lengthy and exhaustive than that on Sir R. Buller's operations on the Tugela.

The political speeches of the Easter recess were of little importance, ministers being unable to satisfy public anxiety as to the course of events, and the Opposition being hopelessly divided as to the policy to be adopted. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, at Bristol (April 19), said he did not know when the general election would be, and he was quite sure no one else did. But if the war did not extend beyond the natural life of the Parliament they would not appeal to the constituencies till they were in a position to judge of the policy, which the Government were prepared to recommend. He then discussed the increased acceptance since he entered Parliament of the views impressed upon the country by Lord Beaconsfield—broader popular representation, the impor-

tance of attention to foreign affairs, and of knitting our colonies together. Whatever the results of the present war to South Africa, it would have great results to the British Empire and the world; there had never been such an uprising as now of imperial patriotism. Some people hoped for imperial federation. There were very great difficulties in the way, the differences between the geographical and social position of our great colonies and ourselves, as compared with the differences of the Swiss cantons or the several United States. He did not believe there was any reasonable possibility of a common fiscal system or legislation on domestic affairs by a Parliament sitting in London: "But the idea that the progress of this war has done so much to put forward is, undoubtedly, that of a common organisation for imperial defence, and we have in the loyal and generous action of our colonies an earnest of the time in which there may be some kind of common organisation among us which may control imperial policy as a whole—embracing representatives of the colonies, acting in concert with representatives of the Imperial Government—in which all of us may take our fair and adequate share in the responsibilities and defence of the empire at large."

On the same day, Sir Henry Fowler, addressing his constituents at Wolverhampton, after a review of the history of South Africa in the past, spoke of the Jameson raid as one of the greatest outrages ever committed, an act of criminal folly only calculated to serve the purpose President Kruger had in view—to get rid of the supremacy of the British Crown in South Africa. People talked of a capitalists' war, and said we had gone into the war with a view of making money, but the gold-mining industry in the Transvaal would have to pay a very heavy tax when the war was over to meet the heavy expenditure which this country had had to incur in the prosecution of that war. In those circumstances, he did not see where the capitalist came in, or what the capitalist had to gain by the war. On some points all men must be agreed—in recognising the bravery of our soldiers and the sympathy and help given by our colonies all over the world. He himself was defending the war because it was a war not for the obtaining of the franchise, not for the rights—sound and strong as they were—of the Outlanders, but because it was a war for nothing less than British supremacy in South Africa. That supremacy meant their Indian Empire; it meant the right to hold and to preserve and to protect our colonies; it meant our continuance as one of the great Powers of the world. The objects at which they aimed, and which they believed to be the essential conditions of peace, were (1) the establishment of the supremacy of the Queen throughout South Africa (excepting the Portuguese territory and German South West Africa); (2) equal rights—civil, political and religious—for all white men in South Africa; (3) self-government on the widest basis, ensuring political equality between the British and

the Dutch, and opposing any racial ascendancy of either one or the other; (4) provisions to secure the just and humane treatment of the native races. British supremacy did not mean British ascendancy. In Ireland they had racial, religious and class ascendancy, and we had not succeeded in governing and pacifying Ireland yet. In Canada we had two races, English and French; and two religions, Protestant and Roman Catholic. Yet we had there a peaceful and a prosperous people, living together, working together to develop the resources of the country, and united together in loyalty to the British Crown.

In default of domestic legislation the bill for founding the Australian Commonwealth promised to infuse some life into parliamentary debate. The bill as drafted contained only one clause which seemed to afford room for misunderstanding or discussion. According to the draft Constitution, drawn up by the convention of colonial Governments, appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were to be greatly restricted in the case of private litigants, and altogether forbidden upon questions of the interpretation of the new Constitution. The ground of the argument taken was that the Australians who framed their own Constitution were the sole authority as to its interpretation. On the other hand it was urged that the appeal to the Privy Council was a right which the mother country should preserve as much in the interests of all British subjects as of her own dignity, and was not a privilege to be limited by favour even in self-governing colonies. The case of the Dominion of Canada was adduced, where the right of appeal to the Privy Council existed, and it was the desire of the Government to see the same liberty reserved to citizens of the Australian Commonwealth. Many ways were suggested for meeting the objections of the framers of the Australian Commonwealth Bill. Amongst these was one by Mr. Haldane, Q.C., who proposed to amalgamate the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee and to make one supreme and final Court of Appeal for the empire. It was also suggested that there should be Lords of Appeal, or Law Lords, chosen from the Indian, Canadian, Australian and South African judges, who should have permanent life seats in the House of Peers. Objections, however, were raised by the Lord Chancellor and others to this course, and the question then remained with whom lay the responsibility of altering the clause. The delegates sent by the various colonies were instructed to press the bill as entrusted to their care and approved by the Legislature and plebiscites of their respective Governments. On the other hand, the Imperial Parliament, however anxious it might be to preserve the bill, was not prepared to part with the rights of the Crown to hear appeals from all its subjects.

No anticipation of misunderstanding, however, marred the banquets given to the Australian delegates by bodies representing both parties in the Imperial Parliament. At the City

Liberal Club (April 27) Lord Rosebery welcomed them in the name of his Liberal friends, and in proposing the toast of "The Commonwealth of Australia," he said he would not touch on the point which was in dispute as to the scheme of federation; but he was not sorry to think that the controversy might bring about what some of them had long desired to see—namely, a real imperial tribunal which should combine the judicial functions of the Privy Council and the House of Lords. In any case, and however that question was settled, Australia would shortly be a commonwealth, and he believed that she had before her, as a united country, a future of which the greatness could not be measured. Responding to the toast, Mr Kingston (South Australia) said the framers of the bill establishing the commonwealth were prepared to justify every line and letter it contained. Regarding appeals to the Privy Council, Australians only asked that their own courts should have the right to a final decision in matters not affecting other parts of her Majesty's dominions. None of them wished to tamper with the bonds of the empire, but the true type and symbol of imperial unity was neither the Privy Council nor the House of Lords, but the Queen herself. He asked the people of this country to trust Australians as Australians had trusted them. Sir Philip Fysh (Tasmania), who also replied, said the delegates had brought home a Constitution invited by the Crown, and he trusted that none of its clauses would be jettisoned. Responding to the toast of the Agents-General for Australia, Sir Julian Salomons (New South Wales) thought it a mistake to suppose that the voice of Australia demanded the acceptance of clause 74, which took away the right of appeal. There was, he contended, no question that a mass of litigation would arise if the proposal were adopted in its present form, and the dissatisfaction with the judgments would cause the people to see that their representatives had been too hasty in coming to a decision.

The banquet given by the British Empire League (April 30) was ostensibly for the double purpose of paying a tribute to the services rendered by the colonial troops in South Africa and to welcome the Australian delegates. The Prince of Wales was present, as well as Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain. The Prince, in reply to the toast of his health, said Englishmen had counted on the sympathy of the colonies in the present war, but the sympathy shown had exceeded all their expectations. In proposing the toast of "Her Majesty's Imperial Forces," the Prime Minister agreed that the enthusiasm of the colonies for the imperial idea had taken them a little by surprise. It had taken the world at large much more by surprise; and after this testimony to the character of our empire we were more respected and our wishes were more regarded abroad than they were. Mr. Chamberlain, who was received with prolonged cheering, gave the health of "Our Australasian Kinsmen." While disclaiming any thought of touching on con-

troversial topics, he took occasion to observe that there was as yet no central council authorised to represent the interests of every portion of the empire, and though he and others dreamed of such a council, he quite allowed the force of the warnings which Lord Salisbury had uttered against too great a pace, against attempting to bring about a union of hearts by artificial arrangements. In the meantime it fell upon the mother country to act as trustee for imperial interests. Therefore, without arrogance, the Imperial Parliament might ask that its right to be heard should be recognised whenever anything was proposed which even appeared to threaten those interests; and he was glad to believe that this great responsibility of the home Legislature was not contested by any of the great colonial Governments. Replying, Mr. Edmund Barton, Q.C. (New South Wales), said the proposed Constitution of Australia did not aim at any usurpation of the powers which were essential to the self-government of any part of the empire, and he added that the delegates believed there would be a satisfactory settlement of the matter. The presence of the representatives of Canada, Mr. J. Tarte and Lieut.-Colonel Denison, was further proof of colonial feeling, and their sympathetic speeches were received with hearty goodwill from hosts and guests.

The business with which the House of Commons occupied itself on reassembling was chiefly concerned with the shortcomings of the Executive, the Post Office (April 27), and the Foreign Office (April 30) being chiefly under review. On behalf of the latter, Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*), in asking for a further vote of 1,930,000*l.* for the Uganda Railway, attempted to explain the circumstances under which the original estimate of 3,000,000*l.* had proved insufficient. Through the cloud of words by which his explanation was darkened, it seemed possible to trace evidence of ignorance, recklessness and self-will on the part of all employed on the construction of the line. Apparently the chief engineer, with whom the decision upon important matters rested, was a Foreign Office clerk in Whitehall, whose qualifications even for judging of the value of the reports by local agents were far from obvious. The estimates on which the original expenditure was framed may have been accurate, and the sum originally voted might have been sufficient if properly administered. Mr. Brodrick, however, without throwing blame upon any one in particular, admitted that the country through which the railway was to pass had been insufficiently surveyed; nevertheless he confidently recommended the House to vote nearly 2,000,000*l.* additional to construct a line which was to be 100 miles shorter than that originally planned. The length of the line to be constructed was originally placed at 580 miles, and the cost of construction at 5,500*l.* per mile. Of this only 362 miles were completed, and earthworks for about fifty miles more had been constructed. Under the new arrangements, and supposing that the sum now asked from Parliament

would suffice to complete and equip the line, its cost would come to about 8,500*l.* A total income of 120,000*l.* per annum was anticipated from the line when finished; but the cost of management would probably absorb the greater portion of the receipts, and its chief justification lay in the chance of its becoming a useful agent in suppressing slavery, by rendering the means of transport more easy. As, however, both parties were equally committed to the construction of the Uganda Railway, the previous Ministry before going out of office having carried a resolution in its favour, there was but little criticism except from independent members like Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*), Mr. Allan (*Gateshead*), Mr. Bayley (*Chesterfield, Derbyshire*), all competent authorities, and Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*), who protested against the line as one of the evil fruits of imperialism.

An entire evening (May 3) was devoted to the discussion of the New Education Code and the minute regulating higher elementary schools. The opposition with which the "block system" of distributing State aid had been originally met, was now recognised as having worked satisfactorily, and done away with some of the drawbacks of the system of payment by results, under which it was the policy of managers and teachers to turn their schools into wage-earning machines. Professor Jebb (*Cambridge Univ.*), who took the lead in the discussion, strongly urged the Education Department to determine the relation between primary and secondary education, and that encouragement should be given to local authorities for pushing forward promising pupils to the higher stage. Under the new code the normal grant to elementary schools would be 22*s.*, and the lower grant 21*s.* per head, and it was urged by some speakers that this penalty for inefficiency was insufficient, for the other alternative of suspending the grant altogether would hardly ever be resorted to. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), moreover, took the department to task for giving schools more money without attempting to ensure improved efficiency.

The debate on the publication of the Spion Kop despatches raised in both Houses (May 4) was a lamentable attempt to defend an act for which no real excuse was forthcoming, and at the same time an instance of the use or misuse of party government. The most telling attacks upon the Government came from their own supporters, who, although they charged their leaders with incompetence and mismanagement, were not prepared to support their speeches by their votes. The apologists for the Ministry had recourse to the thinnest special pleading, and Mr. Balfour raised a wholly irrelevant issue about Lord Lansdowne's honour, which no one had attacked. Altogether, the discussion, although resultless in Parliament, lowered the Government in the opinion of the public, and inflicted upon them a blow, more serious than an adverse vote would have been, had the charges been met in a spirit of frankness and regret.

In the House of Lords the debate was opened by the Unionist Earl of Portsmouth, who charged the Secretary of State for War with having transgressed the rules of honourable tradition by making public reports of a privileged character, meant solely for the information of the superior authority. That was bad enough, but it was worse that Sir Redvers Buller should have been invited, or tempted, to rewrite a despatch and, as it were, to whitewash himself by changing his account of what had occurred, so that Lord Roberts might be able to pronounce a different opinion in the covering despatch to the one he had originally expressed. The publication of that opinion, which in effect declared that Sir R. Buller had not the capacity to exert his own authority, was obviously detrimental to discipline, unless followed up by the recall of the general so censured. What the irresponsible press in South Africa was not permitted to do, what the respectable press at home refrained from doing, the Secretary of State had done without compunction.

The Secretary for War, the Marquess of Lansdowne, in attempting to exculpate himself, said publicity was the rule as to despatches, even when they contained censure upon the officers engaged in the operations described. Three times during the last Afghan war such despatches were published, and though it was true that in each case other employment was found for the general concerned, he did not think such a course need invariably be taken. The extent and character of the censure had to be considered. The censure on Sir R. Buller amounted to this: that he trusted too much to his subordinates, and did not take measures to satisfy himself that his orders were being carried out. That was a very mild reproof, and it was tempered with praise in other respects. Moreover, Lord Roberts showed conclusively that he had not withdrawn his confidence from Sir R. Buller by leaving him in command of a large army. Lord Lansdowne went on to say that to have held back the Spion Kop despatches would have created a worse impression than could have been produced by their publication. The disaster they recorded was a very serious one, which had cost us over 1,600 casualties, and it was matter of notoriety that there had been mismanagement. Public opinion, therefore, demanded an authoritative statement on the subject, and ministers would have been put through a severe process of questioning in Parliament if they had refused to supply it. As to the charge that he had endeavoured to shift the responsibility of publication on to Lord Roberts, he took on himself the full responsibility, but he would have been wanting in courtesy and in loyalty to Lord Roberts if he had published the papers without first telling him what he purposed to do. He had further been accused of inciting Lord Roberts and Sir R. Buller to palm off garbled documents on the public. What he had suggested was, not that Lord Roberts' despatch of February 13 should be cancelled, but that it should be treated with its enclosures as

confidential, and that Sir R. Buller should be asked to furnish a simple and concise account of the battle of Spion Kop in the form contemplated by the Queen's Regulations; such an account not having been received from him. The publication of censure on anybody would thus have been avoided, as, under all the circumstances, was desirable. But Sir R. Buller objected to the course proposed, and placed himself in the hands of Lord Wolseley, who considered that publication had become inevitable. The Earl of Kimberley did not think the public interest had been served by the publication of the despatches, or that ministers could defend their action by the plea that they would have been attacked if they had kept them back. As trustees of the interests and the honour of the nation it might be their duty to meet attack. The general opinion was that Lord Roberts' censure of Sir R. Buller was a severe one, and it was a very serious thing indeed to continue the services of a general who had been thus openly reprimanded. He quite agreed that Sir Redvers ought to be continued in his command, notwithstanding the censure, but for that very reason he should have been protected from its publication. In reply to Lord Rosebery, who asked if it was true that since the publication of the despatches Sir R. Buller had tendered his resignation and that it had been refused, Lord Lansdowne stated that he had no knowledge of any such resignation. Lord Rosebery was glad to hear it, though in any case it would have been difficult for Sir Redvers to offer to resign when opposed to an enemy in the field. In fact he had been put in a cruel position. His authority had been impaired as none of the repulses he suffered had impaired it. And why had he received this treatment? Because the strongest Government of modern times had been unable to face the prospect of a few questions in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone said of a former statesman that he was of a composition to which water would add strength. He feared that history would write that epitaph on the present Cabinet. The Duke of Devonshire greatly regretted that Sir R. Buller did not accept the invitation to rewrite his despatch. There had never been the smallest idea of asking him to retract a single expression of opinion; it was only suggested that, in accordance with the regulations, he should confine his despatch to a narrative of the events which had occurred.

In the House of Commons the subject was raised simultaneously, and the debate necessarily travelled over much the same ground, except that the attack took a wider scope, and the defence was conducted more upon the principle of confession and avoidance, and was received outside the House with suspicion and dissatisfaction. Mr. Runciman (*Oldham*) opened the debate by charging the Government with lack of foresight in regard to the war; they were accused of adding to the difficulties of the officers in command, but nothing that the Opposition had done could have added so much to their difficulties as this publication of

censure for their own men to read. Even if our generals were to be blamed, it was not necessary to put them in the pillory. As to the attempt of the War Office to get a despatch written to order, the country owed a deep debt to Sir Redvers Buller for his refusal to write it. The worst of the disclosures on this head was that the public must lose confidence in official publications. Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), the Under-Secretary for War, after having declared that the only question he had to answer was why the Government published the criticism on Sir Redvers Buller if they meant to retain him in command, made a long discursive speech upon every other point but the one indicated. After some vague remarks in indication of Lord Lansdowne's honour (which was not in question) as being above suspicion, he referred with considerable play of imagination to the misconceptions which had surrounded the publication of the despatches. Of the Government's responsibility for the publication there was no doubt, and, given the decision to publish, they were in all they did actuated by a desire to obey the letter and spirit of the Queen's Regulations, which were based on tradition and good sense. He justified Lord Lansdowne's telegram to Lord Roberts on March 28, in which he said that he could not publish all the documents enclosed with the despatch of February 13, and suggested that Sir R. Buller might as an alternative course write one connected account of the operations at Spion Kop; and then, dealing with the contention that the Government ought to have published nothing, he stated that that would have been a very serious and unprecedented decision to take. When the disaster occurred at Maiwand the despatches relating to it were published. He did not believe that, as a result of the publication of the Spion Kop papers, the confidence of the troops in their general would be impaired, and he was convinced that both Sir R. Buller and Lord Roberts intended that the despatches should be published, thinking that their publication would do good and not harm. He reminded the House that the covering despatch of Lord Roberts approved Sir R. Buller's action except in one particular, and he asked whether, when five points out of six were given in favour of a commander, the troops serving under him were likely to be discouraged. He contended that it would not have been fair to leave the men in doubt about the causes which had led to their discomfiture. Adverting to Sir C. Warren's failure, he denied that it proved him not to be a good soldier and able man. He strongly deprecated the hostile criticisms which had been passed on Sir C. Warren in the press, saying that he knew how deeply these strictures were felt by the officers who were serving their country in Africa, and, after commending the career of Sir R. Buller in terms of the highest eulogy, he assured the committee that in publishing the despatches the Government had acted in accordance with their deliberate convictions and on their sole responsibility.

Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*), who replied on behalf of the front Opposition bench, brought back attention to the main issue involved, and ridiculed the idea that when Sir R. Buller was asked to rewrite his despatch it was not intended that he should modify his remarks. He expressed the doubt whether the consternation with which the publication of the despatches had been received would be diminished by the official apology of the Under-Secretary, who had made the astounding suggestion that the information which had been supplied was likely to stimulate the confidence of the troops in their chiefs. The proposal of the Secretary of State that Sir R. Buller should rewrite his despatch had met with universal condemnation, but the substantial question to be considered was why these papers were made public six weeks after they had come into the possession of the Government. On two grounds only could the publication be justified. It might be justified as a preliminary step to disciplinary action; but the only officer who had been relieved of his command was Sir C. Warren. That it was expedient to take the public into the confidence of the Government was the other justification. That ground had been taken up by ministers, but they had not acted upon it uniformly. He disapproved of the policy of publication as pursued by the Government, but he held that if it was adopted it ought to be carried out thoroughly.

A still more damaging attack came from the Government side. Sir A. Acland-Hood, a Conservative, prominent among the service members, declared that there was no longer any misconception about the matter. It had been supposed the Government had a case; it was now known they had none. The publication of the despatches was an ill-advised act which the country at large had condemned. Amid the loud cheering of the Opposition, and the more ominous silence of the Conservatives, he went so far as to accuse Government of having requested Sir R. Buller to put into a fresh despatch, not what did happen but what did not happen. In the attempt to obtain further information as to the different way in which Sir R. Buller and Lord Methuen's reports had been treated, Sir A. Acland-Hood was told that criticism upon the operations at Magersfontein was not in order. Mr. J. S. MacNeill (*Donegal, S.*), however, was less easily repressed, and succeeded in drawing from the Under-Secretary some unwilling admissions, but more often was only met by silence, of which the real meaning could be easily appreciated. He complained that during the present war despatches had been concealed from the public by the War Office. When information relating to the war had been given it was fragmentary and could scarcely be reconciled with sense. The despatch of Sir W. Butler, formerly in command of the forces at the Cape, had been withheld. He told the Government their chances as regarded the war and described the operations which should be carried on to ensure success. He was recalled and covered with obloquy and his despatch,

which would have rehabilitated him, had never been published. As to the despatches which the War Office had published, those giving Lord Methuen's account of Magersfontein and General Sir W. Gatacre's account of Stormberg, with the detailed censure of Lord Roberts, published in the *Gazette* of March 16 last, were misleading. Any one would suppose they related to the same transaction. Nothing of the kind. They were published in order that by the condemnation of General Gatacre the public attention should be diverted and not be riveted on the astonishing silence in reference to Lord Methuen. Why was Lord Methuen let off and General Gatacre condemned? The Under-Secretary in reply to a question had told him that the first communications received from Lord Methuen in regard to Magersfontein were informal, and did not constitute a despatch. Yet they were so described in the telegram of the Commander-in-Chief just published.

Mr. Wyndham. The first communications were not considered a despatch and for the reasons which I have given.

Mr. MacNeill said that there had been some suppression, for in those first informal documents there must have been some reference to the incident between Colonel Gough and Lord Methuen.

Mr. Wyndham. The prepared despatch embodied nothing which was not in the other. The Colonel Gough incident was earlier. Colonel Gough resigned his command before Magersfontein.

Mr. MacNeill resuming said that there must be some strong reason for the treatment extended to Lord Methuen. Was it that Lord Methuen had orders to rescue Mr. Rhodes in Kimberley irrespective of bloodshed? The country would demand to know the reason why Buller, Gatacre and Warren had been censured, while Methuen had escaped. He described the Secretary of State's telegram as an invitation to a general officer to cook a despatch for public consumption, and characterised the suggestion as improper and dishonourable. He again invited the Government to state who was the officer in charge of the convoy at Koorn Spruit. This information had been asked for again and again by public opinion, but the Government refused to disclose it. He made no charge of favouritism, because he did not know the circumstances. But in former times the War Office was not above the suspicion of screening men in high position either in point of family or of money. What the public wanted to know was whether at the War Office there was one rule for the ordinary hard-working officer and soldier and another for the society favourite.

These same points, the unequal treatment of Sir R. Buller and Lord Methuen, the concealment of the name of the officer in command at Koorn Spruit, and the deliberate intention of the Government to cook the despatches, were insisted upon by Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) with his accustomed vigour and biting sarcasm.

He was followed by Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), who on behalf of the Government attempted to ignore the gravity of the charges brought against the War Office from all quarters, including the most steady supporters of the Ministry. He began by repudiating, with real or affected warmth, the base motives to which the publication of the despatches had been attributed. He affirmed that the policy of the Government was susceptible of a very simple explanation, which was that with regard to the Spion Kop despatches the same course had been followed as had been taken with regard to all other despatches which had come from Lord Roberts. He did not agree that injury would be done to the prestige of Sir R. Buller, upon whom, he reminded the committee, only one criticism was passed. Turning to the charge that the Government had meanly sought to shelter themselves behind the great popularity of Lord Roberts, he explained that the correspondence between Lord Lansdowne and the Commander-in-Chief was merely for the purpose of obtaining information for the guidance of the Government upon the question whether it was desirable to publish or not. Had the Government not consulted Lord Roberts they would have been culpable. Examining the different courses which the Government might have adopted, Mr. Balfour insisted that the only alternative to the one they had adopted would have been to refuse to publish any despatches at all, but the House would hardly have approved such a decision. It was easy to talk about exercising discretion as to the choice of what was to be published, but the gentlemen who counselled discretion would be the first to attack ministers for following their advice, and to accuse them of garbling and cooking despatches. He did not think that he had ever been more pained in his long experience of the House than by the fact that some of the accusations which had been made that night against ministers could be made and listened to in an assembly of gentlemen. The course of the debate had carried them far beyond the question of a wise or an unwise use of a very difficult discretion. It was not the wisdom or unwisdom of the Government, but their honour and credit which had been assailed; and they confidently looked to their supporters to show that in their view at all events such an accusation was baseless.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in closing the debate, contented himself with showing the fallacy of the supposed analogy of the Maiwand despatches which Mr. Wyndham had cited so triumphantly. The two generals to whom responsibility for the disaster was assigned had been superseded previous to the publication of the despatches. He therefore challenged the Government to cite a single precedent for their extraordinary course of action. In any case, however, he held that it would have been fairer to Sir R. Buller to defer the publication of the Spion Kop despatches till those describing the subsequent operations, which resulted in the relief of Ladysmith, could also be given to the world.

The House then divided upon the nominal motion to reduce the War Office vote by 200*l.*, and by a strict party vote of 215 to 116 the Government escaped censure, although many of their habitual supporters left the House without voting; and, as was pointed out in the following day's *Times* by a prominent Unionist member, if the vote had been taken by ballot the Government would not have had a score of supporters apart from its own members.

A bye-election at Portsmouth, consequent upon the resignation of Mr. W. B. Clough, although proclaimed as satisfactory by both parties, was of little help to students of political meteorology. The seat which had been held by the Liberals at the general election still remained in their hands, but by a somewhat decreased majority; but it was argued that if the party could hold its own in a naval and military centre, whilst the war fever was still raging, its prospects elsewhere were encouraging. Mr. J. A. Bramston was elected (May 3) by 10,287 votes against 9,708 given to Mr. J. H. Majendie, showing a slight decrease of votes on both sides. On the same day Sir John Batty Tuke's election, without opposition, for Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities, in succession to Sir William Priestley, was a recognition rather of the claims of medical science to be represented in Parliament than as a political omen. Both the deceased and the newly-elected members were Conservatives.

It was perhaps intentionally that the Prime Minister made choice of the annual gathering of the Primrose League at the Albert Hall (May 9) to make a speech which if delivered in the House of Lords would have disturbed the nerves of the financiers of Europe. He recognised distinctly the unfriendliness of other nations, and bade his hearers remember that we had nowhere to look for support but to ourselves; and that, as an offset to conscription, in the formation of rifle clubs throughout the country our best guarantee against invasion would be found. He began his speech by a reference to the change of opinion as to the attitude of the British nation towards the British Empire. Once they repelled it as a burden; that was when the Manchester school was dominant, owing its final development to Mr. Gladstone's genius. Now the reaction was so great that no one ventured to defend the doctrines of the Manchester school. It began with Majuba Hill and the death of Gordon at Khartoum. The death of Gordon had been avenged, and the savage empire with which he contended had been brought under civilising influences. But the blunder and the humiliation connected with Majuba were even greater than those connected with Khartoum. It was too soon to say that they had been wiped out, but under the brilliant guidance of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, 200,000 English soldiers—a larger army than had ever before been sent across the same expanse of sea—were now engaged in reducing to obedience to the Queen the territories which ought never to have been released, and restoring to

South Africa the only chance it had of peace, of development and of tranquillity. He thought that this change of British opinion would be recognised in future history as one of the most remarkable revolutions of national sentiment. That same spirit of depreciation of our empire, which was the one great blot in Mr. Gladstone's splendid intellect, led him to deal with the difficult and intricate Irish problem, and, careless of the future power of the country, or of its deepest interests, in a moment, an evil moment for his fame, an evil moment for the party with which he was connected, he attached himself to the plan of separation between England and Ireland. That also had failed after long struggle, and though people prophesied that there would be another change in opinion, he believed that there was no hope that the "predominant partner" would ever give Ireland practical independence. Mr. Gladstone's great mistake had broken up the Liberal party so completely that the dual condition of English party government was destroyed, and if this state were continued they might fall into the group condition, which was fatal to more than one parliamentary system on the continent. He hoped not for the victory of their opponents, but that they might recover their fighting trim. Lord Rosebery looked forward to the creation of a Liberal Imperialist party as a remedy for the present troubles. That might become something not different from the present Ministerial party, or it might mean that they would make their domestic policy so extravagant that they would be forgiven for their imperial policy abroad. At any rate, he believed Lord Rosebery was right in thinking foreign affairs would take a larger place than they had done: "The state of affairs, as far as I know it, and as far as Governments are concerned, is peaceful. It is impossible to speak too highly of the careful and calm neutrality which has been observed in this trouble of ours by all the Governments in the world. . . . But it does not follow that we have no precautions to take. Governments may come and go, feelings may change from year to year. That root of bitterness against England, which I am wholly unable to explain, may be a mere caprice, merely something to satisfy the exigencies of the journalists of the moment, or it may indicate some deep-seated feeling with which, at a later date, we shall have to reckon. We can have no security, we cannot have any confidence, in the feelings or sympathy of other nations; however much we may honour them, however grateful we may be for the sympathy they have shown us, we can have no security except in the efficiency of our own defence and the strength of our own right arm. . . . Do not imagine that I wish to paint the future in dark colours. I am not urging despair, I am not urging even a dark appreciation of the future, but what I am urging is the necessity of precaution in time. It may be your precautions—I trust they may—will turn out to be entirely unnecessary. It will be a great matter of hearty congratulation if it is so; but the loss that you will

thereby sustain is so inconceivably small, compared to the loss which you will sustain if your precautions are inadequate, that you will not for a moment measure one against the other. . . . And allow me to remind you that as a great maritime Power you stand in a special position. The great military Powers of the continent, disposing of a vast territory, have passed through unsuccessful wars which again and again have landed the enemy in their capital, and yet they are as strong, and even stronger, after the experience has passed by. Can we say with confidence that that would be the fact if London were the scene of a similar operation? Remember what has happened to the great maritime Powers of the past—to Holland, to Spain, to Venice, and, if I might go into ancient times, to Carthage and to Tyre. In every one of these cases the great maritime Power has been paralysed and killed, not by the disasters it may have suffered in its provinces, or its outlying dependencies, but by a blow directed at its heart. That is a lesson which a Power like England ought not to neglect. So long as our heart is unstruck we may look with comparative indifference to the result of any war. If our distant provinces were affected, we might, as we did in the Peninsular war, win them back again, but if your heart is once struck there is an end of the history of England." He firmly believed that the Navy would be sufficient. But, considering the enormous interests we had to safeguard, were we not bound to think of our national defence on land? And our national defence on land had this difficulty attached to it as a problem, that conscription—that is to say, anything which required the population to leave their homes for a certain number of years to learn the military art—at present was not a remedy which the people of this land would accept. If, when the danger came, it were possible for the Government of the day to call upon an army of the people, in which every grown-up man could handle his rifle, he did not think that, after the experience we have had in South Africa, even the most apprehensive would have any cause to fear for the result. What they had to do was to induce the people to put themselves in a condition to defend the homes where they were bred and the country to which they were so deeply attached. Could not the members of the Primrose League do something to help the formation of rifle clubs, so that a man might practice rifle shooting without going away from his own parish? If it could once be impressed on the people that the defence of the country was not the business of the War Office or the Government, but the business of the people themselves learning at home the accomplishment to make themselves formidable in the field, they would have a defensive force which would not only repel an assailant if he came, but make his chances so bad that no assailant would appear. He wished to impress upon them that the defence of the country could not be maintained by writing in the newspapers against the War Office. It was a matter of their own personal effort. He feared

we were in danger when the war had passed by of forgetting the lessons it had taught us: "It is for you to urge all whom you know to place yourselves in the position of an armed nation, such a nation, for instance, as the Swiss are, where the strength of the country is shown not in the brilliancy of its negotiation, not in its military organisation, but in the spirit and the preparation of those who love their country and are prepared to die for it."

If our military organisation was defective, Mr. Wyndham, who also spoke on this occasion, wished to show that the military spirit of the nation was not wanting. This recrudescence of patriotism or imperialism might coincide with the rise of the Primrose League. At any rate it had reached a point for which there was no parallel in our history. In the last seven months the nation had been giving recruits to the regular Army at the rate of 60,000 a year, to the Militia at the rate of 40,000 a year, and between November 1 and March 1 there had been an increase of 30,000 in the number of our Volunteers. Though under no obligation to do so, 29,000 veterans had rejoined the Colours. Of the Militia, Yeomanry and City Imperial Volunteers, not one man was under any obligation to leave this country; yet 41,655 had proceeded to the war. The Duke of Wellington commanded on the morning of Waterloo only 23,000 British troops, so that to-day Volunteer effort alone was far in excess of the effort of the regular Army at the time of Waterloo. These Volunteers in South Africa had met others from Canada, Australia and all quarters of our colonies, who spoke of England as home, though, perhaps, they, their parents or grandparents, had never seen this land. If every man and woman would take an interest in the recruiting question, there would be an end of the bugbear of compulsory enlistment having to be seriously considered.

Although Mr. Chamberlain and the Liberal Unionists loyally worked with the Conservatives, it was expecting too much that the laudation of the Primrose League and its work should pass without an equally public vindication of the claims of Liberal Unionism to the authorship of imperialism. The re-election of Mr. Chamberlain as President of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association (May 11), afforded the leader of the party an opportunity of insisting upon its political importance. He was unable to see in the Liberal Imperialist party, over which Lord Rosebery presided, any marked distinction from the Liberal Unionists, except that it had a different leader. He went on to defend the new diplomacy of which he was regarded as the author, as neither provocative nor yielding. He repudiated the idea that the war in South Africa was, as some critics asserted, his seeking, or that it was, as others declared, the work of capitalists who had controlled the Government. Those who had influenced the Government were the ministers of religion of every creed, the English and Dutch loyalists, including 120,000 Outlanders, many of whom had risked their lives, and the British

people throughout the world who had rallied to our assistance. He vindicated the Government from the charge of withholding despatches and important information. We were conducting a great war under absolutely novel conditions, with a foe as brave as ourselves, and more skilful in defensive warfare. In all the previous wars of the last half century, either waged by our own or by other nations, mistakes had been made as great, and, perhaps, greater even than those which had been made by British generals and by the British Administration. But it was right to blame them, because that would help them to correct these mistakes. But let them not think that Englishmen alone made mistakes. We shall emerge from this war stronger than we have ever been before. We shall have tested our weak points, we shall find out our defects. I hope we shall have the wisdom and the courage to correct them. Above all, we have realised the greatness, the possibilities, and the unity of this great federation of sister nations that we call the British Empire.

You cannot doubt that those who confessedly would have been willing to surrender the rights of this country in order to avoid war would now be perfectly ready to see the sacrifices of the war thrown away in an incomplete and an unsatisfactory settlement. It is our duty to prevent it. . . . I will state to you the general conditions upon which alone the Government are ready to accept the conclusion of this war, and upon which they are perfectly ready to take the opinion of the country. In the first place we are not prepared again to recognise the independence of the two Boer Republics—an independence which they have so grossly abused. If we are the victors in this contest the territories of these republics must be, and shall be, fully incorporated in her Majesty's dominions and under the British flag. That is not a bad fate for them. . . . Their individual liberties will be preserved, but the separate independence and existence of these States, constantly intriguing as they have done with foreign nations, constantly promoting agitation and disaffection in our own colonies—that independence, that separate existence shall no longer be tolerated. You will readily see that there must be, after the war is over, an interval. It may be long, or it may be short, according to the behaviour of the peoples of these countries, but there must be an interval during which the whole administration, the appointment of authorities who carry out, must rest absolutely in her Majesty's Government. You may, if you like, have a military administration. I prefer to have a crown colony government, such as we accord to great dependencies like India or to smaller dependencies like the West Indian Islands. But, as soon as it is safe and possible, it will be our duty and intention of her Majesty's Government to re-incorporate these States into the great circle of self-governing communities. Their power of mischief must be taken away, but their power over local administration may, I hope, at no distant time be restored to them. . . . I believe that that is the policy

which alone will satisfy our colonial allies. I believe that less than that will lose their respect; that with less than that you will be unable to retain the loyalty and the affection of your fellow-subjects in South Africa."

The proceedings in Parliament were diversified by a revolt of the Episcopal Bench against the Gallio-like attitude of the Prime Minister on the temperance question. The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Randall Davidson), in a moderate and liberal speech, moved (May 8) that legislative effect should be given to so much of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws as was common to the majority and minority reports. He urged that out of ninety-nine recommendations no fewer than seventy-seven were substantially common to both reports. They agreed that the consolidation and simplification of the law relating to licensing was urgently required, and that there ought to be a reconstruction and reconstitution of the licensing authority, both original and appellate. Again, both parties on the commission agreed that some further restriction was necessary with regard to the opening of public-houses on Sunday, except in London and some of the great towns, while they were likewise in agreement as to the flagrant abuse of the existing law relating to so-called *bond-fide* travellers. On various other important points the recommendations on the two sides were practically identical, and he maintained that they formed an ample basis for legislation.

Lord Salisbury who approached the question in his most detached mood, protested against the introduction of a new method of legislation. If the mover had brought forward a measure based upon these recommendations, it would have received due attention. There were many excellent persons who took an interest in this subject on behalf of the working classes, but it was very doubtful how far they represented the views of those on whose behalf they affected to speak. It was a matter of very great danger and difficulty to enter upon legislation of this kind when those for whom you were legislating were not going with you. The cruelly perverted condition of this question was shown by the fact that all the legislation upon it was passed by the portion of the population which possessed cellars, and who were not affected by it, for the cellarless portion of the community who were very deeply affected by it.

The Archbishop of Canterbury replied that the Prime Minister had discussed the question precisely as if the reports made by the royal commission had nothing to do with it, and he seemed to forget altogether that it was the present Government who had appointed the committee. He therefore proposed, in substitution for the Bishop of Winchester's motion, a resolution to the effect that "it is desirable that her Majesty's Government should on an early day lay before Parliament proposals founded on such recommendations as were common to the two reports." He declared at the same time that he had not lost all confidence

in the Government: but to this Lord Salisbury retorted that he preferred to judge of that by the Archbishop's deeds rather than by his words. The motion had now become one of a vote of want of confidence in the Government, and he would have had no objection to accept battle on that issue had sufficient notice been given. In the absence of such notice, he should accept the motion on the decision of the House; and upon this imperious statement the House divided, and the Archbishop's motion was negatived by 45 to 42 votes.

The Housing of the Working Classes Bill, which had been mentioned in the Speech from the throne, purported to amend an Act dealing with the same problem which had been passed in 1890. The amending Act proposed to confer on local authorities power to establish or acquire lodging-houses outside the boundaries of the districts which they administered. It was urged, moreover, that in rural districts it was necessary to amplify the Act of 1890 in order to make it workable. The bill was of a character more often found in the first than in the last session of a Parliament, for its discussion, even more than its application, was likely to raise the question of the responsibilities of landlords and the grievances of workmen. On the motion for the second reading (May 10), Mr. W. S. Robson (*South Shields*) moved an amendment expressing dissatisfaction with the bill on account of its inadequacy, and especially because it did not give to councils establishing dwelling-houses outside their districts powers to provide adequate railway or other communication between their districts and such dwelling-houses. He held that there were only two practical ways of remedying the evil of overcrowding. One was to tax the belt of land round a town on its real value, instead of merely on an agricultural value, so that owners should not be encouraged to hold the land back and create an artificial scarcity of building land. Ministers, however, were understood to be unanimously opposed to such a remedy. The other way was to take the working man through that belt of land to cheap dwellings, but to do so it was essential that there should be cheap means of travelling; and he suggested an extension of the Cheap Trains Act, 1883, to that end. Mr. Stoddman (*Stepney*), a Labour representative, with special knowledge of East London, saw no way to solve the problem but by the institution of fair-rent courts; but Mr. Edward Bond (*Nottingham, N.*), who, as a practical philanthropist, as well as a member of the London County Council and the London School Board, had been brought into close contact with this difficulty and with private attempts to meet it, maintained that the real cause of the excessive rise of rents was the unprecedented increase of wages in the building trade. When a dwellings company of which he had been chairman for the last fifteen or sixteen years began operations they could build a room, under the block system, at from 55*l.* to 60*l.*, which now cost from 85*l.* to 100*l.* The working men were of course as entitled as the most

grasping of landlords in the case of houses to obtain the most for their labour; but, as the rise of wages in the building trade was out of all proportion to the rise of wages in any other department of labour, it had become more and more difficult to build new houses on remunerative terms or to let them at rents which the poorer working classes could pay. He confessed that neither in the bill nor in the vague proposal of the amendment could he discover any glimmer of hope that that condition of things would be remedied. Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*), replying to the various criticisms, observed that it had been necessary to limit the scope of the bill, because in a session such as this a more comprehensive measure would have had little chance of passing into law. But it would not bar further legislation in the future. Meanwhile the local authorities could do far more to improve the housing of the working classes than they were doing if they availed themselves of the powers given them under five different Acts of Parliament. Again, he was advised that the Board of Trade actually had power to compel the railway companies to provide all the travelling facilities at which the amendment aimed, and he saw no prospect of any difficulty with regard to the extension of tramway communication between crowded centres and the new localities.

The subject was one which tempted so many speakers that another evening (May 17) had to be devoted to its debate; in the course of which, while many members denounced the bill as not going far enough, none suggested any practical scheme by which it could be extended, unless landlords were forced to sell their land to the local authorities below the market value, or some other elementary principle of equity was violated. Mr. Balfour, in closing the debate, repeated that the local authorities already possessed larger powers than they cared to exercise for dealing with the nuisance caused by insanitary dwellings, and that the Board of Trade could also, under existing laws, require the organisation of a proper train service between towns and settlements outside them. "The truth is," he continued, "it is a question simply of time and space, and nothing else. If you can accommodate, by raising the height of your buildings, a larger population on a given area, well and good—you do something towards dealing with the problem; but if you cannot do that, then you must go outside the narrow area at the centre of your congested district, and you must trust to modern invention and modern improvements in locomotion for abolishing time. For my own part, it is in that direction that I look to see the solution of this problem." The amendment was then withdrawn, and the bill read a second time without a division.

The Australian Commonwealth Bill was introduced (May 14) by Mr. Chamberlain in a speech worthy in every way of the occasion. He traced the history of the federation movement, and declared the bill framed by the Federal Council to be a monument of legislative competency, which for the most im-

portant functions of Government would unite the colonies concerned. It created a common postal and telegraphic service and made a common railway service possible in the future. There would be intercolonial free-trade and a single Customs tariff; and everything which had to do with the external relations of the colonies or with their defence against attack would be matter for the commonwealth to decide. No praise could be too high for those whose moderation, patience, skill and patriotism has produced so great a result. If the Imperial Government had been consulted before the Constitution was framed, it was possible they might have suggested improvements, but the bill had been prepared independently; and though he did not believe that the people of Australia looked upon the Imperial Parliament as merely a court of registration for their decrees, undoubtedly the utmost deference was due to their opinion. Every clause which dealt exclusively with the interests of Australia her Majesty's Government accepted without reserve. Where, however, the bill touched the interests of the empire as a whole Parliament had to act in accordance with its position as general trustee. One amendment would have to be introduced to make it clear that the Colonial Laws Validity Act applied to the new commonwealth; this was necessary to prevent conflicting legislation with regard to matters dealt with under the Foreign Enlistment and Merchant Shipping Acts. Whether, indeed, the Colonial Laws Validity Act ought, in its present form, to continue to apply to great commonwealths like those of Australia and Canada was a question which might be raised hereafter. As to the question of appeal, it was obvious that our relations with our self-governing colonies depended entirely on their free will and consent, and that, slender as was the chain that bound them to us, we could not attempt to force them to bear it if it became irksome to them. One of the links of that chain was the right of appeal to the Queen in Council; and, while greatly regretting to have to refuse anything that was asked for, ministers felt bound to propose a modification of clause 74 in the interests of Australia as well as of the empire at large. The clause as it stood would almost certainly lead to conflict between the new High Court of Australia and the Privy Council, and nothing could be worse than to have concurrent courts giving contrary decisions within the limits of the empire. There was danger, too, that the decision of a colonial court might bring about complications with foreign Powers, and it seemed clear that an Imperial Court of Appeal ought to have something to say on such a matter. Fortunately it did not appear that ministers had to choose between the interests of the empire on the one hand and the absolutely unanimous opinion of Australasia on the other. He did not understand that in assenting to the bill on a referendum the majority of the Australian voters intended to preclude the Imperial Legislature from any amendment of the measure. Queensland was actually urging the Government

to restore the right of appeal, the ministers of West Australia and New Zealand took the same view, and he had reason to believe that no serious objection would be taken to the amendment by the Government of New South Wales. The chief justices of all the colonies were in favour of retaining the right of appeal, so were the Chambers of Commerce of Sydney, Adelaide and Brisbane, and the representatives of numerous other interests. The preponderance of press opinion was on the same side, though there was, no doubt, a strong and patriotic body of opinion on the other side. Mr. Chamberlain went on to say that the Lord Chancellor had in view the amalgamation of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council with the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. That was a change, however, which, involving as it did difficult constitutional questions, could not be effected at once; and, to provide for the immediate future, it was proposed to appoint representatives from Australia, Canada, India and South Africa to be members of the Privy Council for seven years—a term which might be renewed. These four judges were also to act during their period of office as Lords of Appeal, and they would receive the same salary as Lords of Appeal (6,000*l.* a year). Life peerages would also be conferred on them. A measure to this effect would shortly be introduced into the Upper House.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman for the Opposition blamed the Government for having kept silence on the question till the people of Australia had committed themselves to clause 74. By insisting on their amendment ministers were openly rebuffing the Australian people—he did not say intentionally—and the Opposition would be no party to such a policy.

In the short discussion which followed Sir Charles Dilke claimed for the delegates the right to speak authoritatively for those they represented, and Mr. Haldane expatiated on the desirability of establishing a High Court of Appeal for the whole empire, and the bill was then read a first time.

In the interval which followed before the second reading was taken, negotiations were actively carried on to effect an understanding on the single point in dispute. Both the delegates on the one side and Mr. Chamberlain on the other were sincerely anxious to avoid all danger of wrecking the bill, but the former were bound by their instructions, and the latter by a laudable desire to preserve the authority of the Crown in its integrity. In moving the second reading (May 21) Mr. Chamberlain was able to pay a tribute to the conciliatory spirit shown by the delegates of the colonies with reference to the controverted points, and announced, amid loud cheers, that an absolute agreement had been arrived at. In the first place it had been agreed that in all cases in which other than Australian questions were concerned, the right of appeal should be fully maintained, while purely Australian questions—*e.g.*, differences arising between two States as to the interpretation of the Constitution, or as

between a State and the Federal Parliament—would be finally decided by the High Court of Australia, unless both sides consented to refer the matter to the Privy Council. The experience of Canada had shown that the opportunity of appealing in such cases was valued. Clause 74 would therefore be reversed; for whereas, according to its original terms, appeal was to cease in all cases except where the public interests of some portion of her Majesty's dominions outside Australia were concerned, the amended clause would allow appeal in every case except those where Australian interests alone were affected. The amendment to be proposed on this head would be in the terms following, though he did not absolutely pledge himself to the exact words:—

“Appeal to the Queen in Council.

“No question howsoever arising as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the commonwealth and those of any State or States, or as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two or more States, shall be capable of final decision except by the High Court, and no appeal shall be permitted to the Queen in Council from any decision of the High Court on any such question unless by the consent of the Executive Government of the Governments concerned, to be signified in writing by the Governor-General in the case of the commonwealth and by the Governor in the case of any State.

“Except as provided in this section this Constitution shall not impair any right which the Queen may be pleased to exercise by virtue of her royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal to her Majesty in Council, Parliament may make laws limiting matters in which such leave may be asked provided that any proposed laws containing any such limitation shall be reserved by the Governor-General for her Majesty's pleasure.”

It had also been agreed that the Federal Parliament might make laws limiting the right of appeal, but that such laws should always be reserved by the Governor-General for her Majesty's pleasure. Mr. Chamberlain went on to speak of communications he had received from Queensland and Western Australia which made it clear that those colonies would have preferred the Government's original plan of retaining the plenary right of appeal. But the Government did not think it wise to side with two colonies as against four. Adverting to the doubt which had been entertained as to the application of the Colonial Laws Validity Act to the legislation of the Commonwealth Parliament, he said the difficulty had arisen in consequence of the definition of the word “colony” in the draft bill, and this definition would now be struck out. This solution of the difficulty met with general approval, and the bill was read a second time *nem. con.*

The House of Lords after a long period of suspended animation found plenty of occupation for those whom the season

brought to London. Lord Avebury (better known to his contemporaries as Sir John Lubbock) appeared in his favourite rôle as the shopkeepers' friend by endeavouring to obtain assent (May 22) to a bill enabling the local authorities to close all the shops of the neighbourhood (tobacconists and eating houses excepted) at an hour agreed upon, provided two-thirds of the shopkeepers of the locality had memorialised the authorities. He was supported by the medical opinion of Lord Lister, who declared that his profession was unanimous as to the injury done to shop-assistants, especially to women, by long and late hours. Lord Salisbury, who found a supporter in the leader of the Opposition, Lord Kimberley, was altogether hostile to the bill on the ground that Parliament had never interfered with the right of each grown man to dispose of his labour as he liked. The bill actually made it penal for any shopkeeper to give employment to a man, however much he might desire it, if the employment lasted beyond seven o'clock in the evening. Then the matter was not to be decided by a majority of the inhabitants of the district, but by an odd kind of plebiscite of those who pursued a particular branch of commerce and who were to determine the law under which their neighbours might carry on their industry. It must be remembered that many persons were concerned beside the shopkeepers and their assistants, and that the measure must cause a great deal of inconvenience to the poorer class of consumers. These objections prevailed, and only sixteen peers were found to support the proposed interference, while seventy-seven appeared as the upholders of individual liberty.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister had, however, even more attractions than long shop hours for the peers who would limit, as well as for those who would extend the demand for freedom. Whenever the question had been raised of recent years it had brought together almost as numerous an assemblage as could be expected on a national crisis. On the present occasion it was not proposed to do more than to remove the anomaly or inconvenience arising from the difference of colonial and imperial legislation on this subject. Lord Strathcona, representing a large body of Canadian opinion, moved (May 28) the second reading of a bill under which marriage with a deceased wife's sister, "heretofore or hereafter," contracted in any British colony should be deemed valid for all purposes within the United Kingdom. The question, he contended, was not one of forcing colonial legislation upon the mother country; it was simply a question of giving practical force to what was already law in many parts of the empire, although in England it was ignored in such a manner as to inflict upon the colonies a peculiarly irritating class of social disabilities constituting a grave wrong to the outlying portions of the empire, and wholly antagonistic to imperial sentiment. The Lord Chancellor said they had to accept the fact that the law of the mother country and of the colonies differed as to these marriages, and that, until

the law was altered, its consequences ought to be confined in each case to the country where the law prevailed. The point really at issue was that of the inheritance of land, and the true title of the bill would be "a bill to alter the law of inheritance in respect of real property in England." In this connection they must remember that the consequence of making marriage with a deceased wife's sister lawful in the colonies was foreseen at the time and accepted by the colonies through several of their delegates. The Archbishop of York (Dr. Maclagan) observed that so far as he, and, he believed, a large number of his brother bishops were concerned, they had not seen any reason to alter their opinion on this subject. They held that there was no real grievance at all; and even allowing that it existed, it was due to the action of the colonies themselves. Again, if the difficulty existed it could be remedied in the simplest way by a little thought on the part of the persons affected in regard to their testamentary dispositions. The bill betrayed its spirit and purpose in the preamble, which said, "Whereas it is expedient to amend the law as to marriage with a deceased wife's sister." That was the real meaning of the bill, and they were not prepared, he trusted, to make that alteration. After a few further remarks from Lord Carrington, who spoke from his experience as a former Colonial Governor, and from Lord Kimberley as a former Colonial Secretary, both in support of the measure, it was read a second time by 116 to 31 votes. This imposing majority in its favour, however, failed to impress the House of Commons with any need for action or even for discussion, for the bill was treated with silent neglect by that body.

Military topics and especially such as bore upon the reform of our military system were, however, those which attracted more general attention in Parliament and in the press. An interesting debate was raised (May 25) by the Duke of Bedford on the general scope of the changes contemplated by the Secretary for War, as indicated in his memorandum issued with the Army Estimates. The lesson of the war, he maintained, was not so much the failure as the inadequacy of our present military system. He supported his argument by a review of recent events, and by reference to the breakdown of the military administration, and to the disorganised state of imperial defence. Other points having been touched upon by various speakers, the Marquess of Lansdowne, in the course of a general reply, stated that 30,000 applications had been received for enrolment in the Royal Reserve Battalions (substantially the number given by Mr. Wyndham a fortnight before), and that about 20,000 men had been actually enrolled. They were described as excellent material, and many of them were still in the prime of life. It had been asked whether the result of the experiment led the authorities to favour the idea of forming a number of these men into a standing reserve till they should have served twenty-five years in all, with a right to a pension at the expiration of that

period. The standing reserve might be desirable enough, but its pension scheme would cost the country another 2,000,000*l.* a year, and he thought a better arrangement would be to augment the bounty. As to the increase in the different arms of the service, the twelve new infantry battalions were to be distributed as follows: two would make up the Irish Guards, while the Northumberland Fusiliers, the Liverpool, Worcester, Middlesex, and Manchester Regiments would each have two additional battalions. The strength of the three new cavalry regiments being raised—a dragoon, a hussar, and a lancer regiment—averaged 500 men and 270 horses apiece. Seven new batteries of horse artillery had been raised, and thirty out of the projected thirty-six field batteries. With regard to the Volunteers, 179 out of 216 corps had agreed to go into camp for a fortnight. The bill he had recently introduced, enabling a certain number of Volunteers to accept liability for foreign service, would require those who availed themselves of its provisions to pass a medical examination; and, indeed, no one had been admitted to the force since 1896 without examination, though the physical standard was not, of course, that of the regular Army. He had been struck by what the Duke of Northumberland said about the unfairness, both to Militia and Volunteers, of enlisting them upon the understanding that they were liable only for home defence and then inviting them to serve abroad under circumstances which might render it difficult for any but a very strong-minded man to withhold his consent. For that very purpose the bill, to which he had referred, provided that any Volunteers who wished to render themselves liable for service out of the country should make the arrangement with the State deliberately and beforehand. With respect to the Militia, the grand total of the force on the first of the month was 99,000. Of these 22,000 were serving abroad and 11,000 belonged to the Militia Reserve, leaving 66,000 for home service. The number of Militia officers—2,551—was slightly in excess of the establishment. He had been asked why Militia regiments were sent out of the country at all when we had 92,000 Regulars in the United Kingdom. The answer obviously was that these men were in no sense a field army: they included a large number of young soldiers who were not yet fit to be sent on foreign service. Moreover, the Regulars formed the reservoir from which we had to obtain the drafts required from time to time to keep our battalions in South Africa up to their proper strength. In this connection Lord Lansdowne mentioned that the number of troops sent out this year had been—in January, 25,000; February, 30,000; March, 33,000; April, 10,000; May, 7,000; and would in June be 11,000. That was exclusive of the troops sent from the colonies. The number of recruits who had enlisted during the first four months of the present year was 22,000, as against 14,000 during the corresponding period of 1899. He was by no means clear that an augmentation of pay

within the limits practically possible would necessarily tap a fresh source of supply, and he rather hoped to attract more men into the Army, and men of a better social class than they could at present count upon, by well-considered measures for improving the comfort of the soldier, freeing him from degrading punishments for purely military offences, and offering him better prospects of civil employment on quitting active service. The subject was then allowed to drop, but a few days later (May 28), on the second reading of the Volunteers Bill, under which Volunteers were made liable to be called out for actual military service at any time, or to serve in any part of the world whether within or without her Majesty's dominions, Lord Monkswell, speaking on behalf of a considerable section of the public, took exception to this novel interpretation of the duties of Volunteers, urging amongst other objections that a Volunteer would thus be obliged to pledge himself to surrender in advance his own judgment as to the right or wrong of any quarrel in which his country was engaged. The Earl of Derby expressed a totally opposite view, asserting that the bill would be gratefully received by the Volunteers, as a fuller recognition of their share in the military system. Earl Spencer, however, speaking with considerable knowledge of the Volunteer force, feared the liability to foreign service would involve a reduction in its numbers and efficiency, the force having been ostensibly raised for the defence of these islands. Lord Lansdowne's reply was scarcely satisfactory, and seemed to suggest that the decision of the Government had not been finally expressed. He thought that rather exaggerated views had been entertained regarding the bill, which was not intended as a settlement of the great question of Army organisation. It seemed desirable that the Volunteers should be able in time of peace to inform the military authorities how many of them could be counted on for active service anywhere in time of war. The second reading was agreed to, and the Military Lands Bill was also read a second time.

The House of Commons had meanwhile been amused by an unprovoked attack on the Charity Commissioners by Mr. Chamberlain, whose allegiance to his native town seemed to outweigh his discretion as a Cabinet Minister. His strictures upon the dilatory and obstructive proceedings of that body were aroused in the course of private business (May 18) by Mr Grant Lawson (*Thirsk, Yorks*), representing the Charity Commissioners, who moved an instruction to the committee appointed to consider the Birmingham (King Edward VI.) Schools Bill to omit certain clauses restricting the power of the Board of Education to exercise control over the financial arrangements of the foundation. He would allow the governors to do as they pleased with their income, but did not think they should have absolute liberty to alienate capital. The Charity Commissioners did not object to the clause which transferred "this ungrateful and fractious child" from their charge to the Board of Education, but they

were anxious that their power of control should be passed on unimpaired. Mr. Chamberlain on a previous day (May 17) had described the Charity Commission as "an irresponsible body, which intervened most unjustly in order to appropriate money which belonged to the poor for the benefit of secondary education." On the present occasion, in opposing the motion, Mr. Chamberlain made a fresh attack on the Charity Commission, describing its system as "costly and irritating," though he added that he attached no personal blame to any one, and expressed surprise at the feeling apparently aroused by his strictures on a previous occasion, as "he had always thought a corporation was for physical reasons incapable of resenting an injury of that kind." The bill had been submitted to the Board of Education and amended in accordance with their suggestions, and he had now the board's authority for saying that they offered no opposition to it. After some further debate Mr. Lawson withdrew his instruction. The imbroglio, however, did not end here. On the motion for the bill to be referred to a select committee (May 22), Mr. Balfour considered that the bill having been sufficiently examined by the Education Department this course was unnecessary, and this was endorsed by 201 to 122 votes. The bill thus became technically unopposed—that is to say, no petition having been received against it the result of the division was to refer it to the Unopposed Bill Committee, "which," said Mr. J. W. Lowther, "is practically myself." Mr Yoxall (*Nottingham, W.*) then moved an instruction to the committee to provide "for the appointment of governors representative of the School Board of Birmingham." Colonel Milward (*Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire*) and Mr. Chamberlain objected to this, as School Boards of the districts bordering on Birmingham and the Voluntary Schools Association would have an equally good right to representation, and it was inexpedient to have a very large governing body. Mr. Chamberlain was nevertheless willing to admit one representative from the Birmingham School Board, and Mr. Yoxall accepted the compromise; but he had not reckoned with Lord Hugh Cecil (*Greenwich*) and other Unionist members, who declined to allow representation to the School Board unless it were also granted to the Voluntary Schools Association; and the amended instruction—in which "a governor" was substituted for "governors"—was negatived by a mixed majority of 201 to 144. Mr. Balfour voted with the majority, and Mr. Chamberlain of course on the other side.

The advocates of women's rights and privileges had a field day on the occasion of the second reading of Mr. Lough's (*Islington, W.*) London Borough Councils (Women's Disabilities Removal) Bill, and they were able to speak and vote with a free conscience, feeling secure against any further point being reached. The bill proposed to revoke the provision in the London Government Act, 1899, under which women were declared to be ineligible for the office of councillor or alderman in the new

boroughs. Mr. Boulnois (*Marylebone, E.*) moved the rejection of the bill, to which he believed the vast majority of the women of London were utterly opposed. It had been urged that the presence of women on the councils would be especially desirable in dealing with the question of the housing of the poor, but he rather feared that women would ignore the economic difficulties of the subject. Mr. Cecil (*Hertford, Herts*), who also opposed the bill, remarked that women who wished to undertake philanthropic work were not prevented from doing so by being excluded from public bodies. Mr. Talbot (*Oxford Univ.*) was not animated by the fears of those who thought that, if Parliament conferred a right most reasonable in itself, all the demands of the extreme advocates of women's rights would likewise have to be granted. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) supported the bill, partly on the ground that it was desirable to increase as far as possible the field from which were to be drawn the people who would represent the public in the affairs of local government. Mr. Stuart (*Hoxton*) contended that the Lords' amendment to the bill of last year, which they were now in effect asked to strike out, had only been accepted by the House for fear the bill might be lost altogether. Mr. Radcliffe Cooke (*Hereford*) had no doubt that the bill was brought forward as a step towards a larger scheme, its promoters being shrewd enough to understand that the country was not yet prepared to allow women to be town councillors throughout the country. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) said the opinion of the Government was that it would be inexpedient to reverse a decision deliberately arrived at by Parliament only a year before, but the House must take what course it thought proper; and Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*) agreed that the question was not decided on its merits last session. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) observed that the real argument against the bill was the thin-end-of-the-wedge argument. He was himself against giving women the parliamentary franchise, but he did not believe it would follow from the proposed legislation, the less so that the House had never been the slave of logical uniformity. The second reading was then carried by 248 to 119, and the bill was heard of no more during the session. In truth the House was becoming desultory in its debates and restless in its habits, and a long Whitsuntide adjournment was promised, apparently in the hope that business might be pushed forward with greater energy when the date of actual prorogation was distinctly in view. Moreover, the results of recent bye-elections had raised the cry for an immediate dissolution among a considerable section of the supporters of the Government, who wished to go to the polls before the war fever had abated.

This fever of excitement culminated on the news of the relief of Mafeking (May 17) which for over 200 days had been heroically defended by a handful of amateur soldiers against an army of 4,000 men enforced by the best modern artillery. Mafeking was a small town on the open plain, but occupying

an important position on the frontier between Rhodesia and the Transvaal, whence Pretoria and Johannesburg could be threatened. At the outbreak of the war, Colonel Baden-Powell with a few officers had been sent to arrange for its protection in the event of any unforeseen trouble in the district. The Cape Government, for reasons unexplained, had not allowed Mafeking to be fortified, and when Colonel Baden-Powell arrived and realised its importance, he took upon himself the responsibility of building forts, of organising the commissariat, and of requisitioning food and liquor, and even of obtaining stores and ammunition on his own personal guarantee. He managed to plant vegetables, obtain grazing ground, and establish hospitals, and when the rescue came he was found holding a circumference of at least ten miles with scarcely more than 700 men, although at the outset the total number of able-bodied colonists and volunteers who took part in the defence must have been twice that number. Within a few days after the declaration of war, he found himself hemmed in by the Boer forces and entirely cut off from communication with the rest of the world. Colonel Baden-Powell, however, was a man of unbounded fertility of resource, who inspired his comrades with indomitable determination to hold the town. Under his directions a marvellous network of defences was constructed which, with the heroism of the garrison, held the besiegers at bay. All efforts to relieve the place from the north proved unavailing, and it seemed almost impossible for Lord Roberts to be able to send a sufficient force from the south to break through the Boer lines, notwithstanding his assurance to do so. For weeks the national anxiety was centred upon Mafeking, of which the dire straits were thoroughly realised. The relief column under General Mahon, however, after forcing its way through a Boer commando, struck out of the direct line of march, and passing round the force sent to bar the way, effected a junction with the Rhodesian force under Colonel Plumer, succeeded in reaching the town, and relievers and relieved joined in a final attack upon the retreating Boers. In London especially, and throughout the country, the news was received with the wildest enthusiasm. The streets were crowded with men, women and children all carrying flags, singing, shouting and fraternising in a way so opposed to our national coldness and reserve that a foreigner might have thought some crowning victory, on which the nation's fate depended, had been achieved. From a military point of view the event was a small one, but it was instinctively felt that there had been in our annals few examples of greater courage, endurance and resource than had been displayed in the defence of Mafeking.

Its political effect might be traced in two bye-elections which followed at a short interval. Sir Richard Webster's acceptance of the Mastership of the Rolls with a peerage caused a vacancy for the Isle of Wight. The Conservatives put forward as their

candidate Capt. J. E. B. Seeley, who was actually serving with the Yeomanry in South Africa, whilst the Liberals were represented by Mr. Godfrey Baring, a local landowner of great popularity. He, however, was defeated by more than double the majority by which Sir R. Webster had held the seat in 1895, polling 5,370 votes against 6,432 given to Capt. Seeley. In South Manchester the effect of the war fever was even more apparent. The Marquess of Lorne, who now succeeded his father as Duke of Argyll, had won the seat for the Liberal Unionists at the general election, defeating Sir Henry Roscoe by a majority of seventy-eight votes. On the present occasion, the Hon. W. R. Wellesley-Peel, son of the ex-Speaker, was returned by 5,497 votes against 3,458 given to Mr. Leif Jones, the Liberal candidate, a majority of over 2,000 votes.

Outside Parliament, ministers and the Opposition leaders were alike sparing of speech, and the former when speaking were careful to say as little as possible upon those points on which public interest was centred. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, speaking at Bristol (May 16), spoke hopefully of the prospects of the South African campaign, of which, he thought, the beginning of the end was at hand. In view of victories still unrealised, he claimed for the Government the credit of having done their duty and of having shrunk at nothing to supply men and means. He wished his hearers to take it for granted that the gallant soldiers under Lord Roberts and Sir Redvers Buller having gained victories, no department at home was responsible for the mistakes which had cost so many lives and so much money. If the Government, he said, were not entitled to the credit of the successes, they must not be blamed for the reverses of the campaign. It was untrue that, as had been stated, he had interfered with the preparations for the embodiment of the Army Corps, or in the matter of transport. He had tried to distribute the burden of taxation with equality and justice, but a further increase in the expenditure on the Navy might be necessary. The primary necessity of this country was a strong Navy. He did not agree with the suggestion that a large permanent increase of the Army would be necessary, but we must try to strengthen the Militia and Volunteers. He dwelt at some length upon the enormous increase in the public expenditure since his party came into office — the Navy Estimates by 9,000,000*l.*, the Army by 5,500,000*l.*, and the Civil Services by 21,000,000*l.*, and he seemed to regret that the old watchwords of the Liberal party, "Economy and retrenchment," were not more frequently heard. With regard to the question of old age pensions he did not speak hopefully, and he objected to the recommendation of Lord Rothschild's Committee on the ground that they would impose an intolerable burden on the taxpayer or ratepayer, and would do more harm than good to the poor.

On the same evening a banquet, at which Mr. Chamberlain

presided was given by the Liberal Union Club to Mr. A. J. Balfour, probably in consequence of the reports sedulously put about of a divergence of opinion between the two groups in the Unionist Ministry. Mr. Chamberlain's opponents, and they were many and bitter, having failed to alienate from him public opinion by exaggeration and misrepresentation, next tried to sow discord between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists, by showing that Mr. Chamberlain, and not Lord Salisbury nor Mr. Balfour, was the guiding spirit of the Cabinet. The speeches at the banquet were naturally in the vein of compliment and mutual admiration, and on the good of maintaining the Unionist coalition both leaders were agreed. Mr. Chamberlain said the banquet was the outcome of a long-cherished desire to mark the appreciation by the club and the Unionist party of the services which Mr. Balfour had rendered to the country. In this country a man did not rise to Mr. Balfour's position without possessing some high and exceptional qualities; and no leader of the House of Commons during the present century had gained the respect of that assembly in a greater measure than their guest by his transparent sincerity and simplicity of character, his generosity to his opponents, and his chivalrous loyalty to his friends. He had, moreover, contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of that Unionist alliance which had saved the integrity of the empire. Mr. Balfour in the course of his reply pointed out that the two "organisations" in the Unionist party had put its coherence to the severest test, and declared that whenever differences of opinion had occurred during the fourteen years of its existence, the cleavage had invariably run across both sections of the party, and had caused no gulf between the Tories and the Liberal Unionists. He observed that there were some who thought the Unionist alliance had not only saved the unity of the empire, but had destroyed any disintegrating influence for all time. He hoped that was so; but as long as there were eighty votes going a-begging in the House of Commons and as long as the Home Rule formula had its place among the shibboleths of the Opposition, so long in his judgment did the danger of a recrudescence of the Home Rule agitation menace the empire. On the other hand, the Unionist coalition gave every sign of having acquired a permanent character. The Unionist party as now constituted was no temporary makeshift, but an organisation destined to be fruitful of great results in the future, and even the far future. So far Mr. Balfour. Outsiders, however, were disposed to think that a union which had need of so much plastering was not so secure as was asserted, holding that both leaders protested overmuch, and that less highly pitched words would have conveyed a deeper feeling of mutual confidence.

On the other side, the only speech of any importance was that made by Mr. Asquith at a dinner given (May 25) in his honour by the City Liberal Club. After an eloquent tribute to

the Mafeking garrison and its relieving force, he said that it would be no derogation to the title the Boers had won to our respect if they were now to end what must inevitably be a costly and fruitless resistance. In regard to the ultimate settlement, he deprecated controversies about mere phrases such as annexation, autonomy and supremacy. It was, he believed, the practically unanimous judgment of Englishmen that the empire must be protected; but we should be giving the go-by to our best traditions if we were animated by a spirit of revenge, or forgot that we had made ourselves trustees of a policy of equal rights for the white, and full justice for the coloured races of South Africa.

On the same day Mr. L. Courtney presided at a meeting of the South African Conciliation Committee, chiefly recruited from the Liberal ranks, where a resolution was carried protesting against the policy of annexing the Boer Republics as unjust and unwise, contrary to the pledges of our statesmen, and opposed to the strongest wishes of our Dutch fellow-subjects at the Cape. The work of this committee had at its inception called forth strong protests from spokesmen of all parties, but by degrees it came to be tolerated with good-humoured indifference. With the decline in martial enthusiasm which set in soon after the relief of Mafeking and the occupation of Pretoria, the arguments put forward by the Conciliation Committee were listened to with more attention, and would have carried with them greater authority if they had not been linked with the impossible demand to stop the war.

The Queen's eighty-first birthday called forth a general expression of loyalty and affection from all quarters of the empire, and the warmth and sincerity of these feelings moved her Majesty to make a special and public acknowledgment of the satisfaction she felt in these proofs of attachment.

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Salisbury in the City—Disturbances in China—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman at Glasgow and Mr. J. Morley at Oxford—Australian Commonwealth Bill—The Final Compromise—The Money-Lending Bill—The Companies Bill—The New Code—Altered Views of the Government on Education and Militia Ballot—Mr. Burdett-Coutts on South African Hospitals—Attitude of the Government—A Commission Appointed—The War Office and the Army—Agricultural Holdings Bill—The Tithe Rent Charge (Ireland) Bill—The Government Military Measures—West Africa and China—British Policy in China and South Africa—The Split in the Liberal Party—The Indian Budget—A Supplementary Army Estimate and a Revised Budget—Europe and Great Britain—The Commander-in-Chief and the War Office—Mr. Balfour and Mr. Burdett-Coutts—Mr. Chamberlain and the Pro-Boer Members—End of the Session—State of Parties—War Office Contracts.

THE Whitsuntide recess, which was prolonged almost beyond precedent, enabled members to place themselves in communica-

tion with their constituents and to ascertain how the suggestion of an autumn dissolution was appreciated. The objections to a general election taking place whilst war operations were going on were obvious—and unless the Government would consent to lay before the country the terms upon which South Africa was to be governed and administered, there would be no question to submit to the electors' decision. Lord Roberts had entered Pretoria (June 6) and the Transvaal Government was in flight, but there was no evidence that the Boers were exhausted or disheartened, and no symptoms of the immediate pacification of the country. It must, however, have been foreseen that anything in the shape of organised resistance to our troops would sooner or later cease, and from the moment the Transvaal capital was in our possession it was the duty of our Government to be prepared with a scheme for the civil government of the country. On this point, however, ministers observed absolute silence, and thereby allowed the cry for a "khaki" election to grow in force, election agents drawing from recent bye-elections that militarism and imperialism would be safe watchwords for supporters of the Government.

The only speech of any importance—and reticence was its chief characteristic—was that made by Lord Salisbury to the City of London Conservative Association (May 29), when he corrected the inferences drawn by the peace party from his saying "We desire no territory, we desire no gold." If the context were also read, it would be seen, said Lord Salisbury, that he was merely repelling the calumnies spread through the European press that we had gone to war to get territory and gold mines. "We went to war," he continued, "because we sought to abate the oppression exercised towards the Queen's subjects in the Transvaal, and because when we remonstrated we were met by an insulting ultimatum, and if the Queen's Government had submitted to it her power not only in South Africa, but over all her colonies and dependencies, would have been destroyed. That was the cause that led us into war. We were forced into war by the action of our opponents, and to say that, because we declared that it was not any greed of territory that led us into war, we therefore bound ourselves never to annex any territory is a most ridiculous contention." The question of annexation was a vital one in the policy of the Government. They had made tremendous sacrifices; Sir W. Lawson had said they had lost 20,000 men, and what sorrows must have resulted to loyal English subjects from this. It was necessary to face these sacrifices, but with the strong conviction that if we were successful it never should occur again. "Our responsibilities are twofold. Perhaps I should not be wrong in saying that the first responsibility is that we must protect those native races who have been seriously affected in dealing with the populations of the two republics and the engagements made with them in past times; and beyond this we have so to conduct

our policy that as far as possible we shall cause reconciliation to take the place of aversion and quarrel, and shall produce as rapidly as possible oblivion of the terrible events of the war. But all this must be subject to this one condition, that over the whole of this territory there must not show any overt action, so far as it is possible there must not exist any secret impulse, of any who are hostile to the empire or to the Queen; but the condition of prosperity which we hope to restore to them must be that they shall be hearty members of the British Empire." He could not go into details, but he thought that they, not representing this Government only, but representing a long series of Governments, were entitled to appeal to the policy which through many, many years England had uniformly pursued towards the colonies under her rule, a policy everywhere of appeasement, of affection, of mutual co-operation. They could not but hope that before many years had passed away the affection which united the colonies of South Africa with the Government of the Queen would be as keen as that of Australia and Canada.

The Opposition leaders were not less discreet. Mr. Bryce, who had held Cabinet office in the previous Administration, addressing the Aberdeen Liberals (June 4), disclaimed the idea of there being a sect of Little Englanders within the Liberal party, thereby disconnecting himself from those Radicals who gloried in the name, or placing them without the pale of the officially recognised party. The rest of his speech was couched in vague generalities and was more adapted to a debating society than for practical workers in the field of politics. To justify its existence the British Empire, Mr. Bryce told his hearers, must be based on justice, humanity, peace and respect for freedom. At the same time all nations were not fit for free self-government, but even to these we should extend equal private civil rights. As to the future, we should do our utmost by a wise and conciliatory policy to attach to ourselves all our dominions in the temperate zones, but not to go hunting after tropical dominions of which we already had enough and to spare.

Mr. Bryce's speech if it did little to enlighten his hearers may have furnished a text for both Sir. H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. John Morley, both of whom found opportunities of expressing their views. The former speaking at Glasgow (June 7) was more definite in describing the policy which he thought should be adopted by Liberal candidates and submitted to the approval of Liberal electors. He began by saying that the Opposition had after the opening of the war been invited to postpone criticism till peace was re-established. They could not accept that view of their duty, yet after the invasion they had granted all the supplies demanded by the Government, and it was not they who asked embarrassing questions and called for the resignation of certain ministers. The Government seemed not content with this passive support, but wanted praise as well,

which they could not give. Mr. Chamberlain had lately said that he (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman) was one of the principal authors of the war, because last summer he repeatedly said that military preparations were unnecessary: "I said nothing of the kind. I had no such information as would justify me in making any broad statement of the sort. What I did say was that neither on the question of the Transvaal franchise, nor in the negotiations relating to it, could I discern any ground for war, nor special preparation for war. I limited my opinion strictly to the facts in the possession of the public, and it was most necessary that this opinion should be expressed by way of a faint protest and corrective against the obvious drift of the right hon. gentleman's own proceedings, and the twists that were being given to them in the direction of war." The Colonial Secretary himself said that he never intended or anticipated war. Plain people last summer knew from bitter past experience that the Boers were a fighting race, brave and stubborn; but it was not till the war began that they knew of their immense warlike preparations. But the Colonial Secretary knew the extent of the armaments, which was a matter of fact; and he erred in his estimate and in his judgment of the temper and capacity of the Boers.

And the statesmanship of the Government was equally defective in matters of fact.

The accumulation of armaments by the Boers began a short time before the Jameson raid, and it was continued year after year. The Government made no remonstrance, and the only excuse they could make for their neglect was that they felt themselves compromised by the raid and by their attitude after the raid. And then when the Boer armaments had been completed in the way our soldiers had recently felt, Mr. Chamberlain took up the Outlanders' grievances and began a series of irritating negotiations, and at the same time gave a pledge that the territory of Natal should be inviolate, while small reinforcements were sent out, only sufficient to irritate the Boers.

Mr. John Morley, succeeding Mr. Gladstone as honorary president of the Oxford Palmerston Club, in reply to the toast of the "Liberal Party," took the opportunity of showing how it was in danger of bearing out Lord Chatham's dictum, that the disturbance of an effective party system resulted in national confusion. Mr. Morley, however, seemed anxious to contribute little to bringing back harmony to the Liberal party. He disliked the catchword "Liberal imperialism," and could not see what distinguished it from Unionist imperialism or Liberal militarism. His reading, too, of the causes which led to the war differed from that of his former colleagues; but he was careful not to say anything which might suggest that he was for an immediate stoppage of the campaign. He assumed, however, with greater assurance than the public had done, that the Liberal leaders of the House of Commons were agreed with him upon the following points.

He held that financial combinations had a share in the Outlander agitation, that our relations with the Transvaal from the raid to the war were clumsy and provocative, that the objects of the war at best were not worth the sacrifices and the kindling of abominable passions which they had entailed, that present dangers immeasurably transcended past dangers, and that none of the alleged wrongs were worth the desolation of a single British or Boer home. The first act of the drama was drawing to a close, and he would not pretend that he did not rejoice in the triumph of our arms. Before the outbreak of hostilities he had warned the South African Republic that war must mean the extinction of their independence, and had warned this country that the Transvaal would have to be made a Crown colony. He did not justify those results. The independence of the Free State had been extinguished: "I am sure it is the first time in the history of this country that it has begun its acquisition of the territory of a white community by blotting out, as the Russian censor blots out an obnoxious newspaper article, the sacred word free." He refused to indicate his views of settlement because as yet they did not know enough. They wanted an estimate made by a wise and patient administrator actually on the ground and unconnected with the war, and he regarded the suggestion that the High Commissioner (Sir Alfred Milner) should arrange the settlement with the Transvaal as the last link in the chain of preposterous absurdity and folly. People said that our Boer subjects would soon be contented to exchange political liberty for real liberty, but that was an argument which was used now by Russia in Finland and formerly by Austria in Italy, and the populations were not satisfied. Were men who had fought as the Boers had done likely to acquiesce so tamely? Mr. Gladstone had said that not one of the empires whose rise and fall had been recorded in history had owed its ruin to checking the lust of territorial acquisition. Imperialism was unfavourable to domestic reforms which required expenditure. He had year after year opposed the socialists, not because he did not sympathise with them, but because he thought their means would do mischief to the character of the individual, and would handicap us in the struggle, the vital struggle, for an industrial position. But if he were unfortunately called upon to choose between the socialist and the militarist, the socialist's standards were higher and his aims not any more wild.

Public attention which for so many months had been directed solely towards South Africa was now suddenly diverted to Eastern Asia. A formidable organisation known as "the Boxers" had either imposed its anti-foreign views upon the Imperial Government, or, as was asserted, was being secretly protected by it. The demand of this ultra-patriotic party was the ejection of all foreigners from China, and as Chinese Christian converts as a rule were disposed to look with favour upon Europeans, a general massacre of missionaries and their

converts was a part of the Boxer programme. For many months warnings had been addressed to the European representatives at Peking of the gathering danger, but these were so busily occupied in watching each other's intrigues, and so eagerly anxious to obtain some special privilege or concession from the Chinese authorities, that they paid no heed to the grave situation created throughout the vast empire by the preachers of the anti-foreign crusade. Even in the first moment of alarm, when it was thought advisable to strengthen the Legation guards, the jealousy and rivalry of the European Powers prevented any effective force being sent to Peking from the coast, it being important that no nation should be disproportionately represented. Eight hundred men of all nationalities reached the capital, and as a precautionary measure an allied naval brigade was established in Tientsin, but the next news was that the railway and telegraph wires to Peking were cut; that the country between the port and the capital was held by the Boxers, and that the Chinese Army was not seriously attempting to restrain those whom the Chinese officials termed "insurgents." For the second time, also, that disturbing factor in Eastern policy, Japan, was entering upon the scene, and the treatment she had received from the European Powers after her successful campaign against China caused her course of action to be carefully scrutinised by those who had been foremost in robbing Japan of the fruits of her victory. She was on the spot with a highly trained army, which had already proved its superiority and might therefore have promptly restored communication between Peking and the seaboard, and rescued the legations from the dangers by which they were surrounded. After long discussion and much hesitation it was decided by the European Powers that it was inadvisable to entrust a non-Christian nation with the sole right of restoring order and of rescuing its representatives, and it was solemnly agreed that these should be left to their fate until such time as the European Powers could agree among themselves by what forces each would allow the other to be represented, and under whose command the relief expedition should be placed.

When Parliament reassembled (June 14) its only sign of renewed vigour was a curiosity as to the course of events in China and the trend of our policy. Mr. Brodrick's explanation of the intentions of the Government was in the regular official optimistic strain, but conveyed little information. Admiral Seymour had been instructed to take, in concert with the other Powers, any steps thought necessary to protect the legations and British subjects; but he specially referred to the Russian representative at Peking as the colleague with whom our minister was directed to confer. The reason for this preference might have been that Russian troops were more available for immediate co-operation, and also that Russia's interest in Asian affairs far exceeded that of the other Powers. Of course Mr. Brodrick

declared that complete accord prevailed among the Powers as to the steps taken by Admiral Seymour, and his assurance was accepted as indicating a relaxation of that distrust of Russia, which had been the leading feature of British diplomacy in the Far East. The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs found a somewhat unusual platform for delivering his views of the crisis. At a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Lord Salisbury spoke (June 19) with evident conviction of the need for discretion among missionaries. He quoted the Eastern proverb, "First the missionary, then the consul, then the general," and pointed out what a terrible hindrance to missionary work was this notion that political expansion and missionary work went hand in hand. "Just look at this Chinese matter. You observe that all the people who are slaughtered are Christians. Do you imagine that they are slaughtered simply because the Chinese dislike their religion?—there is no nation in the world so indifferent on the subject of religion as the Chinese—it is because they and other nations have got the idea that missionary work is a mere instrument of the secular Government in order to achieve the objects it has in view. That is a most dangerous and terrible snare." In dealing with missionary work among Mahomedan populations, Lord Salisbury urged special care. He urged them to remember "that in these Mahomedan countries you are not dealing with men who are wholly evil; you are dealing with men who have religious motives, earnest in many respects, terribly mutilated in others, but a religion that has portions of our own embodied in its system. You are dealing with a force which a pure, though mistaken, theism gives to a vast population." The speech, although full of common sense as well as political foresight, was probably received with half-hearted assent by the audience, whilst it furnished the foreign critics of this country with a fresh text on which to hang a sermon on, "British hypocrisy."

Two sittings were devoted to the Education Vote (June 14), but the points raised were almost wholly those of detail. A good deal was said about the popularity of infant schools, which were really "storage places for babies," many of whom were quite beyond the infant age. The "new code" was also discussed at length. It was, as the Vice-President of the Council, Sir J. Horst (*Cambridge Univ.*), explained, rather of a negative than of a positive character, removing obstacles in the way of a better system of education, but not itself accomplishing that result. To achieve this it was necessary that school managers should understand and adopt the policy of the Government instead of, as was frequently the case, clinging to methods which the Government had found useless and even harmful. The need of a better supply of teachers; the inferior quality of pupil teachers in rural schools, and the religious difficulty in voluntary schools were also discussed. With regard to the latter the Vice-President maintained that the powers of the department were limited to

the enforcement of the Cowper-Temple clause; whilst Mr. A. Birrell (*Fife, S.*), with great truth and speaking as a Nonconformist, said that the clamour about compulsory religious instruction was raised over a number of children whose parents were wholly indifferent to religious instruction of any kind.

The appeal clause in the Australian Commonwealth Bill had led to a large amount of correspondence in the newspapers, and to a general bewilderment of the public mind. The real wish of the Australian colonies was obscured under a mass of assertions and denials, of which the weight and value were unassignable. Negotiations had taken place between Mr. Chamberlain and the delegates, the result of which was that the compromise as to the right of appeal was now objected to. Mr. Chamberlain therefore proposed (June 18) a new clause which enacted that no appeal should be permitted to the Queen in Council from a decision of the High Court of the Commonwealth upon any question as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any State, or as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two States, unless the High Court should certify that the question was one which ought to be determined by the Privy Council. Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) argued that as the new clause contained no express reservation of the right of appeal in cases affecting the public interests of her Majesty's dominions outside Australia, more had been given than the delegates had asked for. The Attorney-General, Sir R. B. Finlay (*Inverness Burgh*), however, argued that upon the question whether or not a power had been delegated, there would be an appeal as of right. On the next occasion (June 21) Mr. Chamberlain was able to announce that the new clause giving effect to the compromise on clause 74 had been cordially accepted by four out of five colonies, and that there was little doubt (and this was verified the next day) that New South Wales would accede to the proposal, and after some further debate the bill was agreed to and passed (June 25). Its passage through the House of Lords was not delayed, but the second reading gave rise (June 29) to an interesting discussion, in the course of which Lord Carrington, who had been Governor of New South Wales, and had obtained great popularity in the colony, contended that the compromise over clause 74 was in a reality a surrender. This view, however, was not generally held even on the Opposition side of the House, and without further hindrance the bill passed through all its stages and received (July 9) royal assent and the cordial endorsement of public opinion throughout the country. It was subsequently announced that as a result of communications with the Australian colonies it was decided not to appoint four additional judges to represent the colonies on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and in the House of Lords. The home Government, however, promised to take an early opportunity of consulting

the colonies as to the establishment of a supreme Court of Appeal for the whole empire.

Later in the session (July 19) Lord Brassey raised an interesting but short discussion on the military resources of Australasia, of which the mother country could appreciate the value in South Africa. The actual forces of the colonies were for the Navy, 350 permanent men, 1,250 Reservists, and 1,350 Volunteers, while for land service there were 1,250 Regulars, 8,000 Militia, 13,000 Volunteers, and 12,000 Cadets, receiving instruction as in our public schools' Cadet Corps. After conferring with officers of experience in all the colonies, he had come to the conclusion that at least 5,000 mounted infantry could be raised and maintained, as a permanent force of the new Commonwealth, at a comparatively small expense; and he urged that the Imperial Government should take concert with the Government of the Commonwealth for the maintenance of such a force, to serve in defence of any part of the empire—the cost to be met by joint contributions from imperial and colonial funds. Passing to the question of Naval Reserves, he remarked that though the number of seafaring men in the Australasian colonies could not compare with the number in Canada, official inquiries had shown that considerably more than 30,000 men were engaged in the coasting trade and fisheries, and it was a great satisfaction to him to learn—if he was rightly informed—that the Admiralty were ready to enrol a colonial naval reserve. The Marquess of Lansdowne replied that her Majesty's Government would gladly consider any scheme of imperial defence in which the United Kingdom and the colonies were both to have part, but they thought it best that the initiative should be taken by the colonies, and the War Office would willingly co-operate with them when requested. But the Admiralty, apparently less bound by tradition and red tape, entirely accepted the idea of a colonial naval reserve. The contrast between the two departments was freely commented upon, and seemed to bear out the complaints against the treatment of the Colonial Volunteers by the officers of the regular Army previous to Lord Roberts' arrival at Cape Town.

The need for the Ministry to place on the Statute Book some other record of the year than that recognising the Australian Commonwealth Constitution, caused Mr. Balfour (June 18) to appropriate the rest of the session for Government business, making no promise, however, of what that business would be, except that it should not be controversial. The vagueness of this epithet was promptly shown, when, notwithstanding a memorial signed by 198 members, irrespective of party, he refused to give special facilities for passing the bill for the prevention of the sale of liquor to children, which had passed the second reading without a division, and was warmly supported on both sides of the House. On the other hand, the Money Lending Bill, brought from the House of Lords, was pushed

forward, notwithstanding the opposition of a considerable number of lawyers and laymen, led by Mr. A. Birrell (*Fife, S.*), who contended that the framers of the bill had confused the rate of interest on loans with the question of fraudulent contract. The bill did not fix the rate of interest payable on loans, and consequently judges would determine what was a fair rate according to their personal views. The result of such legislation would be to add to the difficulty of poor people in obtaining small loans. The Government view, expressed by Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*), and the Attorney-General, Sir R. B. Finlay, was that the facts revealed before the Money Lending Commission amply justified interference, and the grant of power to the judges to review and revise cruel contracts. They insisted also upon the necessity of putting down the practice of issuing circulars to minors, inciting them to gamble or borrow money. The bill was ultimately read a second time (June 26) without a division, and referred to the Standing Committee on Trade by 150 to 47 votes. Its progress before this tribunal was, however, too slow for those who wished for legislation during the session, and acting under their pressure, the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. T. W. Russell, moved (July 12) that the bill should be transferred to the Standing Committee on Law. The reason alleged was that the Committee on Trade had been unexpectedly deliberate in their proceedings, and had only reached the twelfth clause of a long and complicated bill. The Committee on Law was, it was said, practically clear of work, and there was no reason for not making the transfer. After a very mild protest from Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who found very little support, against the practice of transferring a bill from one committee to another, the motion was agreed to by 228 to 61 votes. The proceeding was so far justified by the result that in less than a fortnight the bill was reported (July 24) to the House. Finally, notwithstanding the criticism of the lawyers, who regarded the measure as impracticable, and its protection as illusory, it was passed through its final stages (July 31) with certain verbal amendments, and ultimately became law.

Another bill aiming at the protection of the guileless from fraud was also pushed forward about the same time. The Companies Bill, for which there had been a general demand from the public, had been formally brought in early in the session, but had remained for four months unnoticed by its promoters. It was rumoured that the Government had had pressure put upon them to induce them not to proceed with a measure which if operative would be wide-reaching, and if inoperative, useless. The President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Ritchie (*Croydon*), however, decided to press the bill, and in moving the second reading (June 26) said that it provided, among other things, against the evils of directors acting without qualification or taking gifts of paid-up shares. Another evil provided against was that of bogus subscriptions. Scandal had moreover arisen

on many occasions in connection with secret payments to vendors and promoters, to prevent which the bill provided that a statement should be inserted in the prospectus of the amounts payable to the vendor or promoters and the consideration therefor. As to the practice of underwriting shares, it was not objectionable in itself so long as the public knew what had been paid for underwriting and the amount of shares underwritten; and the bill contained a very stringent provision to that effect. It also directed that all mortgages should be registered with the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, and should be open to public inspection. Any mortgages which were not so registered would be invalid. The bill did not deal with all the abuses of company promoting, but it was an honest attempt to remedy some of the more glaring imperfections of the existing law. In the discussion which ensued the bill received general though not unqualified support, and it was read a second time without a division. A motion for referring it to the Standing Committee on Trade met with some opposition, but was carried by 138 to 52 votes.

The eagerness with which both parties wished to claim credit for the extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act to agricultural labourers was significant of an approaching appeal to the electors, and some supporters of the principle were anxious that it should apply to casual labourers, and to employers who habitually employed one or more workmen. On the latter point the Government was ready to make concessions, and finally the bill passed the Commons (June 27), and the Lords having accepted the amendment with slight verbal alteration, the bill was finally passed and received royal assent.

Another measure dealing with a more limited industry was a bill defining more definitely the liability of shipowners and others on account of damage done to property by a vessel. It was promoted by the shipowning interest and placed in charge of Mr. C. M'Arthur (*Liverpool Exchange*), by whom it was skilfully piloted through the difficulties and dangers besetting a private bill. The questions raised were for the most part technical, and the clause which put foreign plaintiffs on a different footing to British in English courts having been abandoned by the promoters, after considerable discussion by experts and others, the bill was read a third time (June 27) and ultimately became law.

Mr. John Morley, whose intervention in debate had been a rare event, was not so successful with the British Museum Bill, of which, as an unofficial trustee, he had been placed in charge. Its object was to give the museum authorities power to dispose of printed matter, for which they had no storage space. The idea was that local museums and libraries would take charge of and preserve files of local newspapers for public use for the purposes of research. The proposal met with considerable criticism in the public press, but it was difficult to discriminate between that arising from the unwillingness of local authorities

to undertake the suggested duties, and the plea on behalf of future students of history, who would expect to find all necessary materials for their work in one storehouse. In withdrawing the bill (June 28) Mr. Morley expressed the hope that during the recess ministers would consider the only alternative for the bill—a grant to the trustees for providing storage for the printed matter they were obliged by law to receive, much of which, in his opinion, no rational man would wish to preserve.

The question of housing the working classes had attracted the labour representatives and the advanced Radicals, and both groups had brought in bills to amend and extend the act of 1890. On the production of the Government bill these had been allowed to drop, and the efforts of their promoters were directed towards amending the Ministerial measure in committee (June 25), but without any practical effect. Suggestions that urban authorities should not only be empowered to establish lodging-houses but also to acquire land outside their districts; that county councils should be permitted to withhold their consent without stating their reasons; that cottage plots might exceed half an acre, were all negatived by majorities of forty and upwards, but a proposal by Mr. Whitmore (*Chelsea*), enabling local authorities to lease land for building lodging-houses was agreed to by 165 to 84 votes, and the bill ultimately passed (July 12) and was accepted with a few verbal alterations by the Upper House.

In the course of the same week the Government had to explain on two occasions their reasons for taking in the current session views exactly opposed to those put forward in the previous one. In presenting the promised bill dealing with secondary education, the Duke of Devonshire, as Lord President of the Council, said that the object of the Board of Education Act, passed in the previous session, was to unite in one office the two educational departments then in existence—the Education Office and the Science and Art Department—and at the same time to bring under the administration of the new Board some of the duties previously discharged by the Charity Commissioners and the Board of Agriculture. Last year he thought it would be desirable to establish a third branch of the Education Office to deal with secondary education, but for various reasons it had now been decided to revert to the dual organisation of the office. The permanent secretary would be responsible for the administration of the whole department, and under him there would be two principal assistant secretaries charged with the oversight of elementary and secondary education respectively. The name of the Science and Art Department would be abolished and its business merged in that of the secondary education branch of the office. In place of the third division formerly contemplated, it was now proposed to give the assistant secretary for secondary education two additional assistant secretaries, one of whom would be chiefly charged with the control of

literary instruction, the other with that of technological studies. With regard to the powers of local bodies, the bill contained little beyond the proposals embodied in the bill of 1896, so far as that measure was concerned with secondary education. Under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, and the Local Taxation Act of 1890, certain local authorities were invested with limited powers of aiding and supervising technical and manual instruction as a part of secondary education; the resources at the disposal of those bodies being the proceeds of a penny rate, and a sum which they derived from the local taxation account, and which now amounted to over 800,000*l.* a year. The existing authorities were county councils, county borough councils, the councils of non-county boroughs, and urban district councils; but only the two former received anything from the local taxation fund. The bill would make the application of the grants from that fund to educational purposes compulsory instead of optional, and would likewise enable the local authority to apply both the grant and the rate to purposes of secondary education generally, instead of technical or manual instruction only. The extended powers would be given to county and county borough councils only, leaving the minor authorities the powers they already enjoyed in regard to technical instruction. The bill further proposed to reconstitute upon a more formal and recognised basis the educational committees already in existence, and the limit of the rate was to be raised to 2*d.* With regard to the denominational question, it was to be remembered that the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 contained certain restrictions on aid to denominational institutions. The first of these was in the nature of a conscience clause, and had been maintained in the present bill. The second was a provision of a rather remarkable character, and he had never been able to ascertain how it came to be introduced, nor what was its precise object. Its terms were that "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught at any school aided out of the local rate to a scholar attending only for the purposes of technical or manual instruction under this Act, and the time for prayer or religious worship, or for any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, shall be conveniently arranged for the purpose of allowing the withdrawal of such scholar therefrom." Such a provision might obviously be objected to as limiting the discretion of the local authority in the choice of schools, the schools of a denominational character being in many cases the only institutions of the kind which it was possible for the local authority to aid. A fair objection might also be taken to it as creating invidious distinctions between those numerous secondary schools which in some form gave religious instruction and those comparatively new schools which gave none. Under the circumstances, and having regard to the very small effect which the clause had hitherto had (having been

presumably in some way or another evaded by those whom its action was intended to restrain), it was now proposed, while leaving the provision in force in the Technical Instruction Act, to replace it as regarded the present bill by a provision simply prohibiting aid to any school in respect of religious instruction. In conclusion, the duke intimated that he had little hope that the bill, which must necessarily raise a considerable amount of controversy, could be passed into law during the present session.

The other point upon which the intentions of the Government showed a complete change, which in both instances was ascribed to official rather than to political influences, was that of the Militia ballot. The Earl of Wemyss had taken up a bill for enforcing this method of recruiting the Reserves, and in moving its second reading (July 2) explained that it was the same measure as had been submitted to the House in the previous year by the Secretary of State for War, but in his judgment it was far too drastic; so that he hoped the House would, after giving it a second reading, considerably modify it in committee. The Government had not only abandoned this bill, but had now taken the unprecedented course of sending out a whip against it. He disclaimed any wish to see the conscription established in this country; he simply wanted what he asked for, the Militia ballot as a reality instead of a dead letter. Earl Cowper, who followed, was against compulsion; and the events of the last nine months, showing as they did the willingness of the nation to serve when necessary, had not altered his opinion. Lord Newton, after considering the Government proposals for home defence, emphatically preferred those embodied in the bill before them. The Marquess of Lansdowne said the bill of 1899 had been introduced in order that their lordships might see the form legislation would have to take, should it be required, in order to make the ballot effective, but they had never announced any intention with regard to it, and had certainly never pledged themselves to pass such a bill through Parliament during that or any other session. It was impossible at the present time to describe fully the proposals they had in view for the Militia, but he would outline some of the measures it was intended to adopt in the immediate future. In the first place, action would be taken without loss of time to remedy the grievance with respect to clothing. Then a scheme had been prepared giving to Militia officers more frequent opportunities of attending courses of instruction without having to incur any private expense, while something would also be done to add to the efficiency of the non-commissioned officers. He hoped, further, to be able to increase the length of the training undergone by Militia recruits. A scheme had likewise been considered allowing the whole of the Militia to accept a longer liability for service abroad, and in consideration of their assuming that liability the bounties might be considerably increased, with

the further condition that the Militia Reserve should be put an end to altogether. Lord Lansdowne concluded by moving the previous question, which was carried by 90 to 31 votes, and subsequently he informed the House that the Militia establishment consisted of 124,273 (exclusive of the permanent staff and of officers). Of these 91,824 were actually serving, besides about 12,000 Reservists serving in line regiments. Of the Militia serving at home 57,000 were in Great Britain and 13,000 in Ireland; of the former 21,000 were under the age of twenty, of whom 5,000 were under eighteen years. In Ireland, 5,500 were under twenty and of these 1,400 were under eighteen years.

The result of this division was more satisfactory than that which took place on a resolution moved a few days later (July 6) by Viscount Templeton in favour of compensation to Irish landlords for injury done to them by land legislation since 1881. He wished to have a royal commission appointed to inquire into their grievances, basing his demand on Mr. Gladstone's specific statement in 1881, that if Parliament were to pass a law providing that rents should be universally reduced to Griffith's valuation, there would be a fair case for compensation. As a matter of fact in the ten years which followed the passing of the Act of 1881 the Land Commission had reduced 145,332 rents from an aggregate of 3,425,800*l.* to 2,661,000*l.*, or very little above Griffith's valuation which was 2,583,038*l.* As to the method of compensation he saw no reason why it should not follow the usual course and take the shape of money. The Duke of Devonshire said ministers were unable to accept the resolution. For one thing they held that no commission would be competent to form a judgment as to the matters in question or to advise Parliament or the Government concerning them. Besides, Parliament had never yet accepted, in a broad and absolute manner, the principle of compensation for losses sustained in consequence of legislation, unless those consequences were foreseen and in cases where compensation was provided for in the legislation itself or in simultaneous legislation; and it was obvious that an unrestricted application of the principle might carry them to dangerous lengths. As to what Mr. Gladstone had said, it would be easy to cite other passages from his speeches in which, while admitting that compensation would be due if confiscation could be shown to be contained in the Act of 1881, he denied that the principle of confiscation was to be found in it, and therefore categorically refused to include any principle of compensation in its provisions. Something had nevertheless been done, and was being done, for the landowners. The Irish Local Government Act had relieved them of half the poor rate, at a cost to the State of 316,000*l.* a year; they were about to receive additional relief in respect of the tithe; and it was through measures such as these, which could be supported on grounds of public policy and not merely as instalments of

compensation, that further relief might be possible. Lord Clonbrock deeply regretted the decision of the Government. The Irish landlords had never really had an opportunity of properly stating their case as they could before a royal commission. The Duke of Abercorn and the Earl of Mayo, both staunch supporters of the Government, were still more staunch in defence of their own and their brother landowners' interests, and the resolution, although it was certain that it would lead to nothing, was carried against the Government by 62 to 59 votes.

This adverse vote which aroused no popular feeling was altogether unheeded by the Ministry, but it was very different in the case of the hospitals in South Africa, to the condition of which Mr. Burdett-Coutts (*Westminster*) had called attention in a letter to the *Times* newspaper (June 27). This letter, after specifying certain instances which had come under the writer's own observation, brought grave charges against the Army Medical Department and the treatment of the sick and wounded in South Africa. The letter, written in a moderate spirit, made full allowance for the difficulties in the way of providing for all the wants of an army in the field, but it showed that even at the base the arrangements were imperfect and the supply of appliances inadequate. The letter aroused intense interest, recalling as it did the revelations of the medical mismanagement made at the time of the Crimean campaign. As might have been anticipated the medical profession at once took up the cause of their colleagues on service, and they were able to enlist on their side the distinguished surgeons, Sir William MacCormac, Mr. Treves and others, who had been sent out by the Government with general powers of supervision, but without any actual powers of control. These gentlemen, speaking at a dinner given in their honour on their return, had stated that "throughout Cape Colony and Natal" the medical arrangements were complete and could not have been better managed. Mr. Burdett-Coutts, in view of this sweeping assertion, felt that "the time had come to speak out," and in his letter declared that on the night of April 28, "hundreds of men to his knowledge were lying in the worst stages of typhoid, with only a blanket and a thin waterproof sheet (not even the latter for many of them) between their aching bodies and the hard ground, with no milk and hardly any medicines, without beds, stretchers, or mattresses, without pillows, without linen of any kind, without a single nurse amongst them, with only a few ordinary private soldiers to act as "orderlies," rough and utterly untrained to nursing, and with only three doctors to attend on 350 patients. There were none of the conditions of a forced march about this. It was a mile from Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State, a large town which we had occupied for more than six weeks, with a line of railway to two seaports, along which thousands of troops and countless trainloads of stores and equipment of all kinds, and for every one except the

sick, had been moving up during the whole of that leisurely halting-time. About the same day a convoy of wounded men were being subjected to nameless torture for want of any ambulance transport or the simplest comforts, huddled together in rough, springless ox-waggon, jolted over spruit and drift for forty miles; the road being strategically safe and their destination this same Bloemfontein, provided with most things except humane appliances for the wounded."

Particular details of a most painful character were added, and it was hinted that the state of things disclosed was typical of what might be seen in other field hospitals at the seat of war. Up to that time the service had been "fairly" carried on. It was when the pressure of sickness came that the arrangements broke down. Accommodation existed for some 5,000 patients at the most, whereas it ought to have been provided for 20,000, the statistics of previous wars showing that an army in the field ought to count on having 10 per cent. of its numbers in hospital from various causes before the end of the war. As a matter of fact, by the end of May, we had some 20,000 sick and wounded on our hands, the proportion of the former being, of course, very much the larger. Mr. Burdett-Coutts bore witness to the zeal and devotion shown by the members of the medical service, but pointed out that their numbers were totally inadequate. At one time, the staff of the Bloemfontein hospital consisted of just three doctors and twenty-five untrained privates—there were no nurses—while the number of patients was 496, of whom 300 were down with typhoid. A "field hospital" was theoretically competent to deal with 520 patients, and should be able to do so when properly manned, its regular staff consisting of twenty medical officers, seventy-eight trained orderlies, twenty-seven untrained privates and nine nurses.

Mr. Burdett-Coutts, who during his stay in South Africa had written anonymously several letters to the *Times*, had also telegraphed to Lord Wolseley: "CAPETOWN, June 1.—Returned from front, terrible pressure sickness. Breakdown in medical arrangements. Doctors, nurses, equipment miserably insufficient. Pitiable scenes here entirely falsify statements sent home." Messages to the same effect were also reaching the War Office from other sources, and on June 5 the attention of Lord Roberts was directly called to the matter. In reply, Lord Roberts admitted that the accommodation for the sick and wounded at Kroonstad, on the arrival of the British force, had proved quite insufficient, but explained that this was due to the exigencies of the military situation, and added that ample accommodation had since been provided. He also appealed to the evidence of Sir W. MacCormac and Mr. Treves as more reliable than that of Mr. Burdett-Coutts, "to whom I would have explained what our difficulties were at Kroonstad, if he had taken the trouble to call upon me." In answer to further inquiries Lord Roberts telegraphed (June 25):

"When we arrived at Bloemfontein we had an abnormal number of sick, due, no doubt, not only to the peculiarly exhausting nature of the march, but also to the terrible insanitary conditions of our camp at Paardeberg, where the only water available for drinking purposes flowed down from the Boer camp a mile and a half higher up the river, which was crowded with dead animals in a state of decomposition. We also had a considerable number of wounded after the fight on March 10. To hastily improvise accommodation at Bloemfontein for such a large number, which gradually increased up to 2,000 before I left that town, was no easy task. Owing to the rapidity of our march from the Modder no tents could be carried with the force, and none were available until our railway communication with Cape Colony had been restored. As soon as I could arrange for such supplies being placed at Bloemfontein as were necessary for the very existence of the force, I ordered up tents and all necessary appliances for the sick, nurses, more doctors, and more hospitals. Bloemfontein is not a large town, but all suitable public buildings, schools, etc., were made into hospitals. I constantly visited these, and after a very short time they were, I considered, in good order and not overcrowded. . . . I can quite understand that people who have no practical experience in such matters are much concerned to hear the hardships which sick and wounded soldiers have to undergo in time of war, especially when they are not aware of the many difficulties that have to be contended with in order to alleviate suffering on active service. Such difficulties are sufficiently great in countries in which there are large towns and villages, and easy communication by road and rail from the base of operations, but they have been immeasurably increased in South Africa by the local conditions." Lord Roberts went on to suggest that a small commission, consisting of one or two medical men of recognised ability, "together with some men of sound common sense," should be deputed to proceed to South Africa to inquire into the medical arrangements. He had no wish to shirk responsibility or to screen the shortcomings of the Army Medical Corps, should any be proved against them; and he undertook to give the commission the fullest assistance. Lord Lansdowne having telegraphed the substance of Mr. Burdett-Coutts' letter in the *Times* of June 27, Lord Roberts answered: "I cannot say without careful inquiry what hospital at Bloemfontein is referred to. . . . It was, however, impossible to provide beds and mattresses for 5,000 patients all at once. I can safely say that any deficiencies of the kind were accidental and temporary, and certainly not typical of our field hospitals as a whole."

In view of this correspondence, and having regard to the interest roused by the charges against the Army Medical Staff, Mr. Balfour undertook to allow the matter to be discussed forthwith; and a "full-dress debate" was raised (June 29) on a sup-

plementary vote of 5*l.* for the Army Medical Establishment. The Under-Secretary, Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), who somewhat unwillingly opened the discussion, assured the House that the Government did not assert that no errors had been committed, but they had made every effort to mitigate the inevitable hardships of the war. He warmly denied that the Government had failed to provide against an outbreak of enteric fever on a large scale, but he was wisely silent upon the correspondence on this special point which had taken place between Sir W. B. Forster, M.P., and the War Office at the first outbreak of hostilities. Mr. Wyndham in fact declared that the possibility had been foreseen—all measures of precaution adopted—the medical officers urged to ask for whatever they needed. The bed accommodation provided was on the most liberal scale, and if some of the sick and wounded had to endure hardships the rate of mortality was less than in hospitals at home. Mr. Wyndham then branched off into a eulogy of Lord Roberts, and having alluded to the silence (if voluntary he did not say), of the numerous war correspondents in South Africa, he ended with the usual defence of the department he represented. His speech carried little conviction to the public mind, and was received with coldness by the House. Mr. Burdett-Coutts (*Westminster*), who followed him, generally adhered to his statements and even emphasised them, though he admitted that he had been mistaken in regarding the Bloemfontein field hospital of which he wrote as typical, it being in fact the worst hospital at the seat of war. But every word of his description of what he had seen was literally true. He did not think that sufficient alacrity had been shown in increasing the accommodation at Bloemfontein, where the severest pressure of sickness was not felt till the second week of May—six weeks after the railway had been running freely. At the same time he imputed no blame either to the home authorities or to those at the front, inclining rather to ascribe our failures to the inelasticity of the present system of medical service. Sir Charles Dilke considered that there had been scandalous mismanagement in the Intombi camp at Ladysmith, and expressed his belief that the inquiry would show that the situation on one line of advance also existed on at least two other lines.

In the speech in which Mr. Balfour closed the debate on behalf of the Government, he adopted a line which dismayed his supporters without answering his critics. He charged the Opposition with a desire to make party capital out of this question, and pointed out that they could not strike at the Government without striking at the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa. That Lord Roberts had a sufficiency of medical material at his disposal was admitted, but in his historical and phenomenal march he could only carry with him a limited amount of supplies. To argue, however, that a general should delay his advance because he could not take with him ample medical

accommodation would accord ill with the rules either of war or of humanity, for war was best brought to a conclusion by striking swiftly and striking hard. He endeavoured, in fact, to make the question one in which Lord Roberts was personally under censure, and to take shelter behind his popularity. At the same time he raised a side issue, by means of which he endeavoured to find a means of escape for the War Office. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman recognised that the debate must be incomplete and unsatisfactory, as the committee were not in possession of all the facts. Some important facts were, however, known, one of them being that for every man who had died of wounds two had died of enteric fever. Blame was due somewhere, but at present it could not be assigned. Mr. Labouchere thought there ought to be an understanding that the names of the gentlemen to serve on the commission of inquiry should be submitted to the House of Commons. A division had been expected on the vote, and had it been taken might have brought home to the leader of the House how greatly he had misjudged public opinion on the subject, and how deeply it would resent his way of treating the question.

A week later (July 5) it again came before the House, when Mr. Balfour stated that the committee would consist of Lord Justice Romer, Dr. Church and Professor D. J. Cunningham. The announcement that on a committee of inquiry into the alleged shortcomings of the medical service a majority should be composed of medical men was received with amazement and as evidence of the cynical indifference to public opinion which Mr. Balfour, and in a lesser degree Lord Salisbury, took pleasure in displaying. Mr. Burdett-Coutts (*Westminster*) objected to the name of one member of the committee who held an appointment under the War Office, and asked that opportunity should be given for its discussion. This member afterwards (July 12) was shown to be an examiner of candidates for the Army Medical Service, appointed by the War Office, and receiving a salary. Mr Balfour, however, saw no reason for any debate, and was not disposed to allow his announcement to be criticised. This gave Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) an opportunity of administering an effective rebuke to the leader of the House. He promptly moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the composition of the committee and to the scope of its inquiry, and the numbers of those who supported the motion were such that Mr. Balfour had no option but to submit. In supporting his views, Mr. Labouchere pointed out with much clearness and unpleasant incisiveness that the Government, notwithstanding their desire to uphold Lord Roberts, had proposed a committee which did not meet the Commander-in-Chief's requirements, which were that the inquiry should be conducted by one or two doctors and some men of business capacity and common sense. In view, moreover, of the exaggerated notions of professional etiquette, it was most undesirable that doctors should be in a majority on the commission, which would deal with a branch

of the medical profession. Mr. Burdett-Coutts (*Westminster*), who seconded the motion, disapproved of the commission on similar grounds, and in manly terms defended the position in which he had been placed by the course adopted by the Government. His motives had been attacked, and he had been placed in the position of a defendant on the one hand—and at the same time of a defendant who had to prove the accuracy of his statements—whilst those really inculpated were allowed a free hand. The leader of the Opposition, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in a studiously temperate speech, showed a thorough appreciation of public feeling on the subject, in strange contrast with Mr. Balfour's inability to understand the plain and straightforward view taken by those whose friends and relatives had been the victims of official incompetence or delay. He insisted upon a greater representation of laymen on the commission in accordance with the wish expressed by Lord Roberts himself, for, as one of the several Government supporters, Colonel Saunderson, (*Armagh, N.*) said, Mr. Balfour might as well have nominated a single doctor to carry out the inquiry, and another Conservative ex-Minister, Sir James Ferguson (*Manchester, N.E.*), urged that the committee, to command the confidence of the public, needed enlargement.

Mr. Balfour, in reply, instead of frankly dealing with the suggestion thrown out by the leader of the Opposition, made a speech of extreme petulance, "full of cheap sarcasm and thin debating points." He accused Mr. Burdett-Coutts, whom he regarded as a public enemy, of attacking Lord Roberts, and a few minutes later accused him of attacking nobody. He ignored the fact that it was quite possible that Lord Roberts, whom Mr. Burdett had not, even by implication, attacked, was not responsible to the same degree that the War Office or the Secretary of State for War might be, and he seemed quite unable to see that a properly conducted inquiry would determine with whom the responsibility for any blunders would rest. Instead of treating the question in this spirit, Mr. Balfour laboriously rehearsed the merits of his commission, than which it would be impossible to appoint one more competent or more impartial, and if such a body of men did not inspire public confidence, he should despair of finding any who did. In apparent ignorance of everything which had been said or written by the mouthpieces of his own party as well as of the Opposition, Mr. Balfour said that he felt sure that the country would not endorse the criticisms which had been passed upon the proposals of the Government. Such a speech, received as it was with chilling coldness on the Ministerial side of the House, gave Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) the opportunity of administering a well-deserved attack upon the spokesman of the Conservative party, who was unable to find a single defender on his own side. Mr. Asquith supposed Mr. Balfour unable to understand the reason of the dissatisfaction felt on all sides of the House, or that he had deliberately mis-

represented it. There was no disagreement as to the abilities of the medical men nominated; but the point was whether under such circumstances the majority of the commission ought to be of that profession. At first it seemed as if Mr. Balfour was obstinately determined not to make any concessions; but during the speeches which followed, the party whips recognised the inexpediency, if not the actual danger, of pushing matters to a trial of strength, and ultimately he was forced to give way. This he did with very ill grace, saying that he did so only after the "reckless attacks" made upon the members of the commission, of which the authority was destroyed beforehand, and who might perhaps refuse to serve. He was unnecessarily sarcastic in rejecting Mr. Burdett-Coutt's offer to assist in the selection of an additional name, and apparently could not understand that the acceptance of such an offer would have been a far greater guarantee in public opinion than all Mr. Balfour's encomiums of his own nominees, and his unruffled conviction that his own judgment as to the size and composition of the commission was altogether better than that of the House. He however recognised the necessity of taking the latter view, and consented to the increase of the commissioners to five, who should not be politicians by profession, and it was subsequently announced that Sir D. Richmond, ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow, and Mr. Harrison, general manager of the London and North-Western Railway, had consented to serve. A good deal of discussion arose at a later date as to the means by which evidence could be obtained from subordinate officers and privates, without exposing them to serious inconvenience and even to harsh treatment. It was finally arranged to make the commission a royal commission, with full powers to take evidence on oath, and to grant indemnity to witnesses appearing. How far such indemnity would prevail against military prejudice was a debatable point, but assurances were given that so far as possible all evidence should be regarded as confidential, and should be treated with proper regard to the interests of the witnesses.

The unwillingness of the Government to allow any effective searchlight to be turned upon the conduct of the war was further illustrated by a short debate which took place (July 17) on a question from the Duke of Bedford, who wished to know if any inquiry would be made into the deficiencies of our military system, and the results submitted to Parliament with a view to the reconstruction of the War Office and the reorganisation of the Army. He also called attention to the question of imperial defence and kindred matters. The Marquess of Lansdowne observed that reconstruction and reorganisation were very vague words, and he preferred not to use them till he had in his mind a clear idea of the meaning he intended to convey by their use. That the war would lead to changes in the organisation of the Army, in its training and equipment, he felt very little doubt. "But," he added, "we can scarcely condemn the whole of the

old machinery, we can scarcely begin to construct new machinery until we have made ourselves fully aware of the extent to which the old machinery has broken down, the points at which it has failed, and, above all, whether the failure has been due to imperfections of the machinery itself or to errors on the part of those who had control of and directed its operations." The evidence which would be of most value on this head—the evidence, namely, of officers who had taken part in the campaign—could not be had till the close of the war. Some facts had, indeed, already come out with sufficient clearness for the Government to be able to take action upon them. Hence the increase and rearmament of the artillery which was in progress; military stores were also being accumulated, and it was meant not only to keep up a much larger reserve than before, but to make it incumbent upon any succeeding Administration to keep it up. Earl Spencer hoped that no commission, independent of Government, would be appointed to inquire into the cause of our disasters. The Government should investigate the matter for themselves, as the country would assuredly hold them responsible. Some other peers having spoken, Lord Lansdowne, in the course of a general reply, demurred to the suggestion that because at particular moments our troops had been brought to a standstill on account of the want of horses that was necessarily due to shortcomings in the supply of remounts. During many weeks Lord Roberts was dependent for all supplies on a single line of railway, and it was only with the greatest difficulty in the earlier days after his arrival at Bloemfontein, and again at Pretoria, that he was able to secure food and forage. Meanwhile there were horses in Cape Colony which could not be sent to him, as they had either to travel on their legs or to wait until other more important stores and equipment had been sent to the front.

The matter was then allowed to drop, but the conviction was that no really effective inquiry into the blunders of the campaign would be instituted; and that private influences would be too strong to allow the names of those really responsible to transpire. The excuse of the Government for such a course was that as it was impossible to recall the past, it was unnecessary to stir up controversies in which personal feeling would predominate over public interest.

The Agricultural Holdings Bill had emerged from the Standing Committee with many changes from the original draft, but the alterations were not altogether to the taste of the Conservative party, their chief aim being to simplify procedure, and at the same time to extend the tenant's right to compensation and to restrict the power of imposing penal rents. On the question of considering the amended bill (July 2), Lord Wiloughby de Eresby (*Horncastle, Lincolnshire*) complained, amongst other things, that the arbitrator was not compelled to specify in his award the amounts given in respect of claims for compensa-

tion for the waste. Objection was also taken to the clauses restricting the landlord's right of distress, to a tenant's claim for improvements made without his landlord's consent, and to the rights of altering the character of the holding. Mr. Long, the President of the Board of Agriculture (*West Derby, Liverpool*) said, that on these points they followed the recommendations of the royal commission, and justified the arbitration clause on the ground that it simplified procedure. The opposition to the measure from the Radicals was led by Mr. Channing (*Northants, E.*), who wished to graft upon the measure the Irish doctrine of compensation for disturbance, which Mr. Long opposed as opening the door to undesirable litigation—and this view was taken by 207 against 111 members. Equally ineffectual efforts were made to limit a tenant's claim for compensation by Mr. Buchanan (*Aberdeenshire, E.*); to give special compensation for improvements in cottage gardens by Mr. Yoxall (*Nottingham, W.*); to prevent contracting out; to exempt Scotland from the operation of the arbitration clause, and subsequently from the whole act. And the attempt was renewed on the third reading (July 19) with similar want of success, Mr. Buchanan asserting that Scotland had no need of the bill, whilst Mr. A. Thomas (*Merthyr Tydvil*) and others maintained that it did not supply adequate remedies for the grievances of Welsh tenants; but none of the objectors challenged a division. In the House of Lords, the proposal, rejected by the Commons, that in estimating the value of an improvement, the inherent capabilities of the soil should be taken into account, was agreed to by an enormous majority—50 to 5 votes—and on the question of planting osier beds the Government was defeated by 25 to 15 votes, but a settlement on these and other points was easily reached and the bill became law.

The cognate measure for the benefit of dwellers in towns, the Housing of the Working Classes Bill, was also allowed to pass (July 12) after a good deal of damaging criticism from Sir W. Foster (*Ilkeston, Derbyshire*) and Mr. W. S. Robson (*South Shields*), who showed how inadequate the measure would prove in getting rid of the "slum landlord." An attempt to endow the local authorities with compulsory powers to carry the act into operation was persistently opposed by Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*), who on this and on other points seemed to think that the measure he had proposed was incapable of improvement, notwithstanding the protests and criticism of those who had devoted years to the study of the housing of the poor before Mr. Chaplin turned his attention to political life.

The Tithe Rent Charge (Ireland) Bill was more keenly criticised, although like the Agricultural Holdings Bill it was an attempt to remove grievances of which the existence was generally recognised. A similar bill had been introduced in the previous session, but had been abandoned in view of the opposition of the Irish Nationalists, who protested that a scheme

involving only 50,000*l.* a year, to be provided by the Irish Church Fund, was wholly inadequate. This year in the debate on the second reading (June 28), Sir Wm. Harcourt supported them on the ground that the Church Fund should not be frittered away for the benefit of one particular class. The class was probably a small one, but its grievance was serious, since notwithstanding the great fall in Irish rents the terms for the redemption of tithes had remained unaltered at a number of years' purchase altogether unobtainable for land. The Government's proposal was to place tithe-payers under the Church Act, and payers of lay-tithes on the same footing, and to vary tithes according to the rent. The objections raised were for the most part technical or on questions of detail, still they sufficed to provide for five nights' debate and to call for more than one appeal for the closure. On the motion for the third reading (July 18), Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) in a fierce speech moved the rejection of the bill, alleging that it set at naught the principles of common justice and sound finance; tore up a statutory compact without adequate reason and without providing compensation; impaired the security of the Irish Church Fund, and established an illogical standard for the variation of tithe rent charge. This speech, although characterised by Mr. Balfour as made for election purposes, had the result of showing a very remarkable reduction of the Government's normal majority, the third reading being carried only by 110 to 74 votes. In the House of Lords the feelings of the Irish landlords were more clearly expressed, for whilst Lord Clonbrock declared (July 19) that the measure fell far short of what Irish landlords expected, the Marquess of Londonderry, the Earls of Mayo and Arran accepted it as an act of justice but did not consider it a boon; and finally it was allowed to pass with certain verbal amendments.

Among the other Government measures, the Elementary Education Bill, giving Boards of Guardians power to send workhouse children to board schools, and making some other slight changes, was passed after a strong protest against the methods resorted to; and similarly two amending bills relating to Ireland, one dealing with intermediate education, and the other with local government, were dealt with (July 26). The military measures of the Government were all carried after very little debate; but the Volunteers Bill was not allowed to pass without severe criticism and an important concession on the part of the Government. Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast W.*) moved the rejection of the bill (July 18) on the ground that the clause providing for offers of service abroad struck at the essential character of the force as implied in the term "Volunteers." This view was strongly supported by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who pointed out that the committee of 1894 on the Volunteer force had never included such a recommendation. At length the Under-Secretary, Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), seemed to

realise the strength of the opposition which the War Office had so gratuitously provoked, and hurriedly offered to abandon the clause altogether. In committee, however (July 23), Mr. Wyndham induced the House to pass an amended version of the clause by which Volunteers might be accepted for actual military service at such places in Great Britain as might be specified by agreement. The War Office thus showed its usual hazy conception of the Volunteers, regarding them at one time with contempt as a force and at another as useful stop-gaps in the regular Army. The Military Lands Bill proposed to amend the Act of 1892 under which popularly elected bodies were empowered to acquire sites for rifle-ranges and to incur other expenses for the benefit of the auxiliary forces, as well as to borrow money for the same purposes. It had been found, however, that the intentions of the local authorities were sometimes frustrated by defects in the law, and these defects would be remedied by the bill, which aimed at nothing more. The State now did something towards supplying ranges directly to the Volunteers, 40,000*l.* a year having been allocated by the Military Works Act of 1897, which the Government now proposed to raise to 170,000*l.*, but admitted that this sum would not permit every Volunteer Corps having its own rifle range. The Radicals contended that the whole cost should be provided out of the Imperial Exchequer, but this view the Liberal leaders refused to endorse, and the Government's proposal was accepted. The Naval Reserve Bill met with no opposition from any quarter. The Exportation of Arms Bill, placing restrictions on the sale of munitions of war to possible enemies, was brought in too late to provoke serious opposition, and it was carried with less discussion than such a measure needed and deserved.

On the other hand the Government found it necessary to drop the Military Manœuvres Bill, and amongst civil measures of reform the Secondary Education Bill, the Lunacy Bill, the Factory Acts Amendment Bill, and several others to which less importance was attached by the general public. This annual massacre of the innocents was assented to with less demur than usual, as the unreality of anything like useful opposition was generally felt. There were half-hearted questionings as to whether the Government proposed to hasten the registrations, but the most absolute silence was maintained on the subject of redistribution, of which the needs had been pressed on the Government in the previous session by a large number of its supporters as well as of the Opposition. Any reply to the inquiry on the first-named topic would have revealed the intentions of the Government with regard to an autumn dissolution, and on this point they had come to no decision. So long as the Boer Government was able to make even a show of organised resistance, it would have been impolitic, as well as unusual, for the Ministry in power to appeal to the electors. At the same time not a few of the members of the majority were strenuous in

urging the advantages of a "khaki" election before the ardent militarism of the nation had cooled down, and before the extent of the sacrifices made to sustain our arms in South Africa was realised. The disturbed state of China and the consequent depression of trade, especially in the north of England, combined with the weight of the war taxes which were not at first felt, were urged as reasons or excuses for hurrying on a general election; but the Ministry refused to give any hint as to their intentions, for the excellent reason that they had none, and were waiting on from day to day in hope of receiving guidance from the course of the war. In this way, it was truly said that the question of dissolution was to be decided by Lord Roberts.

Lord Portsmouth, who had consented to be put forward as the spokesman of the evangelical section of the English clergy and laity, seemed to be of opinion that Church questions would play an important part in the elections. He therefore tried to extract (July 16) from the Prime Minister a statement of how the Government intended to enforce the resolution of the House of Commons passed in the previous session, which threatened that if the bishops could not keep order in the Church further legislation would be necessary to secure obedience to the law. Lord Salisbury was not so simple as to give a direct reply, which would necessarily have offended one or other of the Church parties. He dwelt upon the efforts of the archbishops and bishops to secure obedience, and claimed for them the widest latitude in the interpretation of the words "speedily effectual" contained in the resolution. At the same time he recommended Lord Portsmouth and his followers to have recourse to patience, persuasion "and all arts other than those which depend on litigation." The bishops testified to a general willingness on the part of their clergy to respect authority and to take advice; and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) announced his readiness to allow, in his own diocese, the prosecution of any recalcitrant clergyman. At the same time he pointed out that it was not the business of bishops to prosecute their clergy, but as fathers in God to win them over to the path marked out by the formularies of the Church.

At this moment public attention was suddenly called away from South Africa, where the chapter of accidents and surprises had not yet been closed, and from West Africa, where Colonel Willcocks, in face of overwhelming difficulties, had redeemed his promise of relieving the beleaguered garrison in Coomassie, to what was passing in China, and especially in Peking. For some time no official news had been received from the Ministers-resident by their respective Governments, and gradually a feeling of uneasiness as to their safety arose. This was intensified when the news arrived that Admiral Seymour's attempt to march from Tien-tsin to the capital had been frustrated, and that the intervening country was held by Chinese imperial troops, acting in concert with the so-called rebel Boxers. The delay in sending

reinforcements to the legations was primarily due as much to international jealousies as to inadequate preparations, for the threatening state of affairs and the growing hatred of foreigners were thoroughly realised by those on the spot, and the danger of an imminent outbreak clearly foreseen. The British Government was fully occupied with the South African war, which rendered it practically powerless elsewhere. Of this foreign nations were well aware, and hoped to cut out of the moribund Chinese Empire rich provinces with laborious populations on which to lay the foundation of colonial possessions in the Far East. The news of the violation of the recognised law of nations, as shown by the murder of the German Minister and the subsequent beleaguering of the foreign legations, came as a painful surprise; which gradually increased to a feeling of horror as circumstantial accounts of the sufferings of the besieged and their ultimate fate were recounted by apparently well-authenticated witnesses. The Foreign Office was not better informed than the newspapers, and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in default of direct news, told the House of Commons (July 16) that the Consul-General at Shanghai had learned from a well-informed Chinese source that after bombardment the legations had been carried by assault a week previously, and the occupants massacred with scarcely an exception. But a week later, Mr. Brodrick formally stated (July 23) that a communication had been received from the Chinese Minister in London to the effect that the legations were unharmed, and that since the murder of the German Minister the representatives of the other Powers had been protected up to date (July 18) by the Throne. Mr. Brodrick, however, declared that, notwithstanding the message stated to have been despatched on that day (July 18) by the United States Minister, the Government could not give credence to any statements of the Chinese Government which were not supported by Sir Claude Macdonald. A few days later a more detailed account of the horrible tragedy was published as received from the special correspondent of a daily paper, confirming and emphasising the semi-official reports from Chinese sources. A wild cry for vengeance arose throughout Europe—the German Emperor speaking out with least self-restraint, and calling upon his troops, who were hurriedly embarked for China, to remember that they were the descendants of those Huns who neither asked nor gave quarter when dealing with their foes. Alone among the nations of Christendom, the Government of Washington showed scepticism with regard to the blood-curdling stories of Chinese cruelty and faithlessness. The representative of the United States had alone protested against the first overt act of armed intervention taken by the European Powers—the seizure of the Taku forts and the subsequent march of troops to Tien-tsin. The United States Minister at Pekin was therefore in a slightly different position to that of his colleagues; and when after some weeks of

silence the Washington Government requested that a cipher message from Mr. Conger in Pekin should be allowed to pass the demand was at once granted, and a telegram was received, announcing that although hard pressed the members of the various legations were safe on July 8th, and ten days later the Viceroy of Nanking communicated an imperial decree in which it was stated that the foreign ministers were under the care and protection of the Chinese Court. Nevertheless these assurances, were not sufficient to reassure the European public, and so strong was the belief in the treachery and cruelty of the Chinese that obituary notices of the principal members of the legations appeared in the papers, and a memorial service in St. Paul's Cathedral was announced; the *Morning Post* alone among the London papers dissenting from the generally accepted view. No doubt, however, existed that they were in the direst need, and that public feeling throughout the enormous Chinese Empire was predominantly anti-European and anti-Christian, for the missionaries more than the merchants were the victims of outrage and murder. The attitude of the Chinese towards foreigners was no secret, and the ministers of the various Powers at Pekin were well informed; but they were too intent upon international intrigues to take notice of the danger which threatened all alike. They were thus taken unawares when the storm burst upon the legations in Pekin, upon the Russians in Manchuria, and on the Amur frontier, and upon Christian missionaries and their converts in every part of the empire. Troops were hastily despatched to protect European interests, and Russia was able to show by the number disposable from Port Arthur how promptly she had availed herself of that place of arms as a depôt for her Army. But the imminent danger of Europeans and native Christians was not allowed to suspend international jealousies. The suggestion that Japan, as nearest to the scene, should act as policeman for Europe was thrust aside by the continental Powers as soon as it was known that Great Britain was favourable to it. Indian troops, which had been hurriedly despatched to protect the important trading port of Shanghai, were not allowed to disembark until a certain proportion of French and German troops were landed; and even the rescue of the legations at Pekin was delayed by the jealousy of the Powers, who at the same time were ratifying the protocols of the Peace Conference, and exchanging congratulatory telegrams with the Czar on the important results achieved at the Hague meeting of the previous year. The sentimentality of modern humanitarianism was thus cynically brought into collision with national greed and international distrust.

Very little was said in Parliament as to the course of affairs in the Far East, the Opposition abstaining from anything which might hamper Lord Salisbury in his negotiations with foreign Powers. On his behalf Mr. Brodrick stated (July 3) that the Government had communicated to every Power concerned their

desire that as large a force as possible should be placed at the disposal of the officers on the spot. It had been made perfectly clear to Japan that a considerable supplement to its forces would be favourably viewed by Great Britain, and ten thousand men would be sent forthwith from India. At a later date (July 9) it was stated that their number would be doubled; and a week later (July 17) a further addition of 6,000 men was announced. The offer of financial assistance to Japan, conditional upon her sending a large number of troops, had been made at an earlier date, but it fell through for reasons which Mr. Brodrick did not explain (July 30); but he assured the House (July 31) that no political considerations would be allowed to hamper General Gaselee's advance to Peking to rescue the legations, if standing, and the Government hoped to count upon the co-operation of the other Powers. The China question was more fully reviewed on the last night devoted to supply (Aug. 2), when the Foreign Office vote was put down for discussion. Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) moved its reduction as a protest against the delay which had taken place in obtaining from France compensation for the relatives of British officers killed at Waima in West Africa in 1893. Their cause had been taken up by Mr. Arnold White, who found himself checked in every way by the Foreign Office, which notwithstanding repeated promises in Parliament, had never brought the matter before the French Government until 1899, having allowed, meanwhile, to pass uncorrected many expressions of feeling against the conduct of France. It now appeared that as soon as the matter was brought to the knowledge of the French Government, an inquiry was instituted, and France agreed to arbitration without demur. Sir Edward Grey (*Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumberland*), who next spoke, dealt with China, remarking that a very erroneous view had been taken by the Powers of the condition of that country. The idea that China was ripe for partition and that any liberties could be taken with her was a main cause of the present trouble. Another was the anti-Christian feeling which undoubtedly existed among the Chinese, and in view of which it was to be hoped that missionary enterprise would in future be very carefully conducted. Nothing, for instance, should be done that tended to break up local feeling, or impair the strength of village communities, which formed an important factor in the civilisation of China. Not that he had any fault to find with our own missionaries in that respect. He deprecated the idea of exacting any territorial indemnity for the outrages that had been committed, contending that the highly placed personages who were to blame ought to be made personally responsible. Ultimately he trusted that the Chinese might set up a strong and independent Government of their own, for that would be to our interest.

Mr. Brodrick, in reply, stated that France had agreed to an immediate arbitration for the settlement of the Waima claims.

We had at the same time agreed to simultaneous arbitration in the matter of the French claims for the sinking of the *Sergent Malamine*. With regard to the Korean cessions to Russia, we had no ground of interference; the Russian undertaking not to occupy Korean territory having been given solely to China. As to the situation in Peking, it would be unwise to say much just now. So far as the Government could judge, the delay in the relief of the legations did not seem to be due to any lack of co-operation or of energy on the part of the allied commanders. From the first her Majesty's Government had taken every possible means to clear the way for action. They had sent ships from every part of the world, they had proffered financial assistance to Japan, they had striven to assuage jealousies; their one object being that the largest possible number of troops should be sent as soon as possible against the common enemy. Apart from the urgent business of relieving the legations, it was the object of the Government to allay the spirit of unrest in the Yang-tsze Valley, and to that end the viceroys would be assisted in the task of preserving order. Shanghai would also be defended whatever might occur, a third brigade having been ordered from India for that special purpose. The Government would oppose any scheme for the partition of China, though at that time they had no reason to suppose that any such scheme would be brought forward from other quarters. He agreed that China ought to be governed by the Chinese, and ministers had no idea of undertaking or assisting any other Power to "Indianise" the country. In the same spirit they did not regard with approval the idea of organising the Chinese Army under foreign officers, as the effect of such a measure would be to dangerously increase the strength of China. He accepted the suggestion that the indemnity to be exacted should as far as possible be levied upon those who had initiated the insurrection, or had failed to use their powers to check it. With this assurance the House allowed the Foreign Office vote to pass, and nothing more was said concerning China except that 3,000,000*l.* was required to pay the expenses of the expedition.

The Irish estimates naturally led to a considerable flow of eloquence from the Nationalist members, who had the wrongs of their country to ventilate. This year they also devoted themselves (July 20) to urging that the teaching of the Irish language should be made a compulsory subject in all schools receiving a Government grant. It was admitted even by those who were anxious to help the Irish members that there was little prospect of reviving the Erse language, and figures went to show that those still making use of it as a medium were rapidly diminishing. At the time of the last census 32,121 were returned as speaking that language only, while those who spoke both Irish and English were 643,000.

In anticipation of the final debate on the Colonial Office vote and the South African policy of the Government, an im-

portant parliamentary blue-book was issued containing correspondence between Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Schreiner's Ministry on the subject of the treatment of rebels. In a telegram (May 4) Mr. Chamberlain differentiated six classes of rebels—(1) ringleaders; (2) those who had committed outrages or looted property; (3) those who had committed acts contrary to the usages of civilised warfare; (4) those who had openly and willingly waged war against the Queen; (5) those who had aided the enemy by information or with provisions; (6) those who could prove they had acted under compulsion. Mr. Chamberlain suggested that those who came under the first three categories should be tried by a judicial commission. With regard to the others, who might be treated more leniently, he suggested that (4) and (5) might be disfranchised and either pay a fine or released on recognisances, whilst those under (6) acting under compulsion were to be only temporarily disfranchised. Mr. Schreiner's colleagues were unwilling to differentiate between the loyal and the disloyal, and between different degrees of disloyalty, but Mr. Schreiner himself appreciated the point that without some such difference in their treatment the Government would be offering a premium to rebellion. By general consent it was arranged that an opportunity of discussing the South African policy should take place before the close of the session upon the postponed vote for the Colonial Office.

The debate (July 25) which had been keenly awaited revealed in a startling way the divided opinions of the Liberal party. Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Poplar*) opened the debate by a reference to the recently-published correspondence between the Colonial Office and the High Commissioner on the subject of the punishment of the rebels. The number of these had been officially placed at 10,000, and Mr. Buxton, while admitting that the ringleaders deserved punishment, urged that it should be neither continuous, vindictive, nor tainted by political considerations. He disapproved of the suggested idea of a general and perpetual disfranchisement of the rebels in Cape Colony, as the Colonial Secretary would be accused of gerrymandering the Constitution in order to turn a British minority at the Cape into a majority. The party which would suffer most by any such policy would be the Africander party, of which a large section had behaved with great self-control and loyalty in a very critical situation. Sir Wilfrid Lawson (*Cockermouth, Cumberland*), after protesting against the doctrine, "our country, right or wrong," denounced the policy of the Government as that of "the freebooter, the filibuster, the burglar and 'the Boxer,'" and declared that "never again in our time could England boast of herself as the friend of freedom, the protector of the weak, the guardian of the oppressed" if an endeavour were made to crush the Boers out of existence. Mr. A. Elliot (*Durham City*), in a carefully-prepared and closely-reasoned speech, argued that it was evident from the official correspondence that neither side seemed to

have the least power or desire to understand the difficulties of the other, and that both sides were equally indifferent to the plain duty before them of "building up in South Africa a free and self-governing community." At the same time he admitted that it was no longer possible to leave even *quasi* independence to the Boer Republics. Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*), the ex-Solicitor-General under the Liberal Ministry, whilst regretting the division of opinion among his party on this question, said that he should vote with Sir W. Lawson, because he considered the Colonial Secretary's policy had been disastrous to both the colony and to this country. The prospect in South Africa was very serious, and the scheme for disfranchising offenders would be likely to disturb the constitutional balance in the Cape Colony. He warned the Government that any violation of the Constitution in one colony would be viewed with apprehension in other parts of the Queen's dominions, and contended that whatever rights were enjoyed by the British should be given to the Dutch.

Mr. Chamberlain, in his reply, showed himself in best fighting form, although apparently more desirous to score off his opponents than to maintain his dignity and official reserve. He began by saying that it was desirable that a clear issue should be raised by the debate, and that the country should know definitely the views of the Government as well as those of the Opposition. The issues raised by Sir W. Lawson's amendment were that the war was wrong, that the annexation of the republics was wrong, and that their independence ought to be restored; and upon those issues he gladly challenged the judgment of the House. Ministers held that the war was not only just but unavoidable. That, like all wars, it had terrible consequences was true, but he did not admit that it was responsible for the creation of race feeling. The appearance of race feeling synchronised with the activity of the Africander Bond. It was possible, moreover, to make too much of racial antagonism in this connection, for there were Dutchmen at the Cape who had been loyal, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, to the flag which protected them; and their loyalty deserved kindlier recognition than it had received from some members of the Opposition. With regard to the suggestions he had made on the invitation of the Cape Government, but had not pressed, for the punishment of the rebels, he still held that they were most lenient. By the Cape law a man convicted of treason might be sentenced to death, or he might be imprisoned for life or any shorter term, or might be fined to the full extent of his fortune; but the lightest sentence carried with it disfranchisement for life. However, his proposal had been abandoned in favour of the still more lenient one of disfranchisement for five years, which had been made by the Attorney-General in Mr. Schreiner's Cabinet and adopted by the present Cape Ministry. The appointment of a special commis-

sion to try the rebels was assented to by the very ministers who resigned on the point of disfranchisement. To have had all the accused, numbering perhaps thousands, tried by jury would have been impracticable, and certainly it would not have conducted to a just verdict in all cases. The policy of her Majesty's Government was in no sense vindictive; it was simply one of prevention, and to that end they held that rebellion ought not to be made easy and profitable. As to the settlement after the war, those who disapproved annexation were opposing themselves to the unanimous opinion of all the great colonies which had assisted us, to the opinion of every loyal Englishman and Dutchman in South Africa, and to the opinion of nine out of every ten men in this country. With regard to a speech of his which had been quoted against him, he took a more hopeful view of the results of the war than he was inclined to take four years ago, when he said that a war would create difficulties likely to last for a generation or more. Those who knew most of South Africa held that the divisions between the Boers and the British had been largely due to Boer misunderstanding of the British character and power, and that, when that misunderstanding had been removed by the event of the war, the Boers would accept the new order of things, which would indeed leave them little cause of complaint, for it was intended to give them at the earliest possible moment the Constitution of self-governing colonies. It would not necessarily be given to both States at the same time or under precisely the same conditions, but in neither case was there any idea of indefinitely prolonging the military administration, while the duration of the Crown colony régime would depend upon the Boers themselves. But for party differences at home, and the hope of a reaction in British opinion which they fostered among the Boers, the war would ere this have come to an end.

After short speeches from occupants of the Opposition benches, like Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon*) and Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*), both of whom supported the amendment, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, on behalf of the front Opposition bench, said that he could not vote for the amendment, as he disagreed with the extreme views of the mover. But neither should he vote against it, for that might be taken to imply approval of the Colonial Secretary's policy. As to the objects to be kept in view at the end of the war they had been laid down by Mr. Asquith at the commencement of the session in terms with which he perfectly agreed, namely: "(1) That there should be vindicated and established beyond controversy the supremacy of the imperial power in South Africa; (2) that we should make the recurrence of this catastrophe impossible; (3) that there should be an equality of civil rights; and (4) that there should be no ascendancy." To that formula he adhered, but he was afraid they were a long way from equality of civil rights. Martial law was said to be administered with great harshness in

Cape Colony. Then, with respect to the question of disfranchisement, it had been alleged—he merely mentioned the fact to have it contradicted—that the actual majority of the Cape Parliament being only six, the arrest of some members on suspicion and their detention in custody materially reduced it, or turned it into a minority, and it was a Parliament so dealt with that would pass the bill to disfranchise the rebels. If that was in any degree the fact he thought it a most unfortunate circumstance. In any case he disliked the wholesale disfranchisement of men who might have taken part with the invaders under compulsion, and he detected a vindictive spirit in the Colonial Secretary's letters on this subject. Mr. Balfour, whose intervention at this juncture seemed to indicate the need of showing that the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were agreed upon the Colonial Secretary's policy, wondered if the leader of the Opposition thought the rebels ought to be punished at all. He himself considered that a penalty of five years' disfranchisement for persons who, without a grievance, had taken up arms against the Government, erred if anything on the side of leniency: in fact, he rather feared that it was not severe enough to have a deterrent effect. It was true that two or three members of the Cape Parliament—about whose disloyalty there could be no moral doubt—had been arrested, but the balance of parties in that Parliament had been equally disturbed by another cause; for some loyal members were at the front, fighting in defence of the empire. Mr. Balfour went on to say that the policy of the leader of the Opposition was not the policy of the party he led, whereas the policy of Government commanded the support of the whole Unionist party, with the exception of the member for Bodmin. Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*), who immediately followed, said he should vote for the amendment without hesitation, because he looked upon the Colonial Secretary as being responsible for the great error of the war, and also as being mainly responsible for the great error of annexation. The Colonial Secretary had misunderstood the problem in South Africa from the first, and he now thought that he knew better than the Cape Ministry how the rebels ought to be treated. The rebels on the borders of the Cape Colony were mainly Dutch having relatives in the Dutch Republics, and they believed that the war was unjust. By treating men in such a position harshly they would be likely to alienate the loyal Dutch colonists. As to the war, it had won us no glory and had caused many people great shame. He advocated a reconstruction of the South African States upon conditions which he laid down, and urged the Government and the country to approach the whole problem with a more conciliatory temper than they had yet exhibited.

Mr. Courtney's refusal to vote for the Government was promptly followed by Sir Edward Grey's (*Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumberland*) refusal to support the amendment, or to fol-

low Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's example of "sitting on the rail." He declared his intention of voting against an amendment which raised the whole question of the merits of the war. He used the word "merits" in preference to the word "policy" because he believed there had never been a war policy in this country, though there might have been such a policy in the Transvaal. As to the punishment of the rebels, while he should have voted against perpetual disfranchisement, he should support disfranchisement for five years. An excessively conciliatory temper on our part ran the risk of being misunderstood in South Africa. With regard, however, to the final form of settlement he declined to commit himself, but he was of opinion that the policy of annexation was alone possible. In order still more to accentuate the differences of opinion among the members of the previous Government, Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) thought it necessary to explain that whilst dissociating himself from the opinions of Sir E. Grey, he would not follow the lead of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, but intended to support Sir W. Lawson's amendment. Mr. Balfour then moved the closure of the debate, and this having been carried by 169 to 100, the amendment was negatived by 208 to 52, the majority including forty members of the Opposition, whilst Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman with about thirty-five other Liberals walked out without voting. The vote for the Colonial Office was then taken, and was passed by 176 to 41 votes.

The situation thus created was one of considerable embarrassment to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. Whilst forty Liberals had voted with the Government, only thirty-five had followed the official leader of the Opposition, and at the same time thirty-one others of the party had voted in support of a motion upon which their leader had advised neutrality. Rumours of his impending resignation of a thankless post were freely circulated, and for a few days was believed to be imminent. At length it was made known that no change would be made during the present Parliament, of which the existence was drawing to a close, but the differences of opinion among the members of the Opposition seemed irreconcilable. So far as might be gathered from an analysis of the four important divisions of the session upon the South African war, the Liberals might be classed in three categories: (1) Those supporting the war, led by Sir Henry Fowler, Mr. Asquith, and Sir Edward Grey, numbering sixty-two; (2) those altogether opposed to it, led by Sir Wm. Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson, numbering sixty-eight; (3) those who "sat on the fence," unwilling to commit themselves, like Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, numbering thirty; and finally (4) those who by contrary votes had at one time supported and at others opposed the Government, numbering twenty-seven, but apparently acting under no special leader.

The original intention of the Ministry had been, if the news

from South Africa had been favourable, to dissolve in the month of July, but the protraction of the campaign rendered this unadvisable, and it was decided to postpone the appeal to the electorate until the end of the campaign was nearer in sight. Meanwhile the debate and division on the Colonial Office vote had been used as an argument with Liberal Unionists not to oppose the members who by their votes had supported the South African policy of the Government. The argument used was that inasmuch as the only issue to be placed before the electors was the war, its causes and its prosecution, it would be impolitic as well as illogical to oppose men who had endorsed the one and approved of the other. In more rigid Conservative circles, however, the idea was not favourably received. It was feared that the separation between Liberal Unionists and Imperialist Liberals was already so slight that by an easy transition they could sit upon the same benches again, and that the treaty which for fifteen years had existed between the Conservatives and the Anti-Home Rule Liberals would be broken, or at best not renewed. How far the suggestion met with favour from the leaders of the Liberal Unionists it would be difficult to say, as they made no public expression of their views.

More than usual importance was attached to the annual perfunctory debate on the Indian Budget, over which the House of Commons had no control, as the terrible famine following on two outbreaks of plague had drawn attention to the condition of the Indian population. The debate chiefly centred upon the advisability of making a famine grant out of British funds, which was advocated by Sir Henry Fowler (*Wolverhampton, S.*), and opposed by the Government. In explaining the financial situation, the Secretary for India, Lord George Hamilton (*Ealing, Middlesex*), bore witness to the patience with which the famine-stricken populations had borne their sufferings. The area affected had been far greater than in previous droughts, covering 420,000 square miles, with a population of 62,000,000, of whom one-tenth had been in receipt of relief, which had cost 2,631,000*l.* Notwithstanding this large expenditure, the financial year 1899-1900 showed a surplus of 2,864,000*l.* For the current year, according to the latest estimates, a deficit of 826,000*l.* was anticipated, and it was proposed to issue immediately a loan of 3,000,000*l.*, being part of the loan of 10,000,000*l.* authorised three years before, of which not more than 1,000,000*l.* had so far been raised. With that and other resources at his disposal he believed he would be able to meet any demands which the Viceroy or the Governor of Bombay might make upon him before the end of October. If it should become necessary he would not hesitate to appeal to the British Treasury. At the same time he held it to be of the utmost importance that, as far as possible, Indian finance should be independent and self-supporting. He hoped and believed that when the present difficulty had passed away the Government of India would be

able to remit taxation ; though a good deal, of course, depended upon their securing something like stability in exchange. Touching on the recommendations of Lord Welby's commission, Lord G. Hamilton said he expected arrangements for the promised transfer of a charge of 257,000*l.* a year from the Indian to the British Exchequer would be completed in the course of a few months. The results of the establishment of a gold standard in India he described as satisfactory, notwithstanding the combination of unfavourable circumstances brought about by the famine and the war in South Africa. He could hold out no hope that the military expenditure of India would be reduced ; it might even be necessary to increase it. Sir Henry Fowler thought that even if India could do without imperial assistance it would be wise, as an expression of sympathy, to vote a grant in aid of the sufferers from the famine. He could not admit that the proposed transfer of the charge of 257,000*l.* was enough to satisfy the just claim of India to relief. They must remember that the Indian forces formed part of our military reserves, and if we reckoned the British and Indian military establishments as one, it was doubtful whether India did not pay more than her share of the whole cost. A definite proposal, however, to make a "large and generous grant" (explained to mean 5,000,000*l.*), was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the ground that responsible Indian officials did not think the assistance needed, and further because the net debt of India did not amount to 30,000,000*l.* The Liberals nevertheless determined to follow the lead given by Sir Henry Fowler, but on a division were defeated by 112 to 65 votes, and the resolution sanctioning the Indian Budget was agreed to.

There was a practical reason for rejecting this proposed act of generosity at the expense of British taxpayers, for it became more and more evident that the Government estimate of the cost of the war was as defective as their information on other points connected with it. The Under-Secretary, Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), was obliged to explain (July 27) that a supplementary estimate of 11,500,000*l.* over and above the provision made four months previously would be required to defray the military expenditure in South Africa and to meet the possible requirements in China. With reference to the latter, he explained that the cost of the Indian troops despatched thither—about 11,000 combatants and 4,000 coolies—a sum of 1,574,000*l.*, would be required, but it was thought more prudent to bring the estimate up to 2,000,000*l.*, so as to leave a margin for eventualities ; while another 1,000,000*l.* must be provisionally allowed for reinforcements. As to South Africa, Parliament had already voted 53,582,700*l.* The present estimate included a sum of 2,650,000*l.* for bringing the troops home. There were in all 223,500 men at the seat of war, 189,500 of them being imperial and about 10,000 Indian troops. Lord Roberts thought that a permanent garrison of 30,000 would be required for South Africa, and it was calculated that

some 15,000 more men might make their home there, the number for whom transport would be wanted being reckoned at 135,000. Provision was also made in the vote for gratuities to the troops at the rate of 5*l.* a man, for clothes to be given the Reservists on their return, and for the issue of medals, these items making up another 2,950,000*l.*, or a total for what were called terminal charges of 5,600,000*l.* Then 1,090,000*l.* was wanted to make good a deficiency in the estimate presented last March, and framed before it had been decided to send out an eighth division. For the renewal of rolling stock 250,000*l.* must be set aside, and 500,000*l.* to provide huts for the garrison left in South Africa. The aggregate of these charges—7,440,000*l.* in all—brought the amount which would have been voted for the direct cost of the war up to 61,022,700*l.* He did not anticipate that it would be necessary to make any large addition to this sum when the House reassembled in February. Arising indirectly out of the war was a charge of 500,000*l.*, which had to be met owing to the magnificent response made by the Volunteers to the emergency proposals of the Government. In a short time 150,000 out of the total force of 240,000 would have gone into camp for fourteen days. All received allowances for transport which enabled them to bring into camp about one-half of the transport they would require in war. An additional 500,000*l.* was required for huts for the troops in this country; 35,000*l.* for barracks at Khartoum; 15,000*l.* for barracks in Mauritius. For the purchase of warlike stores to be kept in reserve in different parts of the kingdom they asked 10,000*l.*, a figure which by no means indicated the scale of the operations they contemplated. The total provision which would have to be made in this respect was calculated at 4,692,711*l.*, but for various reasons the expenditure would have to be spread over several years. Touching on the question of clothing, Mr. Wyndham said it had been decided that the whole British Army should have the same working dress, as only by such an arrangement was it practically possible to secure a proper reserve of clothing. A desultory discussion followed on the Army and the war, and Mr. Wyndham replied. With regard to the Army Medical Corps, he pointed out that Lord Lansdowne had wished to increase the establishment, but, through no fault of his own, had been unable to obtain the services of as many officers as he wanted. Personally he held that it might become necessary, while keeping up an efficient medical corps as a directing body, to arrange during times of peace—by some such expedient as a retaining fee—for the services of a considerable number of civil doctors in a period of emergency. He vindicated the action of the censorship, and contended that the time for public inquiry into the causes of our disasters had not yet arrived; adding that the Government did not mean to publish any more despatches till the end of the war. In due time the surrenders would of course be thoroughly investigated. And with this assurance the House was forced to be

satisfied; but the waning interest in the war, and possibly also the disturbance caused by the rumours of an immediate election, were reflected in the division following on Mr. T. Healy's proposal to reduce the vote by 8,000,000*l.*, which was rejected by 87 to 12 votes.

This additional expenditure was so wholly unforeseen that no provision had been made for it in the original or the revised Budget introduced earlier in the session. It was not possible to leave so large a sum unprovided for, or to suppose that it could be covered by any normal increase of revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer consequently took the first opportunity (July 30) of explaining how he proposed to meet the additional expenditure sanctioned in respect of South Africa and China. Reviewing the financial situation, he reminded the committee that in his Budget statement he put the expenditure for the current year at 150,061,000*l.* and the revenue at 127,520,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 22,541,000*l.* in addition to last year's deficit of 13,882,000*l.* These deficits had been more than covered by the issue of Treasury bills to the extent of 8,000,000*l.*, and by the War Loan, of which the net proceeds amounted to 29,550,000*l.* Since the introduction of the Budget Parliament had voted additional sums of 1,250,000*l.* for the Navy, 200,000*l.* for the Ashanti expedition, and the 11,500,000*l.* granted (July 27) a total in round numbers of 13,000,000*l.* To discharge these new obligations he had over 1,000,000*l.* in hand from the War Loan, and unexhausted borrowing powers to the extent of another 5,000,000*l.*, so that only 7,000,000*l.* more were immediately required. Nevertheless he should ask to be entrusted with fresh borrowing powers up to 13,000,000*l.* To impose additional taxation when the financial year was so far advanced was inexpedient, and in view of possible contingencies in China it was necessary to be amply supplied. At the same time Sir M. Hicks-Beach took occasion to declare, amid general cheering, that our policy in the Far East was not one of territorial aggrandisement. As to the manner of borrowing, he wished to have the right of recourse to three methods, and he accordingly asked for power to raise money either by a further issue of the War Loan for ten years, or by the issue of Exchequer bonds for three or five years, or by the issue of Treasury bills for twelve months. Alternative proposals were necessary because it might be found inconvenient to add to the existing War Loan, and, as 18,000,000*l.* of Treasury bills had already been issued, there was a possibility of the market being overstocked. A final settlement of the financial liabilities caused by the war in South Africa must obviously be delayed till they knew how much of their expenditure could be recovered from the Transvaal: in that connection it was satisfactory to know that the mines had escaped material injury. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman offered no immediate opposition to the measures of the Government, on the understanding that they would be more fully discussed later,

and the necessary resolution was agreed to. Incidentally the Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned that the financial assistance offered by the British Government to Japan was conditional on her sending a large number of troops to China at an early date. The terms were not accepted by Japan, and the offer fell through.

On the second reading of the Supplementary Loan Bill, as it was termed, Sir Wm. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*) found the occasion favourable to a caustic criticism of the financial and general policy of the Government, arriving at very different conclusions from those put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He calculated that the cost of the war in South Africa had been so far 71,000,000*l.*, of which only 14,000,000*l.* had been raised by taxation. The statesmen of the time of the Crimean War showed more courage when, out of an expenditure of 70,000,000*l.* they raised 35,000,000*l.* by taxation. The truth was the present Government did not dare to increase taxation with the prospect of a dissolution before them. That we could recover from the Boers anything like the amount we had borrowed was out of the question. Nor could we be sure that ministers had made their last demand. As to the statement that our disasters were among the inevitable accidents of war, he believed in the theory of causation, and when a great enterprise was undertaken with means ludicrously inadequate, when there was a lamentable breakdown in hospital arrangements, when there was a succession of reverses in the presence of an inferior foe, he refused to be satisfied with the reply that all this was inevitable. He then went on to characterise as absolutely irrational the argument—with which he credited the Colonial Secretary—that those who disapproved the war ought to refuse to vote the supplies for its continuance; and complained that while Mr. Chamberlain admitted he had wrongly charged Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman with reducing our provision of artillery, he had failed to apologise for making the accusation. One result of the war appeared to be a probable decline in the trade of this country, and with declining trade we had greatly increased liabilities to meet. Seeing that 30,000 men were to be shut up as a garrison in South Africa, an equivalent number of troops would have to be raised at home. That would cost money, and the reorganisation of the Army which had been foreshadowed might involve indefinite expenditure. Then we had opened a new war account in China; where, again, we could not make our influence properly felt, because we had our hands full with South Africa. We were driven, moreover, to the mischievous policy of using Indian troops for purposes which were not Indian. The Prime Minister had said we were the object of the combined hatred of Europe, and Lord Rosebery had put forward the true cause of that hatred when he ascribed it to our grasping colonial policy.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was interested to note that, for the first time during seven years, Sir Wm. Harcourt expressed

agreement with Lord Rosebery. If the original preparations for the war were inadequate, the reason was that the Government hoped to the last that peace would be maintained. Now, at any rate, we were better prepared for eventualities than the right hon. gentleman supposed, for though we had 200,000 men in South Africa, our Navy was free, and there were more men under arms at home than there had been for many years. The policy advocated in opposition to that of ministers was simply that we should "scuttle" out of all difficulties. As to the cost of the war, the total so far, including the 7,440,000*l.* now asked for, came to 69,323,000*l.*, of which 25,460,000*l.* was being raised by taxation and 43,863,000*l.* by loan. He had never held out any hope that the whole cost of the war could be recovered from the Boers. What he had said was that they expected to get a substantial contribution to the cost from the Transvaal, and they still counted on that, as well as on obtaining compensation from the same source for the destruction of the property of loyalists in Natal.

Sir Wm. Harcourt's criticisms, however, aroused but little support from his own side of the House, and with very little demur the bill was read a second time without a division. At the same time the Treasury seemingly admitted the force of some of Sir Wm. Harcourt's strictures on the financial arrangements of the Government, for contrary to all precedent a further Budget statement "according to the latest estimates" was issued (Aug. 3), showing the revenue and expenditure for 1900-1. According to this paper the deficit for the year, as originally (April 6) estimated, was 22,541,000*l.*, but on the eve of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's revised estimate (July 30) this was increased to 35,850,000*l.* Meanwhile the actual deficit of the previous financial year, 1899-1900, had been ascertained to be 13,882,000*l.*, making an aggregate deficit of 49,732,000*l.*, which was "in course of being raised" by borrowing. Under the War Loan Act, there were still unexhausted borrowing powers to the extent of 3,000,000*l.*, and by the Supplementary War Loan Bill the Treasury obtained power to raise 13,000,000*l.* additional, giving a margin for unforeseen expenditure of 5,818,000*l.* The total estimated cost of the South African War was thus, according to the latest view, 69,323,000*l.*, inclusive of the interest on the War Loan, and this sum was to be raised as follows:—

By taxation—		
Surplus of 1899-1900 over ordinary expenditure	- - -	£9,335,000
By additional taxation 1900-1, and suspension of Sinking Fund	- - -	16,125,000
		£25,460,000
By loans—		
Treasury Bills under Act of 1899	- - - - -	£8,000,000
Treasury Bills under War Loan Act, 1900	- - - - -	2,000,000
Stock and Bonds under Act of 1900 (at 98½ per cent.)	- - - - -	29,550,000
Further borrowing powers in same Act	- - - - -	3,000,000
Borrowing powers under Supplementary War Loan Act	- - - - -	1,313,000
		43,863,000
Total	- - - - -	£69,323,000

The assassination of the King of Italy and the death of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Queen's second son, called forth expressions of sympathy in both Houses of Parliament, and the leaders on both sides concurred in expressing public opinion on the devotion of the former to his country, and of the latter to his profession. Even after he had resigned actual connection with the English Navy, the Duke of Edinburgh—as he was best known—continued to show his interest in the service to which he had devoted so many years of his life.

The closing days of the session were enlivened by a series of personal squabbles rather than by any display of statesmanship or invigorating criticism. Sir Wm. Harcourt's attack on the financial policy of the Government was rather in the tone of a manifesto against imperialism for the use of Liberal candidates. He, however, showed his accustomed vigour and incisiveness when touching upon the successive estimates of the cost of the war, the gloomy outlook in China and its attendant expenses, the fall in Consols and the general unpopularity of Great Britain throughout Europe since the accession of the present Ministry to office. Criticisms and complaints, however, were not restricted to the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Wemyss asked the Prime Minister (July 27) whether he had received information confirming the view of one of our foreign military attachés to the effect that "it was all-important that England should be strong and unassailable in the month of November next;" whether he thought the European situation less alarming now than it seemed to him when he addressed the Primrose League last May; and whether he had satisfied himself that our defensive means were such as, failing the fleet, would render futile all attempts at invasion of this country. The Marquess of Salisbury knew nothing of the military attaché referred to, or of anything in particular that was to happen next November—except that he believed there would be a great collection of shooting stars in the early part of the month. In addressing the Primrose League he had not spoken of any imminent, pressing danger. He had simply pointed out that, while the attitude of foreign Governments was strictly correct, there was undoubtedly a good deal of popular ill-will to us on the continent, that Governments must necessarily in the long run be influenced by public opinion, and that, therefore, we were bound, not by any sudden revolutionary measures, not by any startling efforts or any violent changes of the policy we had pursued, but by a steady concentration of our view upon the special danger of our own generation and our own time—we were bound to bring our nation gradually to the performance of those duties of self-defence which had been long imposed by necessity upon other nations of the world. As to the state of our defences, he could not profess to tell Lord Wemyss whether all our muskets were of the right calibre, or whether all our guns were of the best pattern that could be adopted. That was

not his business. He must in such matters rely on the assurances of experts; but, having regard to such assurances, he held that we were satisfactorily defended, and that we had been so defended for some time past, though we were not by that fact relieved from the duty of constantly watching our military organisation and introducing into it every improvement which experience or reflection would suggest. But because they strove to improve a system which must in its nature be progressive, they did not, therefore, admit that they had been content in the past with an inadequate system. The Earl of Rosebery said that if the Premier could only give them some of the expert opinions he had in mind they would be quite satisfied. He could not accept the opinions of the civilian heads of the War Office and Admiralty as having any particular value. Somehow the Commander-in-Chief, though a member of the House, had never seen his way to offer them an assurance that he was satisfied with the present condition of our home defence. The Marquess of Lansdowne pointed out that though we had in South Africa the largest army we had ever put in the field, and had maintained it for months in point of numbers and equipment, yet we had at this very time under arms in the United Kingdom about 50,000 more men than we could accommodate in barracks. That seemed evidence that the country was not exactly denuded of troops. He deprecated the idea of turning the Commander-in-Chief into a political official, which would be the inevitable result of asking him to make speeches in Parliament. For all that, expert opinion had been given as to our defences. They had been able, for instance, to report the high opinion which Lord Wolseley himself had formed as to the capacity of the emergency battalions. Again, experts had spoken very favourably of the efficiency of the Volunteers who had been under training. Meanwhile he thought that, in view of the constant attempts which were made to belittle and ridicule all that her Majesty's Government were doing for the defence of the country, they were entitled to ask what more their critics would do if placed in power. The Earl of Kimberley regretted certain expressions in the Premier's speech to the Primrose League as likely to be understood in an alarmist sense by his audience, who would not necessarily appreciate the distinction—real though it was—between an accumulating and an imminent danger. He agreed with Lord Lansdowne as to the inexpediency of bringing the Commander-in-Chief into a political debate. But he did think they ought to know more, through ministers themselves, of the opinion of experts on the present situation, unless there were serious reasons of state to the contrary. There was, undoubtedly, a feeling of uneasiness in the public mind, and it was feared that the opinions of experts, if they were published, would not tend to relieve the general anxiety.

A week later both Lord Wemyss and Lord Rosebery re-

turned (Aug. 3) to their respective points of criticism : the former deprecating any tampering with the foundation of our military system by changing the constitution and character of the Reserve forces. In the course of his remarks, which bore especially upon the organisation of the Militia, Lord Wemyss touched upon the necessity of supplying the Artillery with guns of position, having greater range than ordinary field guns. The Secretary for War, Lord Lansdowne, replied in the spirit of official optimism, that this would be done, but that no continental Army had as part of its equipment guns of the 4·7 type, which had done such good service during the campaign. These would now be supplied to the Volunteer as well as the regular Artillery. As to the accusation of tampering with the Reserve system, it was true that the Government had sent to South Africa and the Mediterranean thirty-five battalions of Militia. Having these troops ready to hand ministers would have been much to blame if they had neglected to use such valuable material. If they had sent Volunteers to South Africa, it was because no Secretary of State for War could have ventured to refuse the offer of the Volunteers to serve at the time it was made. The proposal of the Government that the whole of the Militia force should be allowed to accept the same liability for service abroad that was now accepted by the Militia Reserve was supported by a large number of Militia officers as well as by many high authorities on Army questions. But it had not yet been embodied in a bill, and till that was done no useful purpose could be served by discussing the proposal.

The subject then dropped ; and Lord Rosebery rose to withdraw a motion for a return of the Commanders-in-Chief during the nineteenth century who, being members of the House of Lords, had refrained from expressing therein their opinions on military subjects ; but he took the occasion to protest against the strange constitutional doctrine laid down by Lord Lansdowne, that peers ought not to criticise Government proposals unless they were prepared with alternative schemes of their own. As a matter of fact, however, he had not criticised the measures of the Government. He had simply dwelt on the grave situation brought about by the feeling which was entertained towards us on the continent, and had stated that the country would be greatly reassured to know that in the opinion of military experts—of the Commander-in-Chief, for instance—our defences were in a satisfactory condition. So far from wishing to turn the Commander-in-Chief into a political officer, he would gladly see the War Office, the Admiralty and even the Foreign Office made non-political departments—of course these things were impossible, he was only speaking of Utopia. But the Duke of Cambridge, when at the head of the Army, had never been chary of giving his opinion on military matters, and it seemed a pity that the highest authority on such subjects should be absolutely excluded from their debates. The

Marquess of Lansdowne supposed it was superfluous for him to tell the House that since the war began there had scarcely been a day on which the civilian and military members of the War Office had not met at the same table to discuss the steps that were being taken, and the measures submitted to Parliament had the approbation of the united department. The constitutional position was this. The Secretary of State alone was responsible to Parliament, the Commander-in-Chief was responsible to the Secretary of State, and so long as these two officers continued to hold the positions assigned to them, so long must it be assumed that each of them was satisfied with the arrangements made by Parliament regarding the Army. While, therefore, his noble and gallant friend the Commander-in-Chief had had a perfect right to appear in the House and address their lordships from time to time, "I confess," Lord Lansdowne continued, "he is very well advised in sticking to his desk in the War Office and leaving to the parliamentary representatives of the department to say what is to be said on its behalf in Parliament." The Earl of Northbrook thought it must rest with the Government of the day to say whether the opinions of experts should be presented to Parliament. At the same time he did not think it reasonable that the Commander-in-Chief should be forbidden to take part in debate. When he was Under-Secretary for War, and charged with the conduct of Army affairs in that House, he had received the utmost assistance from the Duke of Cambridge in discussion. The Earl of Kimberley was equally unwilling to prevent the Commander-in-Chief from speaking in the House, but the point to be borne in mind was that nothing could be allowed to weaken the responsibility of the Cabinet for keeping the country in a proper state of defence. The Prime Minister understood Lord Rosebery's contention to be that the nation would be very much more satisfied if Lord Wolseley stood up in his place and said he approved of Lord Lansdowne's plans. Now it was obvious that Lord Wolseley could only be called upon to do so on the understanding that he was entitled to say, if he pleased, that he did not approve Lord Lansdowne's plans. A perpetually assenting Commander-in-Chief would carry no weight. But the Constitution did not admit of criticisms by military or naval officers on the heads of the departments under whom they were serving.

In the House of Commons men and motives were more roughly handled, and the attitude of ministers was more open to criticism. On the eve of the dissolution (Aug. 6), on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, Mr. Burdett-Coutts (*Westminster*), whose interest in the management of Army Hospitals had already evoked a tempest of professional feeling, examined the conditions under which the inquiry into the treatment of the sick and wounded in South Africa was being conducted, and argued that the results would be unsatisfactory unless the commissioners were given compulsory power to call

witnesses and to examine them upon oath. Witnesses, he maintained, would refuse to come forward voluntarily because they would be afraid of the consequences if they were to give evidence which was unpalatable to the authorities. He read several letters which he had received from officers, privates and others saying that while they had cause to complain of the hospital arrangements they could not come forward lest their interests should suffer. He also asked the Government how it was proposed to obtain the evidence of colonial soldiers who had returned to their homes. He concluded by expressing regret that in some quarters the whole subject had been viewed with scant sympathy.

Mr. Balfour's reply was in his most unfortunate style, of which he had already given several specimens during the session, and thereby losing greatly in the esteem with which he had been hitherto regarded even by his strongest opponents. On the present occasion, having at the outset of his speech lost his temper, he soon was forced to recognise that he had also lost control of the House; and his speech was persistently interrupted by denials and protests. He repudiated with much warmth Mr. Burdett-Coutts' suggestion that he was personally lacking in sympathy for the sick and wounded, but he ignored the fact that but for Mr. Burdett-Coutts' letters—signed and unsigned—the resolution of the Government to hold an inquiry would probably never have been taken, as it was only through these letters in the *Times* that attention was directed towards the matter. As to the larger issues raised by Mr. Burdett-Coutts, Mr. Balfour asserted that there had been very few commissions to which the power of summoning witnesses and taking evidence on oath had been given, and that if the present commission had been given such powers it could not have exercised them in the self-governing colonies. He sneeringly added that from Mr. Burdett-Coutts' point of view it would in any case have been futile to entrust the commission with these powers, for he held, apparently, that the people who could give evidence were such cowards that the truth could not be extracted from them. From the letters which Mr. Burdett-Coutts had read, he judged that he had a most unfortunate set of correspondents. As a probable witness before the commission, he asked if he was making a fair use of his privileges as a member of Parliament by coming forward while the inquiry was still going on and supplementing his evidence. The general opinion of the House, he felt sure, was that it was not in the public interest that a debate should take place upon *ex parte* statements. He insisted that debate ought to be deferred until the results of the inquiry were before Parliament. He had himself thought from the first that there ought to be an inquiry; but when Mr. Burdett-Coutts depreciated beforehand the labours and results of the commission, he began to doubt the evidence which the honourable member had himself given to the House. It was contrary to sound parliamentary tradition for a member

to throw aspersions on the commission and on every witness except himself. Sir W. Foster deprecated the passion and temper which, he averred, Mr. Balfour had exhibited. He censured the authorities for not having made adequate provision against an outbreak of enteric fever that was foreseen by others, and complained that the terms of the reference to the commission were not sufficiently wide.

At the last sitting of the House (Aug. 8) a storm of equal violence was provoked by Mr. Chamberlain's reference to certain letters found at Pretoria, addressed by members of the House of Commons to persons connected with the Transvaal Government. Questions were put in Parliament on the subject (Aug. 3). Mr. Chamberlain had described them as "not proper letters to have been written by British subjects when her Majesty's Government were engaged in difficult and important negotiations." Mr. Chamberlain, admitting that the letters were written before the outbreak of hostilities, said that before publication he proposed to send them in the first instance to the alleged writers, and to ask if they desired to offer any explanation. When the House met for the last time, Mr. S. Macneill (*Donegal, S.*) at once attempted to raise a question of privilege on the use of the letters made by the Secretary of State. The Speaker, however, ruled that the question was one of order and not of privilege. A little later, on the final stage of the Appropriation Bill, Sir Wilfrid Lawson (*Cockermouth, Cumberland*) took up the question, and argued that in the interests of the House, of the country, and of himself, Mr. Chamberlain should produce the letters without delay, and, in view of the approaching election, it would be an unfair and too "slim" a manœuvre to allow Liberal members to go to their constituents under the disadvantage of suggestion, suspicion, and innuendo. Mr. Macneill followed with a more impassioned attack upon Mr. Chamberlain, who explained that the only reason for delay was to afford the writers an opportunity of repudiating them, if they were forgeries, or of explaining them should they so desire. With greater warmth he repudiated the remarks of Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Burghs*), who in calling attention to the report of the War Office Contracts Committee suggested that Messrs. Kynoch & Co.'s firm, of which Mr. Chamberlain's brother was the chairman, had been unduly favoured. Mr. Chamberlain asserted that he had no interest direct or indirect in the firm, that he had never sought to influence the War Department in its distribution of contracts, and he energetically protested, as a gross abuse of parliamentary privilege, against the attempt to attack a public man through his relations, for whom he was not responsible.

On the same day Parliament was prorogued, the session having been wound up with indecent haste, and with cynical indifference alike as to the formalities of the Constitution and to the litigation which such hurry would probably cause. The speech from the Throne, like the session it closed, was of more

than average length and less than average interest, the only departure from the ordinary common form being the inclusion of America among the Powers with whom friendly relations were maintained. It ran as follows :—

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ My relations with the Powers of Europe and America continue to be friendly.

“ I have given my assent with sincere pleasure to the act establishing the Commonwealth of Australia, which will weld together in close and indissoluble union the federating colonies, and will add to the strength and resources of this portion of my empire.

“ The war in South Africa, into which this country has been forced by the aggressive action of the two Dutch Republics, has not yet reached its conclusion ; but my armies have driven back the invaders beyond the frontiers they had crossed, and have occupied the two capitals of the enemy and much of his territory. The operations which have been conducted for this purpose have in many parts been marked by brilliant skill and success, and have placed in the strongest light the heroism and the high military qualities of the troops who have been brought together under my banner from this country, from Canada, from Australasia, and from my South African possessions.

“ Believing that the continued political independence of the two Republics would be a constant danger to the peace of South Africa, I have authorised the annexation of the Orange Free State to my empire. I trust that this will be the first step towards the union of races under institutions which, while establishing from the outset good and just government for all, may be in time developed so as to secure equal rights and privileges in my South African dominions.

“ The British and other Legations at Peking have been unexpectedly attacked by an insurgent mob, and it is feared that many of their inmates have been murdered. How far Chinese authorities were accomplices in this atrocious crime, and whether the British Minister and his family have been among the victims, are matters that are still in some uncertainty. The utmost efforts will be made by myself and my allies to visit with worthy punishment the authors of this unexampled crime. I have sent a considerable force of British and Indian troops to assist in protecting the interests of Europeans in that country, and have largely reinforced my squadron in those waters.

“ I regret that a rising of the Ashanti and other tribes in the neighbourhood of Coomassie has made it necessary to despatch an expedition for the relief of that place, where the Governor of the colony was besieged by overwhelming numbers. I have learned with satisfaction that my troops, which consist entirely of local levies under British officers, have effected the object of the expedition in spite of the stubborn resistance of the insur-

gent tribes and the great difficulties of climate and season with which they have had to contend.

"In my Indian dominions the failure of the rains last autumn has caused intense and prolonged distress over a large part of the country. Strenuous and persistent endeavour has been made by my Governments to relieve suffering and prevent starvation. The self-denying efforts of my officers and of the many private persons who have joined in the relief operations deserve the highest commendation.

"Though the fall of rain this season has been abnormally late, it is hoped that its volume may be sufficient to rapidly curtail the present area of distress, and restore to the people their previous means of livelihood.

"The epidemic of plague continues, but the extent and virulence of the disease have decreased, and there has been a marked diminution in the mortality.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I thank you for the liberality with which you have responded to the unwonted demands I have been compelled to make on you. The satisfactory progress of the campaign in South Africa gives fair ground for hoping that the excessive requirements of military expenditure will be soon abated.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"Though the time has not been favourable to legislation upon internal questions, I congratulate you on having added to the statute-book several enactments which will be advantageous to industry and commerce. The passage of a measure for increasing the security of tenant-farmers in the value of their own improvements, and for extending the law of compensation for accidents to the farm labourer, will have a beneficial influence upon agriculture. A valuable bill has been passed with the object of preventing the accidents to which railway servants have been exposed in the performance of their duty.

"The bill for the regulation of limited companies and for the discovery of fraud in the conduct of them, will supply a want that has long been keenly felt. The bill that has been passed for regulating the business of money-lenders will also tend to check transactions of an oppressive and injurious character.

"The measure you have passed for facilitating the erection of dwellings for the working classes will afford some assistance in the solution of a problem of which the difficulty appears to increase with every succeeding year.

"The Ecclesiastical Assessments (Scotland) and the Tithe Rent Charge (Ireland) Acts will remove long-standing causes of friction and injustice. Measures have also been passed for augmenting our naval reserves and for rendering our Volunteer forces more available for purposes of home defence.

"I pray that Almighty God may have you in His keeping, and that His blessing may be with you."

The session had not added to the strength or the popularity of the Ministry, and public opinion, for many months absorbed in the progress of the war, was beginning to show some symptoms of doubt as to the capacity of those at the head of affairs. Full credit was given to the talents of some members of the Cabinet, and to the well-intentioned laboriousness of others, but there was widespread dissatisfaction at their apparent helplessness to break down the routine and red-tapism of the departments over which they presided. Within Parliament, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, on the Government side, was the only Cabinet minister who had at all added to his reputation. Mr. Balfour, apparently anxious to impress his colleagues by his philosophic detachment from public opinion, managed to land his party in more than one difficulty, from which retreat was the only escape, and his extraordinary displays of ill-temper when thwarted or contradicted revealed a hitherto unsuspected side of his character. Mr. Wyndham, as Under-Secretary for War, showed undoubted ability, but he shared with his chief, Lord Lansdowne, an imperturbable complacency, which was impervious to every complaint of the inefficiency of the department over which they presided. On the Opposition side the disappearance of Mr. Morley and the silence of Mr. Bryce were supported with composure, but Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's task was not lightened by the erratic ways of many of his supposed followers, whilst his own indecision was unable to enforce discipline. Of the occupants of the front Opposition bench, Sir Edward Grey alone increased his reputation and his hold upon public opinion as a politician to whom foreign affairs meant something more than party weapons. The war and the Australian Commonwealth conspired to put Mr. Chamberlain in the foreground; and the unceasing attacks made upon him by his political opponents showed how correctly they gauged the situation and how bitterly they regretted his loss as their leader. The political situation in truth was most anomalous, for whilst the Ministry had been steadily losing in credit the Opposition had not gained in strength. The Government, although supported by the strongest majority in both Houses of Parliament ever seen in modern times, was perhaps the weakest in purpose which had administered public affairs since the first Reform Bill. The conduct of our foreign policy had alienated every continental nation, although officially we had maintained relations of amity with all. We had abandoned Italy at a critical moment, and thereby estranged her ally, Germany; we had wounded France in her *amour-propre* by the way in which we had conducted the Fashoda business; and had alternately opposed and acquiesced in Russian policy, without apparent reason or logic. Mr. Chamberlain's efforts to force our friendship upon the United States and Germany had been received with more than coldness by the press of both countries, and his policy in South Africa had to be defended on the alternate pleas that the outcome was

inevitable or that its difficulties were unforeseen. In China a similar want of foresight and firmness had brought about more serious complications, and it seemed as if Great Britain, which throughout the century had been predominant in the Far East, was now to be contemptuously put aside by the other Powers as possessing no longer the means of maintaining her political influence and her commercial rights.

Outside Parliament and away from the seats of war in South Africa and China, there was little to note beyond the outbreak of anarchical mania which followed upon the acquittal of the youth Sipido for his attempt on the life of the Prince of Wales at the Brussels railway station. What actuated the Brussels jury in arriving at their verdict, beyond the would-be assassin's youth, must remain a mystery; but they shared probably to some extent the anti-British feeling which overspread Europe, and were not sorry to have the occasion of expressing it. The carelessness of the authorities was possibly due to similar causes; but the immunity from punishment thus proclaimed soon bore fruit—King Humbert of Italy, whose devotion to his people was universally recognised, was brutally assassinated by an Italian workman, for some years resident in the United States, who was proved to have been a member of an anarchist club, and was supposed to have been selected by lot to execute the sentence of the secret society. A few days later a senseless attack was made upon the Shah of Persia, who was visiting Paris, by a man of the artisan class, who jumped on the step of his carriage and pointed a revolver at the Shah's heart. He was disarmed before he could fire and secured by the police, and on his examination could give no reason for his senseless act, beyond a general wish to get rid of all rulers, Asiatic as well as European. Under such circumstances it was not surprising that foreign sovereigns held aloof from Paris, notwithstanding the marvels and attractions of the exhibition by which France was celebrating the close of the century.

The one meagre attempt which had been made by the Government to satisfy public opinion concerning War Office administration was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the allegations of fraud and irregularity in connection with War Office contracts. The Government assented most reluctantly to the appointment of the committee, and only with the proviso that its inquiry should not go back further than three months, and a request that counsel might be heard was negatived by the House of Commons. The proceedings of the committee were watched with considerable interest, and evidence was given of the way in which contracts were allotted and fulfilled, as well as of the amateur and incomplete manner in which some stores were passed and others rejected. The chief matter of interest was the allotment of cordite contracts to the firm of Kynoch & Co., of Birmingham, of which the chairman was brother to the Colonial Secretary, brother-in-law

to the Financial Secretary at the War Office and uncle to the Civil Lord of the Admiralty. Naturally Mr. Arthur Chamberlain warmly repudiated the idea that he possessed any power to influence Government contracts, but it was shown that Kynoch & Co. had been permitted to revise the terms of its tender, a privilege not extended to other firms. The ordering of cordite it was shown was the joint affair of the War Office and the Admiralty, but the matter was left in the hands of the Director of Army Contracts, who, on allocating the largest order, treated all the four tendering firms on a footing of approximate equality, notwithstanding the fact that Kynoch's price was far higher than that of the other firms. The committee, just before the close of the session, made an unsatisfactory and exculpatory report, stating that the charges of fraud and irregularity were not substantiated, but that in view of the general belief that favouritism did exist, they admitted that undetected corruption might exist amongst minor officials. They therefore recommended that too much trust should not be placed in subordinates; that the chief inspectors should be made more directly responsible; that contractors detected in irregularities should be made liable to prosecution; that the same privilege of revising a tender should be given to all contractors; and that the custom of giving undue preference to the recommendations of members of Parliament in placing Government contracts was most undesirable.

The Army Hospitals Inquiry had been promptly taken in hand by the members of the commission, who before leaving for South Africa received certain professional and general evidence from those who had already returned from the seat of war, but until the investigation of Mr. Burdett-Coutts's charges was concluded, and witnesses examined on the spot, judgment was suspended by all except a few professional enthusiasts, military as well as medical, who refused to admit the possibility of any breakdown in the medical arrangements of the campaign.

Parliament separated with the full conviction that it would not again reassemble, but the date of the dissolution was apparently unknown even by ministers themselves. The general opinion pointed towards October, the objections to a stale register being overshadowed by the expected announcement of the close of the war in South Africa, and by the hope that no other issue but that of the war and its consequences would be placed before the electors.

CHAPTER V.

Relief of Pekin Legations—Difficulty of Chinese Problem—Discussion as to Date of Dissolution—Mr. Brodrick at Guildford—Publication of South African Letters—Effect on Public Opinion—"Protestantism before Politics" Movement—Labour Difficulties on Railways—Trade Union Congress—Important Changes in Rules—Dissolution Announced—Opposition Complaints—Manifestoes by Party Leaders—The one Dominating Issue—Personal Attacks on Mr. Chamberlain—Domestic Questions—Church Discipline Bill—Imperial Liberal Council—Mr. Chamberlain's Heywood Telegram—Mr. Balfour's Explanation—The Polls—Great Ministerial Majorities in Urban Constituencies—County Returns less Conspicuous but Equally Decisive—Summaries of Results—Liberal Differences—Anglo-German Agreement—Guerilla War in South Africa—Lord Wolseley's Utterances—Ministerial Reconstruction—Ministers at the Mansion House—Sir M. Hicks-Beach at Bristol—Liberal Speeches—The Winter Session—Debates on Unionist Electioneering, Military Measures and Ministerial Policy in South Africa, Business Relations of Ministers, and War Expenditure—Front Opposition Bench Differences—Close of Century.

THE deep shadow of apprehension with regard to events in Pekin which rested over England and Europe up to the prorogation of the British Parliament was happily dispelled in the course of a few days. Four days after its despatch a telegram arrived stating that on August 14 the Chinese capital had been reached and the legations relieved. The sentiment of this country in regard to the news of the safety of the British and other legations and the great majority of those connected with them, and also as to the admirable fortitude and gallantry displayed by persons of all classes and occupations engaged in the defence, was deep and universal. The Queen promptly expressed the relief and pride of her subjects in a telegram to the officer commanding the Royal Marine Guard at Pekin. "I thank God," said her Majesty, "that you and those under your command are rescued from your perilous situation. With my people I have waited with the deepest anxiety for the good news of your safety, and a happy termination to your heroic and prolonged defence. I grieve for the losses and sufferings experienced by the besieged." All the details which gradually arrived with respect to the manner in which the attacks on the legations had been pushed by the instigation of the Chinese authorities, and the atrocities perpetrated without any kind of restraint or rebuke, if not actually ordered, upon defenceless Europeans there and elsewhere, intensified the relief felt at the success of the allied forces at Pekin. At the same time the general satisfaction was considerably qualified by the escape of the Dowager-Empress and the high officials who had been her chief prompters or tools in the pursuit of her anti-foreign policy, while the withdrawal of the Emperor with her to the remote city of Si-ngan-fu appeared to preclude the possibility of the setting up of a reforming Government which could claim the allegiance of the Chinese people. Indeed it very soon came to be realised that the relief of the legations, though it had doubtless averted a catastrophe of almost unprecedented horror, was after all only the successful close of the first chapter in a series of transactions fraught with

almost infinite possibilities of local difficulty and of international complication. Meanwhile an agreement arrived at among the Powers upon the appointment of the German Field Marshal, Count von Waldersee, to act as generalissimo of the allied forces in the metropolitan province of China, although received with little enthusiasm in the press anywhere outside of Germany, appeared to indicate a general desire for loyal co-operation among the European Powers in regard to the early developments of the situation. In this connection Mr. Brodrick, speaking in a tone of authority as on behalf of the Government (Aug. 15), employed studiously friendly language. After paying a high tribute to the distinction of Count von Waldersee, Mr. Brodrick went on to say that this country had often found its interests running side by side with those of Germany, and that he hoped that "as good comrades they might advance together again, certainly to victory, and, let them all trust, also towards the strengthening of the ties between that great nation and ourselves."

Apart from the Chinese question the first weeks of the recess had for political enlivenment little beyond a somewhat futile discussion as to the probable and suitable date of the dissolution of Parliament. This discussion was at the outset almost entirely confined to the columns of the press. On the Opposition side it was assumed that Mr. Chamberlain was urging his more scrupulous colleagues to hurry on a "khaki" election, and this course was denounced as an unworthy exploitation of the sentiment aroused by national emergencies and successes for party purposes. Sometimes it was maintained that the statesman whom it had become the constant habit of a large part of his opponents to treat as the evil genius of the Cabinet and of the nation was on the way to a triumph over the wills of his weaker colleagues. At other times—or by other writers at the same time—it was affirmed that political virtue was holding her own in the counsels of the Government, and that there would be no early dissolution. On the Ministerial side it was argued that a clear declaration of the national will in regard to the retention of the fruits of the war was required at an early date in the interest of the pacification of South Africa. There were, indeed, some supporters of the Government who entertained misgivings as to the propriety of an appeal to the country under circumstances which could lend any colour to the suggestion that a party gain was being sought by means of the freshness of the public exultation over British military successes in South Africa. Voice was given to this sentiment by the *National Review*, which in two or three numbers urged vigorously that a "khaki" election would not be in accord with the understood rules of the political game. This, however, appeared to be the opinion of only a small minority of Unionists. Very few politicians of any high position spoke in the country after the prorogation, so that speculation as to the earlier or later approach of a dissolution had a free field. The silence was at length broken (Aug. 29) by Mr.

Brodrick who, speaking at Guildford, referred to the subject of the general election in terms the general effect of which seemed unmistakable. Touching at the outset of his remarks on the affairs of China, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs said that the Government were prepared to do whatever was necessary or possible to preserve the trade with that country, which England of all nations had done most to build up; but that we could not undertake the responsibility of governing China. He then proceeded to enter upon an elaborate argument in favour of an early appeal to the constituencies. There were, Mr. Brodrick said, two or three questions which the war had brought up, and which pressed for settlement. The first regarded the administration of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. There was every reason to believe that when we had established equal laws in those countries, given them an efficient railway system, and abolished corrupt monopolies, they would enjoy a prosperity which had never been their lot before. But he could imagine nothing more fatal to the progress of this settlement than that it should be interrupted by a general election, which must raise hopes in the disloyal that the purpose of the Imperial Government might be changed. The second great question was that of the reorganisation of the Army. The necessary changes could not be made in the middle of a war. The time for reform would come when the campaign was over and when the most prominent of the officers now conducting it were available for work at the War Office. It might then be necessary to give some Minister a free hand, but that could hardly be done by an expiring Parliament. The Government must have at its back a young, fresh and vigorous Parliament if it was to deal satisfactorily with this question.

This line of reasoning from a Minister who, as Lord Salisbury's departmental lieutenant, might be to some extent in his confidence, seemed to leave little room for doubt that the Prime Minister had made up his mind to consult the constituencies before again calling Parliament together; but whether before or after the municipal and school board elections in the month of November was still undecided.

Pending this decision an effect unquestionably favourable to the Government and unfavourable to at least an aggressive section of the Opposition was produced by the publication (Aug. 23) as a parliamentary paper of the letters discovered in the archives at Bloemfontein and Pretoria, to which reference had been made in Parliament before the close of the session. This correspondence was of two classes—from eminent Cape Afrikaners to leading Free Staters in the six months preceding the outbreak of the war, and from British members of Parliament, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Kruger during the same period, with, thrown in, a letter from an English M.P. to a lady in Cape Colony relating to the administration of martial law and cognate matters during the war. The most striking letters

were a series from Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of Cape Colony, who had served on the commission which drew up the convention by which peace was concluded after the Transvaal war in 1881. Nothing that had been said by any British Minister in 1899 or 1900 in condemnation of the conduct of Mr. Kruger and the dominant clique of Boers and Hollanders at Pretoria surpassed in severity the opinions conveyed in the same sense by Sir H. de Villiers. Their general effect was impressively summed up in the following sentence from a letter which he wrote to Mr. Steyn on the eve of the Bloemfontein Conference between Mr. Kruger and Sir A. Milner: "I am quite certain that if in 1881 it had been known to my fellow commissioners that the President would adopt his retrogressive policy, neither President Brand nor I would ever have induced them to consent to sign the convention. They would have advised the Secretary of State to let matters revert to the condition in which they were before peace was concluded; in other words, to recommence the war."

There lay, put by a friend of the Transvaal, the whole case of the British Government of 1899 against President Kruger—that he had plainly broken the understanding on the strength of which independence, under British suzerainty, was conceded to the Transvaal Boers. Moreover, having thus shown how completely up to June, 1899, Mr. Kruger had put himself in the wrong, even in the eyes of a sympathetic observer, Sir H. de Villiers went on to urge that he should at last put himself in the right by making concessions precisely of the kind sought at the Bloemfontein Conference. In so many words he specified a franchise for the Outlanders, based on five years' residence with retrospective operation, as required, together with local self-government in the Outlander towns, to provide reasonable safety-valves for the activities and aspirations of the immigrant population. The concession of a liberal franchise, he pointed out, could be made subject to a power reserved to the President to reject individual applicants. Two months later (July 31) Sir H. de Villiers wrote to Mr. Fischer, of the Orange Free State, expressing his regret that the frank policy he had advocated had not been acted on by Mr. Kruger at Bloemfontein, and condemning the course which had been taken, after the conference, of passing a Franchise Bill, "so obscure that the State Attorney had to issue an explanatory memorandum to remove the obscurities." "Surely," he added, "a law should be clear enough to speak for itself, and no Government or court of law will be bound by the State Attorney's explanations." On the same day, writing to his brother, Mr. Melius de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Orange Free State, Sir H. de Villiers observed: "I see that Mr. Chamberlain again holds out an olive branch by proposing a joint inquiry into the Franchise Bill. If the President is wise he will, even now at the eleventh hour, show a conciliatory

spirit, and if he cannot prevent a partial loss of independence he will, at all events, prevent a total loss. If he appoints irreconcilables on the commission, and does the whole thing in a haggling spirit, no good will come out of the inquiry. . . . What I fear is that Kruger may object to the Outlanders being in any way represented at the joint inquiry, if one should take place; and yet it is impossible to see how a satisfactory settlement can be made without their concurrence. Why should he not appoint as one of his nominees an Outlander of position, whose integrity and judgment he has confidence in? If none such exists, it would only be a proof of his want of tact and statesmanship in not rallying such people to his side." Sir H. de Villiers concluded by saying that Mr. Reitz treated the whole matter as a joke. "Other incidents show that he is a danger in the present situation."

Sir H. de Villiers's last letter, addressed to Mr. Fischer (Sept. 28), made an appeal to him, and to all who had any influence with the Transvaal authorities, to accept the terms of the next British despatch, if they could be accepted without actual dishonour. Could better terms be possibly obtained after a war? What would be the position of the Republics after the subjugation of the Transvaal? If the despatch formulated all the British demands it would prevent further demands being made in future. "What I feel in the matter," proceeded Sir H. de Villiers, "is that, however badly the Transvaal may have been treated from a diplomatic point of view, there is at bottom good ground for the irritation against its Government. . . . The manner in which the latest proposals were rejected does not give one much ground for hope. Take such a reasonable proposal as that members should be allowed to address the Volksraad in the English language. Surely it ought not to have been rejected in such a summary, I might almost say contemptuous, manner. I confess I look with horror on a war to be fought by Afrikanders to bolster up President Kruger's régime. I could understand a war in defence of the South African Republic after it has made reasonable concessions to the demands of the newcomers, and after it has displayed the same desire to secure good government as is seen in the Orange Free State, but of such a desire I have not seen the faintest trace. I am afraid that neither Reitz nor Smuts is the man for the present crisis. I have carefully read the latest correspondence, and I am by no means satisfied that the British Resident was guilty of a breach of faith. The utmost I would say is that there was a misunderstanding. The despatch of the 21st August seems to me to have been wholly unnecessary, unless something happened between the 19th and 21st which led the Transvaal Government to think they had yielded too much. I have heard it said that between those dates a cablegram from Dr. Leyds gave hopes of European intervention, and the return of Wolmarans from the Orange Free State gave

hope of assistance from that quarter, but that may be mere rumour."

Hardly less interesting were some letters from Mr. J. X. Merriman, a Cape politician of strong Afrikaner sympathies, and Treasurer in the Schreiner Government. Writing (March 11, 1898) to President Steyn, while complaining of utterances by Sir A. Milner and Mr. Rhodes, as seeming to menace the Transvaal, Mr. Merriman went on to say: "Yet one cannot conceal the fact that the greatest danger to the future lies in the attitude of President Kruger and his vain hope of building up a State on a foundation of a narrow unenlightened minority, and his obstinate rejection of all prospect of using the materials which lie ready to his hand to establish a true republic on a broad, liberal basis. The report of recent discussions in the Volksraad on his finances and their mismanagement fills one with apprehension. Such a state of affairs cannot last, it must break down from inherent rottenness, and it will be well if the fall does not sweep away the freedom of all of us. I write in no hostility to Republics; my own feelings are all in the opposite direction; but the foes of that form of government are too often those of their own household."

More than a year later (May 26, 1899), writing to Mr. Fischer, Mr. Merriman employed an argument in favour of franchise reform which, when used by British Imperialists, was treated by some of the critics of Mr. Chamberlain's policy at home as of doubtful sincerity, *viz.*, that the possession of political rights would turn most of the Outlanders into loyal Transvaalers. Mr. Merriman believed that "nine out of ten people that received the franchise would be supporters of the Republic in which they had an interest." And Mr. Te Water, another member of the Schreiner Ministry, while believing that the successors of the Government of Lord Salisbury would follow a "less hateful policy" towards the Boer Republics, urged in a letter to President Steyn (May 8, 1899) that in the circumstances then existing "our friends in Pretoria must be yielding."

Of the letters from members of the British House of Commons, Mr. Labouchere's communications in the early part of August, 1899, to Mr. Montagu White, then Transvaal Agent in London, were distinctly calculated, supposing them to carry authority to President Kruger's mind, to neutralise the effect of the decided opinion conveyed by Sir H. de Villiers as to the strength and permanence of English feeling upon the Transvaal situation. The latter had assured Mr. Fischer, with a view to influencing President Kruger, that "the British public is determined to see the matter through, and if a contest is begun will not rest until the Transvaal has completely submitted." Mr. Labouchere, on the other hand, while advising, as Sir H. de Villiers had done, the acceptance by President Kruger of Mr. Chamberlain's proposal of a joint commission of inquiry into the probable working of the Franchise Law, passed by the Volksraad in

July, conveyed a totally different impression as to the quality of British purpose in this matter. Speaking of the proposed inquiry he wrote on August 2: "Bannerman and all our front bench believe that it is only a way devised by the Cabinet to let Joe climb down. The new Franchise Act stands. The *onus probandi* of showing that it does not give substantial representation to the Outlanders and yet leave the Boers masters is with Chamberlain. . . . My own impression is that comparatively few will ever become Boers amongst the English; they will not like to give up their nationality. The President has a great opportunity to give Joe another fall. If at the same time the Dynamite Concession is abrogated there will be a rise in many shares, and this will be regarded as a barometer that everything is going on well and satisfactorily. . . . The great thing is to gain time. In a few months we shall be howling about something in another part of the world." Again, two days later he wrote: "If the President agrees to the committee it will, under clever tactics, take months to settle conditions, and then it will take further months to come to a decision. If the basis is established that there shall be a substantial representation of the Outlanders, yet not such as can endanger the majority of the Boers, no harm can well come of the commission. The only difficulty is that it is a sort of recognition of our right to meddle. But this might be avoided in two ways: (1) By getting Schreiner into it, and making it a sort of South African affair; (2) by making a bargain and agreeing only on the understanding that there should be arbitration on all matters affecting the true reading of the convention. But if the latter is proposed, then the President should put in some proposal for the Chief Justices and one Imperial Judge or Governor to be the tribunal. The universal opinion is that the Cabinet has forced all this on Chamberlain, and that they are determined not to have war and to do something to let him down easily. Salisbury's speech was conceived on these lines, and a little vague bluster, but nothing more. I accentuated Bannerman's declaration about hostilities; this pledges the Liberal party against war."

Obviously it was quite possible for Mr. Kruger, if he read the declarations of the Ministry and the attitude of Parliament at the close of the session in August, 1899, in the light of the statements just quoted from Mr. Labouchere, to accept that politician's view of the facts and vary his conclusions as to the line of action towards which they pointed.

In a letter, dated September 26, to President Kruger from Dr. Clark, Radical member for Caithness, whose pro-Boer sympathies had for a long time past excited the indignation of his constituents, complaint was made of the "lies and misrepresentations" of the newspapers of the war party, which had incited the mob to break up the peace meeting in Trafalgar Square. The Cabinet, Dr. Clark said, were meeting on the day

the terms to be... of war, and would... He continued: "I... the course which you... in this struggle that... all the passes in order to... but if you were to do this I... morally in this country, that you have been all along... in order to have an anti-... from the Cape to the Zambezi. matter what you do or do not do; you... in any case."

... letter, or rather extract from a... correspondence, stood on a some-... from those written by Mr. Labouchere... was found in a letter addressed by Mrs. ... subject in Cape Colony, on June 5, 1900, to the... Ladygrey, which stated that Mr. John Ellis, ... of Parliament who is anxious to help the... cause," had written to her as follows: "'We... of facts concerning suppression of telegrams, ... letters, arbitrary arrests, unfair trial, unjustifiable... interference with free speech at meetings, ... information sent lacks the element of fulness, detail, ... which are vital for parliamentary purposes. The... of informants will be treated as confidential.' I have... continued Mrs. Solly, "passages in the *South African*... in which your name appears, which lead me to believe... give first-hand information on several of these points, and feel sure I need not urge you to do so."

In reply to a letter from Mr. Chamberlain, inquiring, before the correspondence was published, whether he had any explanations or observations to offer with regard to the extract quoted, Mr. Ellis wrote: "The extract to which my attention is drawn appears to speak for itself. It occurred (I think, for I did not keep a copy) in a private letter written by me in response to communications with respect to censorship and martial law in South Africa, and requests to bring certain alleged incidents before Parliament. I pointed out to the sender that the statements lacked precision, etc., and so far as I recollect summed up the matter in the extract forwarded in your letter."

Dr. Clark, in reply to a similar question from the Colonial Secretary, said that he... explanations or remarks to offer.

Mr. Labouchere... the advice given in his... on Mr. Chamberlain's... and publish his private... Africa, and also the... me he published in his own paper

The general effect of this correspondence on the public mind in this country was a feeling that considerable independent vindication had been provided for the policy of her Majesty's Government during the protracted negotiations leading up to the war, and that among the Opposition there was an appreciable section who were a good deal more anxious that "falls" should be suffered by the Government, and particularly by Mr. Chamberlain, than that the diplomacy or the arms of their country should succeed. On the other hand the publication of papers suggesting such inferences was resented by not a few of the Opposition as merely an adroit electioneering device.

The desire to mix up ecclesiastical with political questions at the elections was most eagerly displayed by the anti-Ritualists. With that view an appeal was widely advertised under the heading of "Protestantism before Politics," and signed by the Earl of Portsmouth and others, asking for 20,000*l.* with a view of influencing public opinion to require from parliamentary candidates promises to vote for legislation for the repression of Romanising practices. In reply a letter appeared in the *Times* signed by the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Cranbrook, Sir William Anson and Sir Richard Jebb, M.P.'s for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge respectively, and others, protesting against "any such attempt by either party in the Church to enforce upon the other by contentious litigation modes of service for the regulation of which provision has been made in the Book of Common Prayer." It was urged that, pending the reform of Convocation, it was to the Bishops that we must look as the exponents of the legislative needs of the Church, and that they had not asked for disciplinary legislation to strengthen their hands, seeming to believe that the powers which they possessed were sufficient.

Sir William Harcourt, also in a letter to the *Times*, while protesting against the timidity of the Bishops in dealing with recalcitrant Ritualists, and urging upon the Protestant laity the duty of vindicating the law of the Church, concluded by pointing out that the existing law had not been put in force, and that it was idle to expect Parliament to provide fresh legislation till it was proved by experience that the law as it stood did not afford an adequate remedy. Between this standpoint and the policy of the militant Protestant organisations the difference was at once seen to be considerable and noteworthy.

During the latter part of the month of August there were numerous symptoms of friction between the railway companies and various classes of their employees, the latter feeling that they were not obtaining their fair share in the general trade prosperity of the country, whilst the former pointed to their low dividends, resulting from increased cost of materials and fuel, and making extensive additions to their labour-charges impossible. Happily, however, for the time at any rate no actual disturbance of industrial peace occurred on any railway

except that of the Taff Vale Company; and it lasted only ten days. This prompt solution was mainly due to the judicious conduct of Mr. F. Hopwood, acting for the Board of Trade, and to a proposal by Sir W. T. Lewis for the formation of a permanent Joint Conciliation Board, containing representatives of employers and employed in connection with the Taff Vale and three or four other local railway companies. At the same time Mr. Bell, the secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, which had strongly deprecated the Taff Vale strike, exercised his influence very usefully—though the directors refused to receive him—in aid of a peaceful settlement. The Taff Vale Railway men secured no pecuniary advantage by the strike, but, besides obtaining a fair discussion of their wishes, the restoration of employment was settled upon terms which attached no humiliation to their return to work. By the threat of a general strike the Great Eastern Railway men obtained from their directors in September the concession of an appreciable proportion of an elaborate series of demands which they had formulated for improvement in the conditions of service upon that system. For the most part the changes made benefited only the lowest-paid servants in various departments, but there was one important general amelioration—the general recognition on the line of the principle of extra pay for Sunday work. Altogether, taken with certain previous modifications of wages and hours, the improvements secured were amply sufficient to justify the men in accepting them instead of entering upon a bitter struggle with doubtful results.

The Trade Union Congress, which was held at Huddersfield in the first week of September, was remarkable for the adoption of two important changes in the Standing Orders affecting the choice of its officials and the control of its business. The first of these alterations, both of which were put forward on the unanimous recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee of the congress, was to the effect that the president of the congress in each year, instead of being chosen by the body of delegates, and according to a customary courtesy from the trade unionists of the town in which the meeting was being held, should be, *ex officio*, the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the past twelve months, and that similarly the vice-chairman and treasurer of the Parliamentary Committee should be respectively vice-president and secretary and treasurer of the congress. The second alteration had the effect of giving to the Parliamentary Committee authority to place on the programme of the congress only such propositions as were generally accepted as coming within the objects and aims of trade unionism. The first of these recommendations was, on a show of hands, declared lost by a large majority, but when a vote "by card" was demanded, which brought to bear the numbers of unionists actually represented by the delegates of the various societies, the result yielded was 657,000 for, against 549,000

opposed to the alteration. In the case of the control proposed to be given to the Parliamentary Committee over the congress programme the proportion of "aye" votes by card was larger—572,000 against 394,000. There was nothing surprising in the strength of the opposition to constitutional changes which placed the conduct of the "Parliament of Labour" so largely under what might be called "front bench" control, but also gave security against waste of the time of the congress. At the same time a proposal restricting the re-eligibility of members of the Parliamentary Committee was rejected by a large majority, and seven out of twelve of the old committeemen were re-elected. These votes exhibited a very considerable amount of trust in the class of officials to whom for the future such largely enhanced powers were to be entrusted. In the enjoyment for the last time of their unchecked freedom of irrelevancy the delegates passed, though only by a small majority, a resolution condemning the "cruel and unnecessary war in South Africa" and the annexation of the two Boer Republics. Resolutions were also carried in favour of making the enactment of an eight-hours day in all trades and occupations in the United Kingdom a test question at all parliamentary and municipal elections; in favour of the principle of the old-age pension as "a civic right" to be claimed by any citizen on reaching a given age (carried with only a few dissentients); in favour of the abolition of the employment of children under the age of fifteen years; and in favour of a better and cheaper service of workmen's trains as one means of mitigating the housing difficulty, for which further legislation on other lines was also demanded.

The conservative sentiment of English industrialism, as represented at the congress, was illustrated by the rejection by 939,000 to 246,000 votes of a resolution in favour of a law for compulsory arbitration in labour disputes. The overpowering strength of the opposition to this proposal was very possibly due in part to reflection upon a decision given a few days before by Mr. Justice Farwell in the Chancery Division of the High Court, in a case arising out of the Taff Vale Railway dispute. The company had applied for an injunction to prevent the secretaries of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the society itself from approaching Cardiff station for the purpose of picketing. The society pleaded that they were not proper parties to such an action, as a trade union was "not a real person or a corporate person." Mr. Justice Farwell, however, besides granting an interim injunction against the secretaries, delivered later a considered judgment to the effect that the trade union concerned had the same duties and the same liabilities as were imposed by the law upon a private individual. At the Trade Union Congress Mr. Bell, secretary of the Railway Servants' Society, drew attention to the "very awkward position" in which any trade union might possibly find itself if Mr. Justice Farwell's judgment were allowed to

except that of the Taff Vale Company; and days. This prompt solution was mainly due to the conduct of Mr. F. Hopwood, acting for the Board, and a proposal by Sir W. T. Lewis for the formation of a Joint Conciliation Board, containing representatives of the men and employed in connection with the Taff Vale and four other local railway companies. At the time Mr. Bell, the secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, which had strongly deprecated the strike, exercised his influence very usefully—though he refused to receive him—in aid of a peaceful settlement. The Taff Vale Railway men secured no pecuniary advantage from the strike, but, besides obtaining a fair discussion of their case, the restoration of employment was settled upon terms attached no humiliation to their return to work. After a general strike the Great Eastern Railway met their directors in September the concession of a small proportion of an elaborate series of demands was formulated for improvement in the conditions of service on that system. For the most part the changes were only the lowest-paid servants in various departments. The only one important general amelioration—the grant of a pension on the line of the principle of extra pay for long service. Altogether, taken with certain previous modifications of hours, the improvements secured were ample to justify the men in accepting them instead of embarking on a bitter struggle with doubtful results.

The Trade Union Congress, which was held at Manchester in the first week of September, was remarkable for the choice of two important changes in the Standing Orders: the choice of its officials and the control of its business. Both of these alterations, both of which were put forward for unanimous recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee of the congress, was to the effect that the president of the congress in each year, instead of being chosen by the delegates, and according to a customary custom the chairman of the meeting should be, *ex officio*, the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the past twelve months, and that the vice-chairman and treasurer of the Parliamentary Committee should be respectively vice-president and secretary of the congress. The second alteration had the effect of placing the Parliamentary Committee authority to place on the programme of the congress only such propositions as were accepted as coming within the objects and aims of trade unionism. The first of these recommendations was, on the other hands, declared lost by a large majority, but when a "card" was demanded, which brought to bear the unionists actually represented by the delegates of the societies, the result yielded was 657,000 for, again

The postponement of the dissolution till January would certainly have been normal and in itself preferable, and the only question in regard to the date actually chosen which the electors had to consider was whether the Imperial situation was such as to make an early declaration of the national will, especially on the South African question, a matter of such importance that the disadvantages connected with October elections shrank into insignificance. An affirmative answer to that question could only be given on the assumption that the Unionist party were clearly much more to be depended on than their opponents for the pursuit of a firm and resolute Imperial policy, and particularly in respect of the South African settlement. And accordingly the maintenance by the Unionists and the refutation by the Radicals of the correctness of that comparative estimate of their qualifications for Imperial rule were made the leading features of the electoral campaign. One result was that, as a writer in the *Quarterly Review* pointed out, the Ministerialists possessed the advantage of attack which usually belongs in such circumstances to the Opposition. Unfortunately, the main line of divergence between the two parties was of a kind to lend itself with special facility to imputations of insincerity on the one side and want of patriotism on the other, leading to much bitterness. Yet it was quite possible for the arguments on both sides to be stated without offence, as Mr. Balfour in his address to the electors of East Manchester, and in the speeches which followed, proved. In his address he said that the difficulties of the settlement which must follow the war in South Africa would have been serious under any circumstances, and would prove insuperable if the South African element hostile to this country got to believe that it was confronted only by divided councils and an ambiguous policy.

"The lesson," proceeded Mr. Balfour, "which has been indelibly impressed on the South African mind by that portion of our dealings with the Transvaal which so ingloriously ended at Majuba is that from a Radical Administration neither firmness of purpose nor consistency of policy need be anticipated in the face of Boer persistence. Nor is there anything in the recent history of the Opposition likely to modify this view. Individual members of it have, indeed, expressed opinions on the war with which all Unionists would agree. But among its leaders there is no symptom of that unity which can alone give strength in council; and among its followers every shade of doctrine seems represented, from an ardent and resolute patriotism to something not very easy to distinguish from treasonable sympathy with the enemy. . . . Every citizen, therefore, who desires that the blood which men of our race from every quarter of the world have so freely shed in defence of the empire shall not have been shed in vain, is bound to dismiss all smaller issues, and resolve that, so far as in him lies, there shall be no break in the continuity of our national policy, no diminution in the

strength of the parliamentary forces by which that policy can alone be successfully maintained."

There were, of course, many Liberals holding strong Imperialist views in regard to British policy in all parts of the world. But it was very difficult for such to neutralise the effect upon the mind of the country of the views expressed and the temper illustrated by the speeches and even the votes in the House of Commons of an important section of politicians with whom they were normally in alliance. Of them Mr. Chamberlain was justified in saying, in his address to the electors of West Birmingham, that it was clear "that they would, if they had the opportunity, reverse, or at least alter, the policy which had secured the enthusiastic approval of our kinsmen in all parts of the world." It was a sense of the inevitable effect of their frequent exhibitions of disunion on Imperial questions which really excited the irritation undoubtedly felt among Liberals at the occurrence of the general election in such circumstances. From the outset they felt that they had no chance of victory, and this feeling was indicated with remarkable frankness in a speech delivered by Mr. Herbert Gladstone, chief Opposition whip, at Leeds (Sept. 18). While claiming that on the question of the annexation of the Boer Republics all sections of the Liberal party were virtually united, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the Opposition were not in a position to furnish a strong Government. Unless they could win 160 seats no responsible Liberal would think of taking office, and it was idle to suppose they could win anything like that number.

In presence of this frank official recognition that they were fighting a hopeless battle, so far as any idea of recovery of power was concerned, it might have been thought that the Liberal party would have waged the electoral conflict with listlessness and want of spirit. On the contrary, during the brief period before the polls, a really remarkable effort was witnessed on the part both of their leaders and of their rank and file to minimise their differences and present themselves to the country as a coherent body capable of meeting national requirements in Imperial as well as in domestic affairs. For a few days at least the Liberals were cheered, and the Ministerialists suffered a wholesome check to their unhesitating self-assurance. These temporary results were promoted by the tone of anxiety which pervaded Lord Salisbury's letter to the electors at large. It consisted almost entirely of an appeal to voters not to be guilty of abstention either through belief that the result was so certain that their votes would not be wanted, or through irritation relating to some question of subordinate importance. The broad questions of policy on which Lord Salisbury desired the attention of the electorate to be concentrated concerned the future of South Africa, the reform of our military system, and China. As to the last he said: "We have fully shared with other Powers the calamities by which the

disturbances in that empire have been commenced, and we are probably more interested than any other nation in the preservation of the treaty rights which protect our commerce. The fact that we are acting with other Powers forbids me from entering without reserve upon questions of Chinese policy. But in maintaining our own rights, and joining in the efforts of our allies to restore and secure tranquillity, we shall be approaching a task of which it is difficult to overrate the complexity. I earnestly trust that the electors, in confiding the solution of this and the other problems which I have mentioned to the party which is victorious at the polls, will remember that unless that party is armed with a strong majority in the House of Commons it will lack the authority at home and abroad which is essential to the performance of its task."

The Prime Minister's reasoning was not pitched in a key to greatly stimulate the spirits of his followers. The same might be said perhaps of the more lengthy manifesto put forth by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on the other side. In the case of Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt, however, little as there might be supposed to be of fundamental harmony between them, there was exhibited a spirit and *elan* in their electioneering utterances which could not fail to put heart into all sections of the Liberal party. Lord Rosebery's contribution took the form of a letter in support of the Liberal candidature at Newcastle-on-Tyne of Captain Hedworth Lambton, who as senior officer of the Naval Brigade at Ladysmith had taken a distinguished part in the defence of that place. Under careful analysis Lord Rosebery's letter might be seen to amount to no more than advice to electors to give their votes in favour of Imperially minded Liberals like Captain Lambton. But this counsel was led up to by so dashing and brilliant a general attack on the Government, as being, except in votes, the weakest that he could recollect, that it might well be read as a virtual incitement to the country to turn the existing Ministers out, with the assurance that any possible successors to them could not fail to be stronger in both their Imperial and their domestic policy. The effect of Lord Rosebery's letter was at least a temporary check in the tendency of Liberals with strongly Imperial views to fall out of active association with their party, while at the same time there was nothing in its adroitly worded language to cause offence to the great majority of members of other sections of the party.

Sir William Harcourt's spirited address to the West Monmouthshire electors was correspondingly free from any very obvious ground of irritation to more Imperial Liberals, while it contained in abundance incentives to electioneering zeal on the part of those sections of the Opposition to whom his leadership was naturally congenial. He said that he had never disputed that after the Governments and the forces of the Boer Republics had been destroyed it would be necessary for this country to undertake the great and difficult responsibility of

administering the conquered territories. But he indignantly refused to fall in with the "audacious" and "impudent" attempt of the Government to confine the elections to the issue of the war—a single issue, he said, which might be "appropriate to savage tribes." He claimed that the electorate were entitled, and indeed bound, to pass in review the whole course of the policy of the Government at home and abroad. With that view he denounced the failure of Ministers to redeem their promises in regard to housing reform, old-age pensions and other social questions, and held up to reprobation their financial policy, which had squandered surpluses on provision for their friends, and in the end offered, as a balance-sheet, accumulated debt and increased taxation. All these topics and many more Sir William Harcourt promised to deal with at large in a series of speeches to his constituents, and proceeded to fulfil the pledge with all his characteristic vigour and argumentative resource.

Over the country generally Liberal candidates were to be found endeavouring to give the impression that the Liberal party if in office might be relied upon quite as surely as their opponents to pursue a South African policy securing that, in Lord Rosebery's words, "the results of our sacrifices should in no jot or tittle be prejudiced," and could be relied upon much more surely than their opponents to secure that firmness towards the Boers should be duly tempered with conciliation, and that social questions at home should be resolutely grappled with.

The question of Home Rule for Ireland was pretty generally treated by Liberal speakers as, if not a dead, at any rate a profoundly dormant, issue, which could not in any conceivable circumstances be expected to engage the attention of the Parliament about to be elected. Unionists, of course, declined to admit that this relegation of Home Rule to a dim and distant futurity could be regarded as rendering the Union at all more really safe; and insisted that the Liberals could not be considered as having become free from the discredit attaching to Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy until or unless they definitely repudiated it, which hardly any of them seemed inclined to do.

The Irish issue, however, as a matter of fact, played but a very small part on election platforms, nor was any large amount of attention secured by the various problems of social reform in regard to which the Opposition maintained that culpable slackness had been shown by the Government. The war and the settlement of South Africa after the war were the subjects which still held the public mind. The country generally and the working classes in particular were too prosperous, by reason of the continuance of good trade in many of the principal industries, to be deeply stirred by problems affecting for the most part the conditions of life and work among the least fortunate sections of the population. The war, on the other hand, had

come home to citizens of every class. There were comparatively few family circles which were not directly and mournfully interested in its early reverses and its later successes, and to whom the idea of any waste of the sacrifices it had involved did not appear, even on personal grounds, in a high degree repulsive. Equally widespread was the feeling that absolute security should be taken against any recurrence of the necessity for such sacrifices for the vindication of British authority in South Africa, and that security of that kind could only be found in a belief on the part of the Boers that under no circumstances would England again modify the assertion of her sovereignty over the territories of what had been the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics. The war at the end of September was—very erroneously as the events proved—believed to be nearly over, but the temper still evinced by the Boers was such as to convince the great majority of Englishmen that any symptoms of vacillation or weakness in the administrative system set up when active resistance should appear to have ceased would be the signal for revived and dangerous agitation.

In these circumstances that which the Liberals denied to be the question before the country was generally recognised as being in truth the dominating issue. The question, in a word, was not whether the annexation of the Boer Republics ought to be maintained—on that subject Liberal candidates made a very near approach to outward unanimity in their affirmative declarations—but whether, in their hands, it was reasonable to suppose that the annexation would be maintained with all the vigour and resolution necessary to make it the basis of lasting peace in South Africa. It thus became the business of all Unionist candidates to call the attention of the electors to whom they addressed themselves to the circumstances which rendered it difficult or impossible to entertain any confidence in the unity and firmness of purpose of the Radical party as a whole in relation to the impending South African settlement. In speech after speech in different parts of the Midlands and elsewhere, and in message after message of sympathy to Unionist candidates on whose platforms he was unable to appear, Mr. Chamberlain enforced the same lesson with a relentless trenchancy, which, as time went on, fanned to an extraordinary intensity the animosity with which he was already regarded in the Liberal ranks. This feeling had been shown in the publication by some Radical papers of statements with regard to the investments held by Mr. Chamberlain himself, or by members of his family, in companies which were alleged to do business with Government departments. These statements were put forward, republished and commented upon in a manner and tone plainly intended not only to challenge the discretion of the Colonial Secretary in not guarding against any such investments while in office, but even to convey reflections upon his personal honour.

No responsible person on the Liberal side, it is right to say, lent any countenance to these imputations, but Sir Edward Grey alone took the dignified step of protesting publicly against a line of attack altogether unusual in English politics. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, on the other hand, expressed himself with extraordinary acrimony on the publication of the Pretoria letters, and in particular of those of Sir Henry de Villiers, assuming that the publication had been made without the writer's permission; and denounced this dealing with private letters as a proceeding only to be paralleled in the worst periods of England's political history. On Mr. Chamberlain's stating that he had the permission of Sir H. de Villiers for the publication of the letters, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman shifted his ground, affirming that the publication of the Pretoria letters as a whole was "a scandalous and unworthy act," and that the assent alleged to have been given by Sir H. de Villiers in regard to his letters was conditional on the publication of other letters of his which, nevertheless, Mr. Chamberlain had not published. Although Mr. Chamberlain took little notice of the newspaper reflections on his private affairs and investments, resentment against them was doubtless accountable for much of the bitterness which marked his conduct of the electoral campaign, and was regarded by some of his own friends and colleagues as passing beyond the limits of prudence and fairness in party warfare. Thus, speaking at Leamington (Oct. 2) in support of the candidature of Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, who had gone to South Africa at his request to preside over an inquiry into the commercial concessions granted by the Transvaal Government, Mr. Chamberlain contended that if any one believed the war was unrighteous, then he ought not to vote for supplies for the war. Those who both denounced the war and voted supplies for it were very inconsistent, and yet that was what a number of their opponents had done. It would be a dishonest thing on the part of the electors, if they thought this was an unjust war, to support either Mr. Lyttelton or Mr. Mackinder (the Liberal candidate), for both of them declared the war was a just war. Take, then, the view that it was a just war; which party was most likely to carry it to a successful issue and get the greatest results from it? Could the electors be of any other opinion than that the best party to carry through this job was the party that began it, and had never wavered in carrying it on, and not the party that had hampered and embarrassed the Government in the negotiations and in the prosecution of the war? The voice of the Little Englander was no longer heard in the land. Everybody was now in favour of the war and the annexation; but what was said before the war by the leaders of the party? Mr. Chamberlain then went on to give quotations from Liberal speeches against the war. It was for the electors to decide between these two parties. One party said any solution, even dishonour, was better than war. Well, a surrender was a solu-

tion. If they had surrendered, if they had said to President Kruger, "Do what you like, it is no business of ours, we wash our hands, like Pilate, of the whole matter," that would have been a solution. How did they hold the empire together? By love and confidence. Confidence in what? Confidence in their ability and willingness to protect British subjects throughout the world.

It was quite fair electioneering to argue that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's language pointed to a "solution of surrender," but it was not equally so to say or imply that Liberals, as a party, had advocated that solution. As a party they had advocated none, but there were many among them to whom an abandonment of the rights of British subjects in the Transvaal would have been as hateful as to any Unionists.

As compared with the elections of 1892 and 1895 neither party committed itself extensively to promises of legislation on subjects of importance. Opposition speakers from Sir W. Harcourt downwards sneered at Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues for having done nothing to fulfil the expectations raised in 1895 with regard to old age pensions. But Liberals in any responsible position studiously avoided the suggestion that if returned to power in place of their rivals they would produce any general scheme of old age pensions. Speaking in East Birmingham (Sept. 29) for Sir Benjamin Stone, the Conservative candidate, against Mr. J. V. Stevens, a Labour candidate, Mr. Chamberlain said that he had never promised universal old age pensions, which he did not believe in. The basis of his proposal substantially had always been that if a workman, when he got to the age of sixty-five, had, by leading a decent, honest and industrious life, made some provision for himself, then the State should come in and increase that provision and put him in a better position. In fact, if any champion of labour inquired why Mr. Chamberlain did not carry some scheme for assisting working people to provide for themselves in old age, their answer should be that one reason was because the representatives of the trade unions, the representatives of the friendly societies, and the champions of labour opposed it.

With respect to the Employers' Liability Act passed by the Unionist Government in 1898, and extended in its application to agricultural labourers, as has been seen, in 1900, Mr. Chamberlain expressed a hope that the Act might be further extended until it included every working-man in every employment throughout the United Kingdom.

In their election addresses, Sir. H. Campbell-Bannerman and Sir W. Harcourt both laid special stress on the need of comprehensive educational reform, for which purpose, the former intimated, "sectarian cobwebs" must be brushed away. In the same temper, speaking at a Liberal meeting in London (Sept. 29) Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman asked, "What in the world have schools to do with either church or parson?" He

gave the clergy all credit for the interest they took in the matter, but "they must not be allowed to stint and corrupt, and twist and divert and occupy our system so as to prejudice its development." Speaking in Manchester (Oct. 15) when the elections were all but over, the Duke of Devonshire dwelt upon the importance of educational reorganisation, but seemed to intimate that serious progress was only likely if the public and the House of Commons became more alive to the urgency of the question. It could hardly be said that the course of the election campaign had evinced any strong probability of the early fulfilment of this condition.

Liberal leaders—for example, Lord Rosebery in his letter to Captain Lambton, and Sir W. Harcourt and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman—gave prominence to the pressing need for housing and temperance reform, and scoffed at the indifference or worse which the Unionist Government had displayed in regard to these great social problems. Nor, indeed, could any altogether effective reply be made to a trenchant phrase of Lord Rosebery's in which he described the Ministry as having appointed a Royal Commission to consider the temperance question, and as having then "flouted their Commission and dismissed the subject with a sneer." As to the housing question, which Lord Rosebery said that the Government of Lord Salisbury could not be trusted to deal with, as they had merely tinkered at it, Mr. Balfour, in one of his East Manchester speeches, replied effectively enough that not a single measure with respect to the housing of the working classes had been passed during the last twenty or thirty years except by a Conservative or Unionist Administration. No doubt, he went on to say, the question remained a pressing one, perhaps the most pressing that could be imagined. The leader of the Opposition thought it could be solved by not only giving greater powers to local authorities, but compelling them to use those powers. He (Mr. Balfour) would like to know how they were going to compel the corporation of Manchester, for example, to do something which the central authority thought it ought to do, but which the corporation, freely elected, thought it ought not to do.

✓ The question which, probably, was pressed more persistently upon candidates of both parties than any other, except those connected with Imperial policy, was that of legislation for the suppression of Ritualistic practices. Notwithstanding the discouragement which they received from that Protestant protagonist, Sir William Harcourt, in regard to any agitation for the alteration of the existing law until it had been proved to be inadequate, the Church Association and recently formed bodies styled the National Protestant League and the Laymen's League drew up and circulated a series of test questions to Parliamentary candidates in the interest of what was known as the Liverpool Church Discipline Bill. This measure, among other provisions, would abolish the Bishops' veto on ritual prosecutions, provide

for the hearing of all ritual cases, in the first instance, by a single lay Judge, and substitute deprivation for imprisonment in cases of contumacy. Pressure was brought to bear in favour of such legislation in several constituencies. On the other hand, the English Church Union brought counter pressure to bear in a considerable number if not quite so many instances, going so far apparently as to advise electors over whom it exercised influence to vote even for a Radical Disestablishment candidate against a Conservative supporter of the Government and of the connection between Church and State, if the latter showed any indulgence towards the new plan for harrying the extreme Ritualists.

It was difficult to form any clear opinion as to the measure of success which attended the efforts of these rival organisations. Of conspicuous triumphs the militant Protestants certainly could claim very few, if any, and they had some conspicuous failures. There was, for example, the case of Mr. Balfour. On September 29 a deputation from the National Protestant League and kindred bodies waited upon him to press for a promise of legislation on the lines of the so-called Liverpool Bill. In the course of a lengthy reply Mr. Balfour admitted that if the existing law was proved to be inefficient it would have to be amended. But that, in the opinion of Sir William Harcourt himself, had not been shown. Moreover, there was one reason why he shrank from any course, until it was absolutely necessary, which would fill the whole Church with turmoil, controversy, and litigation, and his reason was this—he asked himself who would profit by the turmoil, controversy, and litigation. It appeared to him that there were only three sets of people who would profit. There were the political Nonconformists, the Secularists and the opponents of all religion, and the Roman Catholics.

The fact that after this speech Mr. Balfour's majority in East Manchester was 2,453, as compared with 776 in 1895, seemed to show that his attitude on the question was endorsed by his constituents. Similarly, an increased majority of more than 700 secured at Greenwich by Lord Hugh Cecil, who had been strenuously attacked as a prominent opponent of legislation of the kind promoted by the Protestant leagues, seemed to show that his ecclesiastical views were not to his detriment. Mr. Kensit himself chose Brighton as the constituency in which to present himself as an "Independent Conservative," with the result that he polled nearly 2,000 fewer than the lower of the two successful Conservative candidates, and nearly 400 fewer than the unsuccessful Liberal candidate in 1895. Further, the secretary of the English Church Union called attention in the *Times* to several cases in which he claimed that candidates of both parties had suffered, or had gained, according as they had, or had not, pledged themselves to support what he stigmatised as the "Liverpool Orange Bill." On the other hand, the councils of the Church Association and

the National Protestant League, in a report which they put forth soon after the elections, affirmed that great things had been accomplished. As many as 294 candidates, they claimed, had been elected to the new Parliament, who were either pledged to support the Church Discipline Bill, or had voted for it already, or were in sympathy with it. As was pointed out, however, by the moderate High Church *Guardian*, a great deal depended on what was meant by sympathy, and judging from the various and vague expressions indicative of that sentiment on the part of some of the successful candidates, which were printed with the report on the elections, they could hardly be regarded as inextricably committed to any definite legislation. During the elections there had not been wanting cases of candidates seeking with more eagerness and ingenuity than dignity or candour to please both sides in the ecclesiastical controversy, and it seemed at least doubtful whether in anything like all the cases claimed by the Protestant organisations the resultant of opposing pressures had been finally determined in their favour.

Ecclesiastical issues, however, like all others, were subordinate to those connected with the South African war and Imperial policy generally. The Ministerialists gained an immense victory, not because there was any popular enthusiasm either of approval for the past or of anticipation as to the future legislative or administrative achievements of the Unionist Government—for there was no such feeling—but because the Liberal party was recognised as being for the time Imperially impossible. The reasons of that impossibility have been sufficiently indicated. Great efforts were made during the brief electoral struggle to produce the semblance of unity. But they could hardly deceive anybody who did not wish to be deceived, and in the midst of them all manifestations of fundamental disunion flashed out here and there irresistibly. Mr. Morley, for example, who, unfortunately, was not in strong enough health to conduct an active canvass, was expressly included by Mr. Herbert Gladstone in his opening campaign speech at Leeds as having given his assent to the annexation of the two Boer Republics to the British dominions. And so indeed he did, but the temper in which, if fresh difficulties arose in the enforcement of that measure, he might be expected to encounter them, was sufficiently illustrated by a phrase in a "postscript" which he sent to the address which he had issued to the electors of the Montrose Burghs. "I regard the incorporation of the two Boer States," he then said, "as the consummation of one of the most evil blunders in our history." This attitude, whether right or wrong, was sharply contrasted with that of Sir Edward Grey, whose address to the electors of the Berwick-upon-Tweed division of Northumberland gave expression to the view that the two States in question had "brought their fate upon themselves," and that their conduct had "proved conclusively that their independence was incom-

patible with the maintenance of our existing and legitimate interests and influence." Sir W. Harcourt took occasion, in the course of one of his speeches in West Monmouthshire, to caution certain Liberals against frittering away their reputation and the future of a great party by "tricking themselves out with new names," or by "worshipping new gods of the heathen among whom they dwelt." This warning was assumed to be addressed to an association which had recently come into existence, and was known as the Imperial Liberal Council. No politician in the front rank took any open part in this movement, but Lord Brassey, who had lately returned from an Australian governorship, and had taken part in the former Imperial Federation League, was induced to become the president of the new organisation. Its programme was practically identical with that of the well-known opinions of such Liberals as Lord Rosebery, Sir Edward Grey, Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Asquith.

That the persons connected with the Imperial Liberal movement, whether formally or only by practical sympathy with the statesmen whose general views it supported, would be able at an early date to wield effective control over the Liberal party as a whole did not indeed appear at all probable. It was therefore quite open to Mr. Chamberlain and Unionists generally to urge upon the electors the imprudence of sending to Parliament men who, however sound their views on Imperial questions might be, would be liable to be out-voted or neutralised in the councils of their own party by men of different principles and temperaments. The speeches of Sir Edward Grey and other Liberals of the same type, able as they were and qualified to attract confidence on Imperial grounds towards the speakers, failed to carry conviction that if returned to office they would be in a position to enforce their views on their colleagues and their party.

Such a contention might have been logical, but it in nowise justified the use of phrases such as were employed, telegraphically and otherwise, by Mr. Chamberlain, the natural effect of which was to embrace the whole Opposition in a charge of defective patriotism. Such, for example, was the message sent by the Colonial Secretary to Heywood, Lancashire, inciting the voters to support the Unionist candidate because "every seat lost to the Government was a seat gained by the Boers." In transmission, by a singular but undoubted telegraphic error, as was subsequently proved, the point of this electioneering missile acquired much additional venom from the substitution of the words "sold to" for "gained by." But even in its original form the message was quite gratuitously provocative. Statements of this character were not by any means limited to Mr. Chamberlain. In one of the constituencies of Leeds Mr. Herbert Gladstone complained bitterly that he had seen a Tory placard stating that "every vote given to the Liberals is a vote

given to the Boers." "Anybody," he said, "who is really responsible for a placard of that sort, or a statement of that sort, is either a fool or a liar or both"—a sentiment endorsed in many quarters irrespective of party.

So widespread indeed was this feeling, that, speaking at Bingley (Oct. 9), Mr. Arthur Balfour felt it necessary to offer a kind of explanation. Great complaint had been made of a statement that every vote given to a Radical Home Rule candidate was a vote given to the Boers. That statement was not justified if it meant that every man who voted for a Radical candidate desired the victory of the Boer cause. That would be a calumny upon honourable and patriotic men. But it was not in that sense he understood the statement to be made. It rather meant that every vote given to a Radical Home Rule candidate at this moment raised the hopes of the Boers, and depressed the hopes of the British colonists in Natal and Cape Colony. In that sense it was a mere matter of fact on which he ventured to say there was complete unanimity on the part of all men who had had any experience of South African politics.

If the elections were not quite as good-tempered as usual, it was due to the character they acquired of a personal conflict between one statesman in office, Mr. Chamberlain, and the leaders and rank and file of the Liberal party. The concentration of the public mind on the subject of the South African settlement was, indeed, too intense to admit of the successful setting up of other issues, and the recent records of the two parties were too clear to allow of any serious doubt as to which of them was in closer touch with the national mood. As it was, however, the confused turmoil of the general election seemed from a dramatic point of view to serve as little more than material for the side scenes of a piece in which the Colonial Secretary, savagely beset by his foes on all sides, was discovered striking out fiercely, remorselessly, and indiscriminately, every stroke leaving a wound more or less disabling.

The response given by the nation to the appeal made to it was unmistakable. The strength of the vote cast by the great urban constituencies all over the country in favour of the Unionists was decisive far beyond any precedent. There was, indeed, no large transfer of seats from the Opposition to the Ministerialists. But the previous preponderance of urban representation obtained by the latter was appreciably enhanced and in many cases the majorities securing it were conspicuously increased. This was so in not a few of the metropolitan constituencies, and of those inhabited very largely by a working-class population. Thus in Hackney there was a rise in the Conservative majorities, and in the central division from 312 to 1,504. In North Lambeth the Unionist majority of 401 in 1895 was more than doubled, and in the Kennington division the Conservative majority leaped up from 265 to 1,886. Similarly, the Conservative majorities in two divisions of St. Pancras and

in Deptford were largely increased. A very few metropolitan constituencies changed sides, the two divisions of Shoreditch (Haggerston and Hoxton), for example, yielding respectively a gain each to the Ministry and the Opposition. Over London as a whole (including the boroughs of Croydon and the two West Hams), the respective numbers of Unionist and Liberal members returned to Parliament were exactly the same as in 1895.

This demonstration of metropolitan, and particularly of metropolitan working-class, opinion in favour of a fresh lease of power for the Unionist Government was matched by the results of the elections in the principal commercial and industrial centres of the provinces. In Liverpool, as in 1895, all the divisions went solid for the Government except that containing the Irish vote, where Mr. T. P. O'Connor was again returned by a slightly diminished majority. In the only other two divisions in which the election of Ministerial candidates was opposed, their majorities in each case rose by more than 1,000 votes. In the only division of Manchester in which a Liberal candidate (Mr. Schwann) was returned, his majority sank from 455 in 1895 to 26 in 1900, the Conservative advantage in three other contested divisions being largely increased. This was conspicuously the case in the eastern division, where Mr. Arthur Balfour was returned by a majority of 2,453, as compared with 776 in 1895. In Sheffield the Conservatives gained a fourth seat in the Brightside division, where Mr. J. F. Hope obtained a majority of 964 as against an unopposed Liberal return in 1895, and a Liberal majority at a bye-election in 1897 of 183. In Leeds the pollings showed three successful Conservatives and two Liberals, so reversing the proportions of 1895. Bradford remained entirely Unionist, as did Newcastle by immensely increased majorities, notwithstanding the prestige attaching to Captain Lambton's candidature, by reason of his services at Ladysmith, and Lord Rosebery's special intervention on his behalf. Other results illustrating not less strikingly the strong current of feeling in constituencies of an industrial character were the return for the first time in its political history of a Conservative for Middlesbrough, and the gain of a seat to the same side at Stockton—centres of an important iron industry. The cotton operatives of Burnley threw out Mr. Philip Stanhope. The chemical workers of St. Helen's, the textile and bicycle workers of Coventry largely increased their majorities for Conservative candidates.

Against these were to be set losses of Ministerial seats in the Cardiff district, in the Carmarthen Boroughs, at Hartlepool, Northampton, Swansea, Walsall and South Wolverhampton. In some of these cases the turnover of votes was very large, as for example in that of Hartlepool, where a Unionist majority of 81 in 1895 became a Liberal majority of 1,879 in 1900; and at Swansea a Liberal minority of 421 was changed to a majority of 1,115. Even more remarkable was the rise of

over 3,000 in the Liberal majority at South Shields, but Mr. Robson had from the outset taken up very strong Imperialist views with reference to South Africa. Altogether, these and other Liberal rallies did not avail in any appreciable degree to counter-balance the general effect of the urban elections, which had given an undeniable and impressive declaration in favour of the continuance of Unionist Ministers in the control of the national affairs.

The general results of the county pollings were distinctly less favourable to the Government. On the Ministerial side the gains were in the Cockermouth and Eskdale divisions of Cumberland, in the former of which Sir Wilfrid Lawson lost his seat, the Tavistock division of Devonshire, South-east Durham, Essex (Walthamstow), the Middleton and Southport divisions of Lancashire, Lincolnshire (Gainsborough), Northumberland (Tyneside), and Staffordshire (Burton)—ten in all. To set against this list, the Liberals gained seats in seventeen county constituencies south of the Tweed—Cambridgeshire (Wisbech), Cheshire (Crewe), Cornwall (Camborne), Derbyshire (High Peak), the Barnstaple and Torquay divisions of Devonshire, Gloucestershire (Stroud), the Lancaster and Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth divisions of Lancashire, Lincolnshire (Spalding), Mid-Northamptonshire, Radnorshire, Warwickshire (Rugby), Westmoreland (Appleby), Wilts (Westbury), and the Otley and Skipton divisions of Yorkshire. Had these results been accompanied by a considerable change in favour of the Opposition on the polls in the county constituencies where the actual representation remained unchanged, and by anything approaching to an equal division between the political parties of the county constituencies in which there was no contest, it would have been reasonable to regard the counties as a whole as essentially qualifying the national judgment as given by the boroughs. The facts, however, were far otherwise. From an elaborate review of the results of the general election published in the *Times* it appeared that of eighty-nine English county divisions in which the polling led to no change in the colour of the representation, but showed a change in the comparative strength of parties, there was a relative gain to the Ministerialists in fifty-one, and to the Opposition in only thirty-eight. In regard to the votes cast, the same authority said—“The total increase in the Unionist majorities, so far as the English counties are concerned, is 31,810, and the decrease 10,322. The Liberal county majorities which are heavier than before show a total increase of 12,844, as compared with an aggregate decrease in other constituencies of 13,381.” But the facts with regard to the uncontested county elections were much more striking. Of ninety-one county constituencies in England in which no poll was taken, there were only eight from which members were returned on the side of the Opposition. Proceeding in the case of an uncontested election on the basis of the figures of the last previous contest, and in double constituencies taking

the highest poll given on either side, and treating votes for Labour and Socialist candidates as for Liberals, the following figures were arrived at: "Including Croydon and the two boroughs of West Ham, London returns sixty-two members. In the case of the City of London the figures of 1885 have been taken, as in 1892 there was no Liberal candidate, and the votes for the three Conservative candidates have been added together and divided by two, while the complete Liberal vote has been given:—

		Unionist Votes.	Unionist Members.	Liberal Votes.	Liberal Members.
1895	- - -	249,539	54	174,322	8
1900	- - -	253,896	54	161,918	8
		4,357 increase		12,404 decrease "	

"Dealing in the same way with England, excluding London, we find:—

		Unionist Votes.	Unionist Members.	Liberal Votes.	Liberal Members.
1895	- - -	1,692,259	295	1,472,561	108
1900	- - -	1,759,560	285	1,503,784	118
		67,301 increase		31,223 increase "	

Here the figures for Oxford and Cambridge Universities, returning Unionists unopposed since 1885, and for the Jarrow division of Durham, which no Unionist candidate had contested since 1885, are omitted.

The following figures show the proportions of the total votes, estimated as above, given at the English elections (excluding London) in 1900:—

		Unionist Votes.	Liberal Votes.
Boroughs	- - -	641,627	538,650
Counties	- - -	1,116,076	964,271

Wales was the one integral part of the United Kingdom in which the elections showed a definite decline in the Ministerial position. The Liberals gained seats in the Carmarthen and Cardiff Boroughs, in Radnorshire and in Swansea Town. They improved their relative position also in more places than those in which the Unionists could point to any gain, and the total figures for Wales, as compared with 1895, came out as follows:—

		Unionist Votes.	Unionist Members.	Liberal Votes.	Liberal Members.
1895	- - -	92,129	8	125,353	22
1900	- - -	89,948	4	137,220	26
		2,181 decrease		11,867 increase	

In nine Welsh county constituencies there were unopposed returns—all of Liberals.

To these results those shown by the Scottish elections presented a remarkable contrast. For the first time since the Reform Act of 1832 the Liberals failed to secure a majority in the representation of North Britain. The most conspicuous feature about the Scottish elections was the return, also for the first time, of a solid body of Unionist members from Glasgow,

where the two divisions of Blackfriars and Bridgeton, which in 1895 had found seats for Liberals, both elected Conservatives by large majorities. South Edinburgh also, which had been Unionist in 1895, but had been lost to that party at a bye-election in 1897, returned to its allegiance to the Ministry of Lord Salisbury, the quadruple representation of the capital thus becoming equally divided between Liberals and Liberal Unionists. Other details of the pollings north of the Tweed will be referred to in our Scottish chapter, but in order to complete the general view of the election results the following comparative figures, taken as before from the *Times*, may be given here :—

	Unionist Votes.	Unionist Members.	Liberal Votes.	Liberal Members.
1895 - - -	233,021	33	247,519	39
1900 - - -	257,448	37	253,029	35
	24,427 increase		5,510 increase	

omitting the figures for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, represented by a Unionist unopposed since 1885.

To these may be added the following figures as to the total results at the two general elections in Great Britain :—

	Unionist Votes.	Unionist Members.	Liberal Votes.	Liberal Members.
1895 - - -	2,266,948	390	2,019,755	177
1900 - - -	2,360,852	380	2,055,951	187
	93,904 increase		36,196 increase	

In the above figures it was erroneously assumed that Orkney and Shetland would, as usual, return a Liberal.

Of the Irish elections at this point it is not necessary to do more than record that, while presenting several features of very considerable interest, their effect upon the relative strength of parties at Westminster was practically *nil*. The Nationalists gained two seats—one each in the Southern division of Dublin County and the St. Stephen's Green division of the City of Dublin; but lost two—at Londonderry City, where the Duke of Abercorn's heir, the Marquess of Hamilton, was returned, and Galway City, where Mr. Martin Morris, son of the eminent Irish judge, Lord Morris, was elected, as a Conservative, by 882 votes to 763 given to his Nationalist opponent. The aspects of the elections in Ireland, which attracted most attention on this side of St. George's Channel, were the large number of members returned as the adherents of Mr. William O'Brien, and the almost complete Parliamentary effacement of the supporters of Mr. Healy; the split among the Unionists in Dublin and elsewhere, which was responsible for the defeat of Mr. Horace Plunkett and the election of a Nationalist in South Dublin County; and the divisions among Ulster Unionists, which were signalised by a declaration from Mr. T. W. Russell, Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government Board, as to the urgent need, in his opinion, of a measure for the compulsory expropriation of all Irish landlords.

When Orkney and Shetland had elected a Unionist, the final figures for the whole House of Commons stood thus:—

Conservatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	334	}	402
Liberal Unionists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68		
Liberals and Labour Members	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	186	}	268
Nationalists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82		
Total									670	
Unionist majority	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	134	

The elections were barely over before the young organisation, which had been distinctly though genially cautioned by Sir W. Harcourt, felt it right to deliver its testimony in unmistakable fashion as to the lessons of the Liberal defeat. Of the 186 Liberal members of the new House of Commons only fifty-six were included in a list of candidates put forth by Dr. Heber Hart, chairman of the committee of the Imperial Liberal Council, just before the elections, as "understood to be in general agreement with the policy of the Council," but it was estimated by the *Times* that about twenty-five more might be expected to support the Government on questions connected with the South African War. However that might be, there was a very uncompromising note, as towards the non-Imperialist members of the party, in a resolution adopted by the Imperial Liberal Council (Oct. 19), declaring: "That, in order to secure the ascendancy of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and its ability to effect the domestic reforms which are so urgently needed, the time has arrived when it is necessary to clearly and permanently distinguish Liberals in whose policy with regard to Imperial questions patriotic voters may justly repose confidence from those whose opinions naturally disqualify them from controlling the action of the Imperial Parliament of a world-wide community of nations."

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's attention was naturally called to this declaration, and, in reply to a correspondent, he wrote: "I agree with all that you say in deprecation of the institution and maintenance within the Liberal party of any sectional organisation, but when such an organisation proclaims as one of its objects that all Liberals who do not belong to it, and whom it chooses to proscribe, should be excluded from the party, the case becomes intolerable. This is a time for unity, for keeping in mind the many important points on which we are entirely agreed, and not for exaggerating any individual ground of difference. In what may be styled Imperial policy, there is absolute harmony among four-fifths of the Liberal party, and it cannot be for any useful public purpose that it is sought to manufacture a division which does not naturally exist. Any men calling themselves Liberals who do so, whatever their own views may be, are the worst enemies of the party and of the principles for whose maintenance it exists. Such tactics and the spirit which they display are fatal to our usefulness as an

Opposition, and no party could exist in vigour and efficiency within which they were pursued and tolerated."

This was strong language, especially when it was remembered that a Liberal of the high character and moderate temper of Lord Brassey was president of the Imperial Liberal Council, and the situation did not promise well for an early Liberal consolidation on any line of Imperial policy. At the same time that concentration of the popular mind on issues connected with the war and England's Imperial position, to which the elections had borne such striking witness, was manifested afresh, in the case of London at any rate, by the passionate welcome given to the City Imperial Volunteers on their return from South Africa. In the record of the services of these brave men, drawn from almost all social grades, the people of the metropolis felt a peculiar sense of pride and possession, and the greetings lavished on them when they came back to their native city were of quite extraordinary warmth. Their arrival was expected on Saturday (Oct. 27), but owing to a dense fog in the Channel their landing was so much delayed that the march through London from Paddington to St. Paul's had to be put off till Monday (29th). Notwithstanding this postponement the numbers and the enthusiasm of the welcoming crowds attained immense proportions. For neither had quite adequate preparations been made by the authorities, and the result was that, during the latter part of their triumphal progress, the C.I.V.'s had practically to force their way in single file through the surging multitudes of their affectionate friends and admirers. There was no mistaking the fact that "the whole city was moved" to its heart in such fashion as to demonstrate that with an unusual intensity it had, through its own Volunteers, identified itself with the war in which the nation was engaged in South Africa.

In regard to the Chinese question, as to the extreme difficulty and gravity of which Lord Salisbury had spoken very strongly in his address to the electors of the United Kingdom, there was much less keenness of interest, when once the Legations had been delivered from the appalling fate which threatened them. Still the possibility of the development of difficulties among the allied Powers had become so plainly evident that public opinion in this country gave a cordial, if somewhat puzzled, welcome to the announcement (Oct. 20) of the signature, four days before, of an agreement between England and Germany as to the policy to be pursued in the Far East. In its distinct assertion, in effect if not in words, of the principle of the "open door" for the commerce of every Power in China, and in its joint repudiation on behalf of the signatory States of all intention to seek for themselves any territorial advantages at the expense of the integrity of the Chinese Empire, the agreement fully accorded with the predominant feeling in this country. For it was realised pretty fully how much more advantageous

general freedom of access, on a footing of equality, to Chinese markets would be likely to prove to British trade than whatever special commercial privileges might be secured in slices of Chinese territory taken under "protection." And the fact that the German Emperor, through his new Imperial Chancellor, Count von Bülow, had entered into a special understanding with such objects with England seemed, so far as it went, to promise a drawing closer together of the relations between Germany and this country. How far it went was, however, somewhat of a puzzle by reason of the difficulty of attaching any definite purport to the third clause of the Anglo-German Agreement, which ran thus:—

"In case of another Power making use of the complications in China in order to obtain under any form whatever such territorial advantages, the two contracting parties reserve to themselves to come to a preliminary understanding as to the eventual steps to be taken for the protection of their own interests in China." This clause, of course, had to be taken in connection with the fourth and last, which stated that the two signatory Governments would "communicate this agreement to the other Powers interested, and especially to Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States of America, and would invite them to accept the principles recorded in it."

The most natural reading of these clauses would seem to be that if the Powers to whom the agreement was to be communicated intimated their adhesion to its principles all would be well; but that if any of them declined to do so and pursued a policy of selfish ambition in China they would, or certainly might, have to reckon with concerted action on the part of Great Britain and Germany for the checking of such schemes. Further, inasmuch as Russia was the only Power which had shown any serious disposition to extend her political authority at the expense of the integrity of the Chinese Empire, it would follow that Russia was the Power to which the Anglo-German Agreement might be regarded as a warning. It was not surprising, therefore, that a great deal of irritation was manifested in the comments on the agreement published in the Russian press. The Russian reply to the communication of the agreement (which, like other replies, was not officially published till Dec. 13) was somewhat curt. It "favourably entertained" the statement that ports in Chinese territory, where England and Germany exercised influence, would remain free and open, and maintained that the principle of preserving the integrity of the Chinese Empire had from the outset been advocated by Russia. She had no designs, it was intimated, anywhere hostile to the maintenance of that principle, but at the same time her policy would be liable to be influenced by that of other Powers.

Very soon, however, it had become understood, if indeed

serious doubt on the subject had been entertained in any quarter, that the German Government did not read its agreement with this country as committing it to any line of policy that would disagreeably check the realisation of any projects Russia might cherish or develop for the extension and consolidation of her influence over Manchuria. Austria-Hungary, Italy, Japan and the United States replied to the communication of the Anglo-German Agreement that they readily accepted the principles embodied in it. France also endorsed those principles—the open door and Chinese territorial integrity—as having been always advocated by her during the existing crisis; and in regard to the situation contemplated by the third article of the agreement, above quoted, she simply reserved to herself freedom of action according to circumstances.

The news received from China at this time accentuated the need for thorough accord among the European Powers represented there, both as to the ends to be aimed at and as to the means by which they should be pursued. On the one hand there were indications that the Chinese Government from its remote retreat at Si-ngan-fu was "playing for time" by putting forward inadequate propositions in respect of atonement for the conspicuous outrages committed on Europe. On the other hand there seemed little reason to hope that the Ministers of the Powers at Peking were attaining in common a clear view as to the demands which ought to be made upon the Dowager-Empress and her advisers, or as to any practical steps for the enforcement of such demands, if refused. And at the same time there were very unpleasant reports current which it seemed difficult, if not impossible, to treat with entire scepticism, as to the perpetration in the country round Peking, not indeed by the Anglo-Indian troops, but by those of several other Powers, of excesses which could not fail to produce on the Chinese popular mind the impression that the grievances of Europe against China were beginning to be balanced by those in the opposite account. There was, moreover, an uncomfortable feeling growing in some men's minds that however treacherous and brutal in their ways the Chinese Court with its soldiers, regular and irregular, had shown itself to be; it could not have found such widespread support for an anti-foreign movement had this not appealed to some patriotic sentiment. The European Powers had acted towards China without any regard to the restraints which they imposed upon themselves in dealing with each other. Trade concessions and religious privileges were extorted from her by force or fraud. Her provinces were annexed to suit the growing greed for colonial empire among Western nations, her shores and rivers were patrolled by foreign cruisers, and the law was administered by Europeans in accordance with their own views. Sir Robert Hart, the Commissioner of the Chinese Imperial Customs, published in the *Fortnightly Review* a weighty article, based on his life-long

knowledge of the country, warning his countrymen of the reality, imminent and prospective, of the "Yellow Peril," and urging them to deal leniently with the Chinese Government, and to re-establish it as quickly as possible at Peking.

From South Africa also the news in late October and early November was by no means so cheerful as, a few weeks before, had been confidently hoped. The departure of Mr. Kruger did not appear to have exercised the depressing influence naturally expected from it upon the spirits of the Boers whom he had left, headless, to carry on the struggle into which, more than a year before, he and Mr. Steyn had precipitated them. The latter ex-President remained at large in the field, and with General Botha refused to treat on the basis of entire submission. "The ubiquitous De Wet," as he was called in one of Lord Roberts' despatches, ranged here, there, and almost everywhere, in both the Transvaal and the Orange Colony, forbidding surrender, and displaying a signal gift for the organisation of guerilla warfare. Engagements, if not often of serious magnitude, became more numerous than even at some of the critical phases of the war; and the weekly lists of killed and wounded among the Queen's troops, not only in some actions on a considerable scale, but in obscure fights all over the length and breadth of the Boer States, mounted up to very melancholy totals. Occasionally, even still, the knowledge of the country possessed by the Boers and their astonishing mobility enabled them, despite our command of the railways, on which they constantly inflicted serious damage, to bring overpowering numbers to bear upon outlying British detachments. Any prisoners thus taken by the enemy were generally released before long, their keep being too costly and their custody too troublesome to their captors; but that the beaten Boers should still be in a position to capture even if only to release any British soldiers was felt to be not a little annoying.

In view of all the circumstances the British public were glad when it became known that Lord Roberts' relinquishment of the command in South Africa, which had been expected to take place about the middle of November, had been again postponed. He had originally been expected in England some weeks before that date to take up the succession to the Commandership-in-Chief, and in his absence Lord Wolseley had consented to remain temporarily in occupation of that great post. Special interest, therefore, naturally attached to the latter distinguished officer's opinions on questions connected with the war, and with the general efficiency of the military system of the country. There were at least three occasions, during his last few weeks before finally laying down the Commandership-in-Chief, on which Lord Wolseley made public reference to these questions. Speaking at a dinner of the City of London Schools Committee (Oct. 17) he observed that the war had shown that the common saying that the English were not a military nation was not only

very far-fetched, but also very incorrect. Before the war broke out they had 12,000 soldiers in South Africa, and since then they had sent out from these shores—from Great Britain and her dependencies—234,000, accompanied by 170,000 horses and other animals. Altogether this was unexampled, for never before had so large an army been sent fully equipped to such a great distance as 7,000 miles. He did not believe that any other nation in the world could have done such a thing. He would go further and say that but for the reorganisation of the army instituted twenty-five years ago under the able administration of the greatest War Minister England ever had, Lord Cardwell—but for his introduction of the short service system—they would not have been able to do what they had. Naturally they had made a great many mistakes. No nation could send an army into the field without making mistakes; whoever thought such a thing possible could know very little about war. The great Napoleon said that the general who never made mistakes in war must have made war for a very short time only. It was doubtless politic on the part of the retiring Commander-in-Chief to speak in such optimistic and self-satisfied terms of our exploits, but his opinion was shared by few outside his profession. It seemed as if it were impossible to bring home to the responsible chiefs of the army the faintest idea that their system was not beyond improvement.

Again, presiding (Oct. 30) at a lecture given by Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., on his experiences of the war as a special correspondent, Lord Wolseley called attention to the advantage possessed by the Boers in their "extraordinary eyesight—the eyesight of the wild man." He said that he had known a Boer sight game in all directions when he and other Englishmen could see no living thing. It was worthy of notice that the same point was emphasised by Sir Redvers Buller, who met with an enthusiastic reception on his arrival from South Africa at Southampton (Nov. 9). Replying to complimentary addresses on the following day General Buller maintained that the English army had had to meet unprecedented difficulties in South Africa. Among these there were two which he had not seen mentioned—first, that practically the ordinary sight of the enemy was at least two miles farther than the average sight of the Englishmen who were fighting against him; and, secondly, that the Boers through their knowledge of Kaffir could learn the whole news of a district at a Kaffir kraal very much more readily and fully than our officers could learn it through the employment of interpreters.

Much the most remarkable, however, of Lord Wolseley's parting utterances as Commander-in-Chief was that which he delivered at the Master Cutler's Feast at Sheffield (Nov. 1), when for the first time he admitted the presence of any blot in the existing system. On that occasion he said that when we looked abroad and thought of the great armies of Europe we

must be struck with their very different position from that of ours. In France, Germany, and all the great nations of the world, whatever might be deemed necessary by the general officer, who was mostly the Sovereign, to make the army efficient was regarded as a consideration that came before all others. In this country the representations to this effect of the Commander-in-Chief were very commonly met with the answer that the Government had not the money. As he was drawing near to the time when he should cease to be Commander-in-Chief, he would say that the only complaint he had was that he regretted very much, in the interests of the Army and of this great empire, that when a man in the position of a Commander-in-Chief or any other high position in the Army declared that he deliberately felt it was necessary to make certain changes in regard to Army matters, or laid before the Cabinet certain proposals essential to the safety of the empire, that opinion, deliberately come to by an expert on the subject, was not, for what it was worth, made known to the nation at large.

The principles thus laid down were not new. They had been expounded and enforced by thoughtful and weighty writers on questions of Imperial defence. But they had never been enunciated with so much of authority in the way of high rank, distinguished services, and great administrative experience behind them as in the Sheffield speech of the retiring Commander-in-Chief. And it was naturally asked why was the remedy so long delayed, or why had Lord Wolseley's mouth been stopped! Questions of Imperial defence were now profoundly occupying the thoughts of many, and it was from that point of view probably more than any other that close attention was given to the steps taken by Lord Salisbury very shortly after the conclusion of the elections for the reconstruction of the Ministry. That process and the flow of speculation and criticism which followed lasted for some weeks. The reconstructed Cabinet consisted of no less than twenty persons, *viz.*: Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal, The Marquess of Salisbury; Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury; Lord President of the Council, Duke of Devonshire; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir M. Hicks-Beach; Home Secretary, Mr. Ritchie; Foreign Secretary, The Marquess of Lansdowne; Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain; Secretary for War, Mr. Brodrick; Secretary for India, Lord George Hamilton; Secretary for Scotland, Lord Balfour of Burleigh; First Lord of the Admiralty, The Earl of Selborne; First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Balfour; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Cadogan; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Ashbourne; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Gerald Balfour; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord James of Hereford; President of Local Government Board, Mr. Walter Long; President of the Board of Agriculture, Mr. Hanbury; Works and Public Buildings, Mr. Akers Douglas; Postmaster-General, the Marquess of Londonderry.

A good deal of rearrangement and several entirely new appointments occurred in the case of Ministerial offices of rank below the Cabinet. Mr. Wyndham, previously Under-Secretary for War, became Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Viscount Cranborne (the Premier's eldest son), Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Earl of Onslow, previously Under-Secretary for India, took the same post at the Colonial Office. The Earl of Hardwicke became Under-Secretary for India; Lord Raglan, Under-Secretary for War; Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Financial Secretary to the Treasury; Lord Stanley, Financial Secretary to the War Office; and Mr. Arnold-Forster, Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty. Mr. Grant Lawson took the post of Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, succeeding there Mr. T. W. Russell, whose resignation will be referred to in connection with Ireland.

It will be seen from the above list that four members of the Cabinet, as it existed at the time of the dissolution, had retired. These were Lord Cross (Lord Privy Seal), Sir Matthew White Ridley (Home Secretary), Mr. Goschen (First Lord of the Admiralty) and Mr. Chaplin (President of the Local Government Board). In the cases of Lord Cross and Mr. Goschen, their ages (seventy-seven and sixty-nine respectively) and their long tenure of high offices of State seemed to render it quite natural that they should not desire to face a further term of Cabinet responsibility. Mr. Goschen, on the announcement of the dissolution, had intimated to the electors of St. George's, Hanover Square, that he should not again seek election to the House of Commons, and it was well understood that his eminent services would receive recognition in a peerage. Sir M. White Ridley being only fifty-eight, and Mr. Chaplin under sixty, and both having filled their respective posts with credit, if not with special distinction, there was no obvious reason why they should retire after the election, in which they were both again returned. What happened in any individual instance other than his own did not transpire, but Mr. Chaplin acquainted his constituents and the public with the fact that he had received, and acted on, though not without a certain sense of wrong, a request from Lord Salisbury for his resignation of his office, based on the necessity of making arrangements for the promotion of younger members of the Ministry. He appeared to intimate that he had declined a peerage—an honour which was accepted by Sir M. White Ridley.

To the four Cabinet offices vacated, by whatever means, a fifth was added by Lord Salisbury's decision not to continue holding together the posts of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. He resolved, though doubtless not without regret, to give up the Foreign Secretaryship, the arduous responsibilities as well as continuous detail work of which were amply sufficient for the strength of a much younger man than him-

self, and to associate with the position of Prime Minister the office, having no departmental duties, of Lord Privy Seal. It was well understood that as Prime Minister he would continue to utilise his immense knowledge of foreign affairs by exercising special collaboration with and supervision over his successor at the Foreign Office. His selection for that post was severely criticised in some quarters on the ground that Lord Lansdowne, whom he appointed, must be held more or less responsible for the War Office blunders and failures in the early part of the South African campaign, and generally that he had not given sufficient evidence of the possession of the strength of character and the resourcefulness necessary in the statesman who had charge of all the diplomatic relationships of Great Britain. On the other hand it was maintained that it was unfair to credit a particular War Secretary with errors and breakdowns which were inevitable, under any strain to our existing military system, and that as Viceroy, both of Canada and of India, Lord Lansdowne had won excellent opinions.

The two other most important features of the reconstructed Cabinet were the appointments of Mr. St. John Brodrick as Secretary for War and Lord Selborne as First Lord of the Admiralty. Both of these were received, if not with enthusiasm, yet with general and on the whole with cordial approval. As Under-Secretary, both at the War Office and more recently at the Foreign Office, Mr. Brodrick had shown very considerable power of mastering departmental detail and quite as much vigour and independence of character as there is scope for in those positions. He had, no doubt, when representing the War Office in the House of Commons, been constrained to adopt the attitude of official defence. But within the few weeks preceding the dissolution, he had spoken on the subject of Army reform in terms which appeared to indicate a clear grasp of the grave issues involved and a sense of the strength of purpose required for their adequate treatment. A favourable impression was produced by the tone of modest resolve marking a speech which Mr. Brodrick made very shortly after his appointment to the War Office, at Godalming (Nov. 6). On that occasion he suggested in reply to some critics of his appointment that his departmental experience as Under-Secretary in the office in which he had now been called to preside "might prove a useful adjunct to those inspirations which, after the greatest campaign of our generation, would be afforded him by the greatest soldier of our age. This is not a time," proceeded Mr. Brodrick, "when it would be fitting for me to make to you vague promises of reform or to sketch out shadowy schemes of organisation. But this I will say—that . . . I hold that by far the proudest and most enduring memorial of those 8,000 Englishmen and British colonists who have already lost their lives in the war would be to found upon the pedestal of their heroism and of the experience which we have gained by their exertions a system of national

defence which will be adequate to the security of these islands and also to the discharge of our responsibilities throughout the world. That is the conception of public duty with which I have undertaken to go down into an arena where I know perfectly well that buffets will be plentiful and that criticism will not be spared. I am under no delusions as to the work which has got to be undertaken. I do not say that I enter upon it with no misgivings, for every man who is conscious of imperfections in himself must have misgivings. But I do believe that there is a great work to be done. I am confident that men with open minds, with single hearts, and prepared to expend a double or triple share of energy may expect to accomplish it."

In Lord Selborne's appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty selection had been made of one of the younger Unionist politicians who had made his mark by important speeches on behalf of the Colonial Office, exhibiting unquestionable command of the issues involved in great affairs, and who was well understood to possess administrative abilities which were highly considered by Mr. Chamberlain. The maritime defences of this country, it was also felt, could not fail to gain from the appointment as Financial Secretary to the Admiralty of Mr. Arnold-Forster. His profound knowledge, based upon the most thorough study of the requirements of the national defences, both by sea and land, and the force of character, which in him was perhaps more conspicuous than conciliatoriness of manner, had attracted to him a large measure of public confidence.

On the whole the reconstruction effected in the Ministry was regarded with favour as considerably increasing the proportion of the more youthful element in its composition and affording good promise of vigorous and effective departmental administration, especially in the war services. At the same time there were not wanting criticisms, even on the Unionist side, directed against the large "family party" of Ministers, connected by blood or marriage with the Premier, who were to be found within the Government, and against the inordinate size of the Cabinet. As was truly pointed out, a Council of such dimensions could not be expected to be a satisfactory organ for the determination of questions of high policy—legislative or administrative—and the result would inevitably be a concentration of power upon the "inner Cabinet," without a corresponding concentration of recognised responsibility.

The reconstruction of the Government had not been completed, but the most important of the new appointments had been announced when the Ministers dined with the new Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House (Nov. 9). On that occasion Mr. Goschen, who was received with an enthusiasm which bore abundant testimony to the public sense of the value of his services to the country, made a very graceful and interesting vale-

dictory speech as spokesman of the Board of Admiralty. After fitting reference to the distinguished part played by sailors and marines side by side with soldiers in South Africa and in China, he went on to express the great happiness which he felt that his young successor was a man in whose future career he had "absolute trust." Lord Selborne, he predicted, would "soon win his way to the heart of the naval service."

Responding to the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers," Lord Salisbury said we were naturally asking ourselves just now how we stood with reference to the opinion of the world and to our own prestige and power. He need not speak of our courage, which had never been seriously doubted. But we had shown in this present war a capacity which had not always been so readily admitted, and which would alter very much the position we held in the view of contemporary critics. The achievement of sending between two and three hundred thousand men within so brief a space of time and with such perfection of equipment to a distance of 6,000 miles was a wonderful achievement, which should counterbalance in their minds many of those nebulous and somewhat fictitious attacks to which the War Office had been exposed during the last twelve months.

The Premier went on to say that what appeared to him to be the most important part of our gains in the last year was that we had established before the world what he thought the world (previously) did not thoroughly believe—the hearty sympathy existing between the colonies and the mother country. This, said Lord Salisbury, "is a result of enormous value." He also touched in terms of special gratification on "the very hearty and friendly feeling which has been displayed between this country and the United States"; and in allusion to the American Presidential election, with some apology for the irregularity of his doing so, expressed the opinion that the cause which had won was "the cause of civilisation and commercial honour."

In regard to China, Lord Salisbury said that he could not speak with entire freedom as we were acting there with a party of allies. One of the characteristics shown by experience to attach to the Concert of Europe was that it tended to preserve European peace. Another was that it "tended to defer for a considerable period the solution of any problem which was in hand."

The Anglo-German Agreement, the Premier proceeded to observe, was one of no great eccentricity or peculiarity, seeing that it represented the feelings which were entertained by most of the Powers in alliance with us. "But it does lay down," he continued, "these two important points—that we desire to maintain the integrity of China, and that we desire to maintain what is called 'the open door'; that is to say, the maintenance of the practice of free trade at treaty ports. . . . If these two things are achieved I do not know that the issue of the China problem is one that need concern us very anxiously."

Respecting the necessity for strengthening our national defences we had to bear in mind, Lord Salisbury urged, that, though foreign Governments might have an appearance and even the reality of pacific intention, their action was constantly liable to be superseded by the violent and vehement operations of mere ignorance. And the moral was that we must remain on our guard, that we must make it certain, or as certain as any human calculation could be, that our defences were in such a condition that we were not exposed to the danger of any sudden interruption of that peace on which all our prosperity depended.

It was felt that the value of this appeal from the Prime Minister for the concentration of public attention on the strengthening of our national defences would have gained in effect if it had not been preceded by the singular, if somewhat obscurely worded, passage with regard to the attacks on the War Office which has been quoted above from an earlier portion of his Mansion House speech.

At the Colston Banquet at Bristol (Nov. 13) the Chancellor of the Exchequer intimated that, although he confidently expected that the revenue of the financial year would come up to what he had anticipated, the extra expenditure entailed by the war had been so great that he should be glad if it were not his unhappy fate to have to propose more taxation. He still held, notwithstanding the protests of certain wealthy companies connected with the Transvaal, that that State ought to bear a considerable portion of the charges of the war. But, of course, the Government must not spoil the future of the country by attempting to impose upon it a greater burden than it could reasonably bear. The necessary demands of the Navy might entail increased expenditure, and Army reform would certainly cost money. In that connection it was interesting to observe, having regard to Lord Wolseley's Sheffield speech, that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach strongly contended that the failures in our military system under the stress of war were not in any way traceable to parsimony on the part of the Treasury. The question, for example, of the deficiency of officers with adequate military training was not at all a matter of money. In his opinion the abuse involved in the excessive standard of compulsory expenditure prevailing in many cavalry regiments had much to do with the restriction in the number of qualified candidates coming forward for commissions in those corps. That and other abuses in the British military system would have to be dealt with, and the task would be difficult and unpopular, but he believed Mr. Brodrick would do his best in the great enterprise that lay before him.

On the same day it was announced that Parliament would meet on December 3, with a view to the provision of further money for the expenses of the war. The prospect that when it met the Opposition would be in a united condition did not appear to improve. On November 12 the Council of the

Imperial Liberal Association gave a dinner at the Hotel Cecil, at which Lord Brassey, as President of the Council, vindicated the action which had led to the formation of the association. There was nothing new, he said, in the creed of the Imperial Liberals, but, having regard to the existence within the ranks of the Liberal party of a section who were doing it great damage by their disloyal action and their open sympathy with the enemies of their country, the promoters of the Imperial Liberal movement believed that steps should be taken to show that Liberalism in the truest sense was not inconsistent with loyalty to the empire. Their association had already 300 members, and they were recruiting steadily among active and influential Liberals. Lord Brassey said that he was not directly responsible for the issue by the committee of certain resolutions, but it was a mistake to regard them as implying a policy of ostracism. Having cited, as expressing the principles of the Imperial Liberals, some phrases entirely free from any "Jingo" taint employed by the late Mr. W. E. Forster, Lord Brassey went on to say that "a combination of circumstances and qualifications, which they did not find in an equal degree in any other statesman, pointed clearly to Lord Rosebery" as the leader who would "best promote the union of all sections of the party." On the same occasion Mr. Perks, M.P., claimed that as many as 142 out of the 186 Liberal members of the new Parliament were virtually Imperialist Liberals, and said that the first thing they desired to see in the new session was union on the front bench. In a speech at Dundee (Nov. 15) Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman adhered to his condemnation of the separate action of the Imperialist Liberals, for which, as he intimated, there was no justification. What was wanted in the party, of which he believed four-fifths were in substantial agreement about Imperial affairs, was unity and discipline. As to Lord Rosebery, the Liberal party had always regretted his retirement, and desired his return. They would welcome him, and rejoice to see him standing among his old comrades once more. But of one thing they might be quite sure, "that Lord Rosebery would never come back to put himself at the head of a section," and that if he entered public life again he would come back to the whole Liberal party with which he was associated before, with all its healthy shades of opinion. In a later speech on the same day Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman urged upon the members of the Liberal party the duty of "shutting their ears to those who preached division to them," of forgetting their "small trumpery differences of opinion," and of remembering how many and important were the questions upon which they were agreed. He believed that this practical union existed in the country, and trusted that it would find its counterpart among the Liberal members of the House of Commons. The effect of this appeal was obviously much reduced, if not neutralised, by his description of the Liberal Imperialists as men who, though honest and

simple-minded, had been led astray by the "heavy fumes of a fermented and half-digested doctrine," and his language was much resented by the *Daily News*, which at that time was the principal exponent of the Imperial wing of the Liberal party.

Sir Henry Fowler, who spoke at a Liberal dinner at Wolverhampton (Nov. 21), refrained from passing reflections upon any section of his party. But he maintained that the overwhelming majority of Liberals in the country, and "a great majority of the members who held their seats by Liberal votes," believed that the real issue at stake in South Africa was the supremacy of Great Britain, and that it was the duty of persons of all parties to support the Queen's Government in maintaining that supremacy when it was insolently attacked, and in taking adequate securities against the recurrence of the sufferings and slaughter which the Boer States had inflicted on both Dutch and British in South Africa. In accordance with this view, Sir H. Fowler stated that he had learned from the elections that "the vast majority of Liberals desired that Lord Rosebery should return to his place in the councils of the party." It should be added that while thus giving a definite lead on the side of Imperial Liberalism, Sir H. Fowler adopted a markedly critical attitude with regard to the conduct of the war. He suggested that, having regard to the enormous advantages at their disposal, the War Office might have done much better than they had done, even in the matter of the transport of the troops to the seat of war. And, in any case, their performance in that respect "would not dispose of the allegations as to deficient and inadequate artillery and ammunition, the preference for unmounted troops, the unhorsed cavalry, the ill-fed and ill-clothed troops, the hospital administration, the excessive mortality from typhoid fever, and all the other complaints which so loudly called for the investigation by Parliament, which the Government had promised, and to which the new Parliament was pledged."

During the last days of November the irritation and uneasiness which the British public continued to experience through the maintenance of guerilla warfare in the Transvaal and Orange Colonies were enhanced by indications of the recrudescence of disloyal feeling at the Cape, and were not soothed by the enthusiastic reception given to ex-President Kruger in France. Wherever he appeared in that country, whether in the provinces or in the capital, he was hailed with every evidence of popular sympathy and admiration. He exchanged calls with the President of the Republic as if he were the head of a sovereign State—the annexation of the Transvaal to the British dominions not having been yet notified to the European Powers—and received marks of sympathy from both Houses of the French Legislature and the Paris Municipal Council. All this was not agreeable reading to Englishmen, but, fortunately, nothing occurred out of which an international "incident" could develop; and the people

of this country had the good sense to remember that they had often made heroes of foreigners who were looked upon with aversion by the Governments of other friendly States. None the less was it an undeniable satisfaction to them to learn that having arrived (Dec. 1) at Cologne, and been the recipient there of a popular demonstration not less hearty than those of which he had been the object in France and on his way through Belgium, Mr. Kruger was informed on the next day that the German Emperor's engagements would not allow him, "at the present moment," to receive him at Berlin. Whether this was the outcome of the recently concluded Anglo-German Agreement, or a polite way of making amends for the German Emperor's telegram to President Kruger after the Jameson Raid, may be left a matter of speculation. In either case the act was one of friendliness to this country, and showed that the Emperor was not disposed to follow the lead of the German Anglophobes.

The first three days of the winter session of Parliament (Dec. 3) were occupied, after the re-election of Mr. Gully as Speaker, by the swearing-in of members of the House of Commons; the Queen's Speech being communicated (Dec. 6) by commission. It was extremely brief, merely stating that, it having become necessary to make further provision for the expenses incurred by the military operations in South Africa and China, Parliament had been summoned for a special session in order that its sanction might be given to the enactments required for that purpose. "I will not," proceeded the Royal speech, "enter upon other public matters requiring your attention until the ordinary meeting of Parliament in the spring."

In the House of Lords, the address having been moved by the Earl of Lathom, a Conservative, and seconded by Lord Monk Bretton, a Liberal Unionist, the Earl of Kimberley, on the part of the Opposition, called attention to the circumstances of the recent dissolution, and reiterated the Liberal complaint that the action of Government had practically disfranchised a large number of the electorate. He complained, too, of the imputations of disloyalty which had been cast on some of the Opposition candidates. Having commented on the extraordinary brevity of the speech from the throne and its abruptness of tone, he went on to say that he must press for a statement from Ministers as to the policy they meant to pursue in view of the recrudescence of the war in South Africa. He hoped that some explanations would be vouchsafed with regard to the charge of cruel treatment of the Boers by the burning of farms and the expulsion of women from their homes, and that a statement might at once, or shortly, be made of the intentions of the Government with regard to the future of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. Adverting to the question of China, he expressed approval of the Anglo-German Agreement, but hoped there was no truth in the statement that we were about to embark on a great expedition into the interior

of the country for the purpose of capturing the Empress and Emperor.

Replying, on behalf of the Government, the Marquess of Salisbury first eulogised very highly the achievements of our troops and the skill of Lords Roberts and Kitchener. Without saying that October was the only month for a general election, he thought that of all the months it stood first as causing the least interference with public business and the least inconvenience to those who had to vote. As to the register, if his information was correct, the great change by which it was affected took place at the end of May; and, looking back to the various dissolutions in the Queen's reign, he found that quite two-thirds of them had been subsequent to the month of May. With regard to South Africa, he continued, our policy had been made absolutely clear by Lord Roberts' kindly worded proclamation. Our wish was that these countries should attain the condition of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain. But that could not be in the present bitter state of feeling. He knew not how long the delay might be. It might be years, it might even be generations; it must depend much on the Boers' own disposition and conduct. Meanwhile the war must be carried through, and the responsibility for the inevitable delay which it caused in any advance towards a happy settlement rested entirely upon those who kept up the struggle.

With regard to China, Lord Salisbury sympathised cordially with Lord Kimberley's denunciation of distant expeditions. He earnestly hoped that no such expeditions would be made, but he did not think he could gratify the noble lord's curiosity by telling him the exact position in which the Chinese question stood. He could only say that the Concert of Europe subsisted in a state of "very reasonable vitality," and that he had very little doubt that it would be successful, though more as to the time when its success would be attained.

Lord Rosebery followed in a speech of considerable length, and pitched in a key which was naturally regarded as suggesting his readiness to resume the leadership of the Liberal party. Rejecting altogether the idea that there was any rule which could debar the House of Lords from considering matters of such constitutional importance as the circumstances of a dissolution and the manner in which a general election was fought, he proceeded to associate himself in the strongest manner with all the complaints to which Lord Kimberley had given expression. He spoke of the election—taking place as it had done on a "worn-out register," without any Ministerial defeat or considerable shrinkage in the Government majority—as a "wholly unprecedented" and a "wanton" election. Lord Rosebery threw his shield over the Opposition as a whole, maintaining that it had "never been fairly charged with thwarting the Government in the conduct of the war, . . . or with any of the acts with which the Opposition in the time of Pitt were,

in my opinion, not unfairly charged." He condemned the Ministerial conduct of the election as "on the footing that every man who voted for the Opposition was a friend of the Boers and an enemy and a traitor to his country." He quoted placards in which that view had been set forth, particularly one published on behalf of an "obscure candidate" who was opposing his right honourable friend Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and one in support of the candidature of Mr. Gerald Balfour in Leeds; and he maintained that nothing was more calculated to encourage the Boers than the supposition that the great minority—some 1,400,000—of Liberal votes were cast in their favour. Lord Rosebery further criticised the reconstruction of the Government in a humorous vein, and congratulated the Prime Minister on being the head of a family with "the most remarkable genius for administration that had ever been known." Passing thence to a subject on which he said he only touched very reluctantly, not in a party sense, but as a matter of public duty, he referred to the attacks made on the Colonial Secretary in regard to the shares held by himself and members of his family, and to contracts. "These charges, groundless as I am convinced they are, coming in connection with other circumstances, create a feeling that there has been a want of supervision on the part of the head of the Government as regards that instinctive, generous and honourable delicacy which should actuate all Ministers in relation to their private affairs." Lord Rosebery referred to the new President of the Board of Trade as being director of several companies, urging that such connections were a source of possible weakness and discredit to the Government, and constituted precedents of "incalculable danger" to British public life. He also made a deprecatory allusion to the connection between a new Under-Secretary (Lord Hardwicke), of whose ability and honour he spoke in high terms, and the Stock Exchange.

The Duke of Devonshire replied with tartness to some of Lord Rosebery's observations, that when his noble friend had reconstructed the Opposition he might be a better judge as to the reconstruction of the Government. The question of the financial relations of Ministers with companies was, as the duke instanced from his own experience, surrounded by considerable difficulties. As to Lord Hardwicke, he was authorised to say that at the end of the year he would cease to be an active partner in the Stock Exchange firm with which he was connected. The address was then agreed to without further discussion.

In the Commons, the address having been moved by Mr. J. E. Gordon (*Elgin and Nairn*), and seconded by Mr. Fitzalan Hope (*Brightside, Sheffield*), Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman repeated the charges against the Government as to the time and conduct of the general election, and then adverted to the publication of the letters found at Bloemfontein, which was due, he alleged,

simply to a desire to discredit opponents of the Ministry. The letters were private, and in private life their publication would have led to the exclusion of the person responsible from the society of honourable men ; nor did he see why acts disgraceful in a private person should be tolerated on the part of a Minister of the Crown. He proceeded to complain of the scarcity of authoritative information in regard to the war. He warned the Government that there was a growing uneasiness with respect to such matters as the burning of farms and the deportation of women and children, though he had himself perfect confidence in the humanity of British officers and soldiers. In any case, to drive a stubborn enemy to despair was not the speediest way of bringing hostilities to an end, nor was it calculated to make loyal subjects of the Boers in the future. All, with insignificant exceptions, agreed that the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony must be incorporated with the empire, but he implored the Government to consider the advisability of putting forth some broad-minded proclamation which should sound the first notes of concord between Dutch and English. With regard to the demand for further supplies Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman did not suppose there would be any opposition, but he observed that the expenditure arising from the war was already enormous.

In reply, Mr. Balfour, justifying the dissolution in September, stated that on constitutional grounds he would never admit that there were five or six months in the year when there ought not to be a dissolution, and, besides, he failed to understand the grievance of the Opposition in this matter. As to the complaint that during the election it was said that a vote given for the Opposition was a vote given for the Boers, he observed that he had not himself used any phrase conveying that any opponent of his was lacking in patriotism. At the same time, he believed that in a sense it was true that votes given to the other side were votes given for the Boers, because they were calculated to encourage the Boers in their resistance. There were certain English and Scottish members opposite who were regarded as supporters by the Boers ; and the eighty Irish Nationalist members who counted as part of the Opposition were avowedly pro-Boers. That being the case, if Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had been called on to form a Government, he would have come into power with many supporters who were pro-Boers. He admitted that the Government had appealed to the patriotic feeling of the country, and contended that they were right to do so, for it was essential to show to the world that the country supported the policy of the Government. With regard to the publication of despatches, Mr. Balfour said the Government hoped to publish the great majority of them soon after the return of Lord Roberts. Some would not be published, but would be available for use by any properly constituted body charged with a general inquiry into the conduct of the war.

As to the conduct of the war, he reminded the House how very difficult was the task of belligerents who were fighting men who were combatants one day and non-combatants the next. But in meeting this difficulty he recognised that we must always remember that the men against whom we were fighting were to be our fellow-subjects, and the Government and the generals in the field felt that everything possible should be done to diminish the evils which the war must cause. For these evils the responsibility rested in large measure upon the Boer leaders. The Government had stated over and over again that, after a period of transition, they looked forward to a condition of things in which Dutchmen and Englishmen in the new colonies would enjoy equal privileges and the blessings associated with British colonial rule. If any means could be devised by which the views of the Government could be made more fully known to the Boers, he should be glad to see them adopted. Meanwhile, their duty was to conduct the military operations with vigour, but with humanity.

Major Rasch (*Essex, S. E.*) spoke, and Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) pleaded for an authoritative statement of terms of surrender for the Boers, such as brave and honourable men could accept.

Lord Cranborne (*Rochester*) was received with cheers on rising to speak for the first time as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He stated that papers relating to China would be presented. With reference to the occupation of Niu-Chwang by the Russians, he deprecated criticism of the Russian commander's action in the absence of fuller information. It had been explained that the occupation was temporary, and that the rights of other parties would not be prejudiced by it. With regard to the Anglo-German Agreement, he observed that the interests of Germany in China were analogous to our own, and that it was therefore reasonable that the two Powers should join in a declaration of the policy which they were prepared to pursue. The adhesion of the other Powers had, as was known, been sought, and the Government were satisfied with the response that had been made. The agreement was mutually advantageous to the Powers concerned and constituted a diplomatic success.

Mr. John Ellis (*Rushcliffe, Notts*), referring to the publication of the correspondence found at Pretoria and Bloemfontein, asked why the Colonial Secretary had not published his letter to Sir H. de Villiers asking his consent to the publication of his letters found at Pretoria and that gentleman's reply. As to his own share in the correspondence he declared that the publication of an extract from a private letter written by him to a friend in Cape Colony was a wanton violation of constitutional usage. As a matter of fact the extract from his letter was never outside Cape Colony at all; it was found at the town where it was posted, he supposed, or seized in the post between there and its destination. The treatment he had received from his constituents and

from Members on both sides showed that he was not thought to have done anything unworthy.

Mr. Chamberlain then delivered a reply, characterised by considerable bitterness, to the many attacks which had been made in the debate both on his conduct of the election campaign in general and upon his action in publishing the South African letters. He attributed the number of these attacks and all the complaints of the Opposition as to hard words used against them during the general election to their being unsuccessful litigants. Before the dissolution Ministers were being criticised every day for the injustice of the war and annexation, but how many Liberals, besides Mr. Morley, stood true to those principles? The Liberal party went about at the elections "disguised in khaki in order to turn out Imperialists"; but on the whole he thought the people saw through the plan. Dealing with the publication of the South African letters, and especially those of Sir H. de Villiers, Mr. Chamberlain said that that act, which according to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, rendered the person who committed it unworthy of his society, was the act of the Government—a statement which Mr. Balfour endorsed by a vigorous "Hear, hear." He contended that the view put forward by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Ellis of the sanctity of private letters, altogether irrespective of their contents, was contrary to common sense and practice, and practically absurd, and he expressed his opinion that language of the kind used by Dr. Clark and Mr. Labouchere amounted, under the circumstances, to "moral treason." Commenting bitterly on the manner in which Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had treated the publication of the letters of Sir H. de Villiers, Mr. Chamberlain said that he had written Sir H. de Villiers a private letter, saying that his letters which had fallen into his hands were most creditable to him, and that he hoped he would make no objection to their publication. Sir H. de Villiers replied that he should not object to the publication of the letters, but that the Colonial Secretary must understand that they were only part of a correspondence which he had had with Mr. Reitz, President Kruger and Sir A. Milner, and he wished that the whole correspondence could have been published. "That," said Mr. Chamberlain, "is a very different thing from saying that he made it a condition that the whole correspondence should be published." Mr. Chamberlain possessed no other letters by Sir H. de Villiers than those which were published. If Sir H. de Villiers had objected, Mr. Chamberlain said that he would certainly have deferred to his objection, and he maintained on these facts that it was a monstrous thing for Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to have accused him in the country of dishonourable conduct. Sir H. de Villiers could not and did not object to the publication of letters which "did his character for patriotism and loyalty the greatest possible credit." As to Mr. Ellis's letters, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that "you have a right to

ask for the truth and the whole truth, but that was not what the honourable gentleman asked for. He asked for a stream of facts which he could use in Parliament to damage his opponents." Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to justify in substance the arguments which he had used during the elections as to the risks of entrusting the Opposition, of which only one-third were heartily in favour of what he believed to be the national policy, with the prosecution of the war and the subsequent settlement. One or two phrases of his in a not very lucid report might have led to misconception, but he had never attacked any man's private character, whereas there had been "a perfect conspiracy of insinuations and charges against himself and those nearest him."

Mr. G. Balfour stated (Dec. 7) that on becoming President of the Board of Trade, he resigned the one directorship he then held. A motion giving all the time of the House to Government business having been carried, the debate on the address was resumed by Mr. Labouchere. He described the circumstances in which his own letters, which, according to Mr. Chamberlain, displayed "moral treason," were written, and said that his object in writing them was to get the issue, which was then pending, out of the hands of the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Kruger, between whom there was a personal antagonism unfavourable to a peaceful settlement, so that it might be submitted to a conference. If he had been successful he believed war would have been prevented. He was proud of his letters. The debate then took a more conciliatory tone. An amendment, framed after consultation with the front Opposition bench, "That it would conduce to the pacification of the conquered territories, and to the future good relations of the European races in South Africa generally, if measures for securing the liberty and property of those now in arms who surrender, for the settlement of those territories, and promoting the reconciliation and well-being of their inhabitants, were announced at the earliest possible date," was moved by Mr. Emmott (*Oldham*), who took the Liberal Imperialist view of the causes of the war. But, referring in some detail to the more drastic military measures which had recently been taken by our commanders in the field, he warned the Government that the burning of farms, the seizure of cattle, and the deportation of women and children were matters which were likely to have grave political and economic consequences.

The impression conveyed by Mr. Chamberlain's speech was so generally unfavourable that more than ordinary interest was aroused when he rose to fulfil the promises of the Government to explain its proposed pacification of South Africa. Recognising the moderation as well as the ability of the speeches of the mover and seconder of the amendment, he declared that the Government had no quarrel with its spirit, for they had in a way anticipated it by the proclamations of Lord Roberts, and

their own declarations. There were three objects for which they must strive successively. In the first place they wanted to put an end to the guerilla warfare, which was warfare of the most unsatisfactory and profitless kind. As to the measures which were being taken with that object there were some misconceptions. For cattle which were taken payment had to be made, except when the owner had been guilty of acts of war or of outrage, punishable by all civilised nations. Then the phrase "deportation of women" sounded serious, but the women and children were mostly deported out of regard for their safety, so that they might not be injured by marauding bands or natives. The native population was responsible, he believed, for every case of proved outrage upon women. In no case had a British soldier been justly accused of such conduct. The number of farms which had been burnt was not, he thought, nearly as large as some people imagined; but in any case the destruction of farmhouses was not as important as might be supposed, for their pecuniary value was not great. By Lord Roberts' proclamation officers were authorised to burn down farmhouses where there had been gross treachery, or where acts had been committed which were contrary to the laws of war, and the Government were prepared to support absolutely the morality of this proclamation. When the railway lines were injured the destruction of houses in the vicinity was also sanctioned, but, in practice, before the houses were destroyed evidence was required of the complicity of the owners in the injury. Now, however, that regular warfare had practically ceased it was open to the general in command to substitute another punishment if he thought it right to do so. Both the Government and the generals in the field were of opinion that this particular punishment should be used as sparingly as possible. As to the leaders of the Boers, it was only partially true that they were excluded from the benefits of amnesty under the proclamations; whenever possible consideration would be shown them, but it would not be safe to permit some of them to remain in the country. It had been proposed that compensation should be given for the farms of Boers destroyed or damaged for military purposes; but to this proposal it was not possible to accede, for the Government had repudiated the liability to compensate even British subjects whose property had suffered. If, as a result of the measures taken during the war, there should be an economic crisis hereafter in the colonies, it would have to be dealt with out of the local funds.

Coming to the second object which the Government had in view—namely, the settlement of the country—Mr. Chamberlain said that three stages must be gone through. There must first be pacification, then Crown colony government, or civil as opposed to military administration, and afterwards local self-government. He hoped that before the House met in February

something in the nature of civil administration might have been established in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. It was the intention of the Government to recommend to the Queen the appointment of the High Commissioner, Sir A. Milner, as Governor of the colonies, and a Lieutenant-Governor would be appointed for the Orange River Colony. These officers would have the assistance of an Executive Council. The Constitution of the Orange River Colony would not necessarily be the same as that of the Transvaal Colony. The former colony would be dealt with separately. The Government attached great importance to the early creation of municipalities, and there would be municipal government for Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and probably for some other centres. Local opinion would be consulted as far as possible, and local customs and laws would be interfered with as little as possible. Wherever it could be done Afrikaners would be appointed to local administrative posts. So there would be equal laws, equal liberty, and a Constitution leading ultimately to self-government. The intentions of the Government, he agreed, ought to be made generally known to the Boers. Steps had already been taken to make them known, and if anything more could be done in the matter he should be glad. He had already suggested to Sir A. Milner the issue of a proclamation printed in English, Dutch, and in the local patois; and he concluded by deprecating a division on the amendment, as there was no real difference of opinion between the two sides of the House.

Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) expressed satisfaction with the Colonial Secretary's statement, but at the same time contended that the moving of the amendment had been amply justified by the difference between that statement and the Ministerial speeches on the previous evening. He was of opinion that the Boers might easily have misunderstood the meaning of the proclamations, and hoped that the Government would contrive to make their intentions more widely known. One course which he counselled them to adopt was to readjust the terms of the confusing proclamations which had been issued, and he hoped it would be made quite clear that the Boers who surrendered their arms would not be prejudiced either in their persons or property. Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth*), the only Irish Nationalist member present, bitterly condemned the war as having been got up in the interests of greedy capitalists who, he was glad to think, would see their shares fall after the Colonial Secretary's speech. The Opposition was unworthy of Mr. Gladstone's traditions, in not raising their voice against the iniquitous destruction of Boer independence.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman counselled Mr. Emmott to withdraw his amendment—which was ultimately done—as the speech of the Colonial Secretary had shown that there was no difference of opinion between the Government and the bulk of the Opposition upon the question under consideration. The

scheme of Government for the annexed colonies which the Colonial Secretary had sketched out would, he thought, command his approval, but he could not pledge himself to its acceptance before he had mastered its details.

A short debate on the situation in China, raised on a vaguely worded amendment, drew forth an equally vague and unsatisfactory reply from the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Lord Cranborne declined to make any detailed statement with regard to the policy of the Government in relation to China while negotiations were going on. He denied that the interests of this country had been neglected at Niu-Chwang, and declared generally that the Government were doing their best to protect the commercial interests of Great Britain in the East. It was very necessary that tranquillity should be restored in China, and by the concerted action of the Powers he trusted that this might be done. But it was an error to suppose that everything which they wished to do could be effected in a short time. Glancing at one of the proposals made in the amendment, he ridiculed the idea that it could be assented to, observing that if China desired the same treatment as would be accorded to a European Power she must learn not to disregard the sacred character of diplomatic envoys. The Powers were entitled to expect just reparation for the wrongs which they had suffered.

Following questions of public interest, so far as they could be raised on the address private and personal matters were taken up, and infused more liveliness into the proceedings of Parliament (Dec. 10).

Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*), amid Opposition cheers, proposed an amendment expressing regret at the appointment of so many of the Prime Minister's relatives to offices in the Government. The Cabinet, he said, was now so large that a sub-Cabinet must be constituted, and it would consist practically of the family of one man. He questioned whether, in case of a difference of opinion between Lord Selborne, the new First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Prime Minister upon a matter affecting the strength of the Navy, the son-in-law was likely to prevail against the father-in-law. He also criticised the appointment of Mr. Gerald Balfour to the Board of Trade, stating that he had not heard a single voice raised in approval of it, and he suggested humorously that candidates for the See of Canterbury, for the Woolsack, and for the command of the Army might be supplied by the Prime Minister from the circle of his family. Even in Conservative clubs the Government was called "The Hotel Cecil, Unlimited." That the country owed Lord Salisbury an enormous debt of gratitude could not be disputed. He could not, however, shut his eyes to the fact that the Prime Minister had constructed his Cabinet in a way damaging to his prestige.

Mr. Schwann (*Manchester*), having seconded the amendment, Mr. Balfour, in reply, contended that Mr. Bartley had not

made out that the presence of several of the Prime Minister's relatives in the Cabinet was injurious to the public service. The sub-Cabinet which the honourable member had described was a thing of his own invention. The supposition that relatives in the same Administration were prone to agree was disproved by experience, of which he mentioned several historical instances. There was only one relative of Lord Salisbury's in the new Government who was not in the last. Yet, to the composition of the late Cabinet no exception was taken by the public as far as he knew. If it could be proved that the individuals chosen to form a Cabinet were unfit for office criticism would be justifiable; but if they were fit the accident of their birth ought not to be a bar to their promotion. He did not understand that it was suggested that any members of the Prime Minister's family in the Cabinet were incapable of discharging the duties entrusted to them. There was no more difficult or distasteful task than that of forming a Ministry, and Lord Salisbury had done his best to fulfil the mandate he had received from the country. The Ministerial reply was generally regarded as inconclusive and unsatisfactory, but it involved a question of confidence—so the amendment was negatived by 230 votes against 128.

The question of the connection of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Austen Chamberlain with companies having relations with Government departments was then raised by Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon*), who moved an amendment declaring that Ministers of the Crown and members of either House of Parliament holding subordinate office ought to have no interest, direct or indirect, without the sanction of the Crown, in any firm or company competing for public contracts. He disavowed any intention of charging either the Colonial Secretary or the new Financial Secretary to the Treasury with personal corruption, but he contended that, having regard to the positions which they held, their investments in certain companies were improper. They had violated the principle laid down for the guidance of Civil servants by the Colonial Secretary himself, which was that they should so regulate their investments as to obviate any possible conflict between their private interests and the interests of the public. In support of his allegations Mr. Lloyd-George enumerated the companies with which Mr. Chamberlain, his brother, and son and other members of his family were connected, mentioning Hoskins & Son (Limited), contractors to the Admiralty; Tubes (Limited), makers of water-tube boilers for the Admiralty; the Colombo Commercial Company, which had been given an order for the erection of huts for the prisoners in Ceylon; Kynoch & Co., who, he averred, had been unduly favoured by the War Office; and the Birmingham Small Arms Company. He was afraid that some of the things which had been done recently might be held later on to justify corruption.

Mr. Chamberlain, who had caught from his leader the tone of injured innocence and outraged honour, said that it was hard that after twenty-five years of parliamentary service he should have to stand up and say that he was not a thief and a scoundrel. He did not credit the unctuous protestations on the other side that no imputation was intended against his personal honour. He had been the victim of a conspiracy of slander and insinuation, the suggestion being that he had made corrupt use of his official position in order to benefit himself or members of his family. His slanderers, however, had been careful to steer clear of legal responsibility. He was a shareholder in only two of the companies which had been mentioned. Members opposite wished to make him responsible, not for his own acts, but for the acts of his relatives. The abominable imputations against them were to be investigated in the law courts, and as the cases were *sub judice* he would not discuss them; but this he would say, that his relatives had not forfeited their reputation for honourable conduct. But in no conceivable circumstances could he be responsible for the investments of his relatives. If the view embodied in the amendment were accepted, no man who was not a pauper and whose relatives were not paupers would be able to accept office, and incalculable difficulties would be placed in the way of the public service. He could not prevent his relatives from getting Government contracts in the ordinary course of their business; but he had never been asked by them to use his influence for their benefit. In his investments he had always tried to avoid supplying any excuse for suspicion. For example, he was at one time a shareholder in the Birmingham Small Arms Company and in Kynochs, but he had sold out at a loss. He explained the circumstances of his connection with the Colombo Commercial Company, which began twenty-three years ago, and, with regard to the small order that had been given the company to build huts for the prisoners in Ceylon, he repudiated with scorn the allegation that he had been instrumental in sending the prisoners to that part of the world in order to benefit the company. For the investments of the Birmingham Trust Company, in which he also had an interest, he was not responsible. He had, however, made a calculation of his interest, which was through the investments of the Trust Company, in the Tubes Company and it amounted to no more than £60. Its business with the Admiralty, he observed, had decreased materially since his brother's connection with the company. Summing up he described the proceedings of his detractors as likely to lower the dignity of the House of Commons. By their charges they had given great pain to his relatives, but they had not injured him.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain (*Worcestershire, E.*), following his father, stated that, except in the case of the Hoskins Company, the shares which he held in the companies which had been

mentioned he held as a trustee. When he was at the Board of Admiralty it was not his business to deal with the contracts for such materials as the Hoskins Company supplied. He denied that he had done anything of which he need feel the least ashamed.

Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) supported the amendment, not with the slightest doubt as to the purity of motive of Mr. Chamberlain or his son, but holding that financial connections such as theirs on the part of Ministers could not fail to produce uneasiness in the public mind and to set undesirable precedents.

Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) spoke on the same side, and Major Rasch (*Chelmsford, Essex*) opposed the amendment, holding that there was not a shadow of evidence to connect the Colonial Secretary with the preference shown to Kynochs, which he said was due to want of business experience at the War Office.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman protested against the Colonial Secretary treating this question as if it were a new one, and said the amendment merely put in a more expressive and precise form that which had always been the ideal of what should be the relations maintained by those engaged in the public services between their public and private interests. The amendment did not embody any of the charges which the right honourable gentleman so indignantly repelled. The law was very jealous of the integrity of members of Parliament, and when the family of the Colonial Secretary was so largely interested in businesses which had to do with the Government, it was only natural that attention should be drawn to the circumstances. The House might be allowed to record, in the words of the amendment, that the dangers plainly visible in this connection should be strictly avoided in future.

Mr. Balfour claimed that the debate, so far as it was an attack on the Colonial Secretary, was without a shadow of a foundation. It was not in the interests of purity that the debate had been raised, but in order to attack the conduct of one man who had made his power felt throughout the country and whom honourable gentlemen opposite regarded with special aversion. The critics of the Colonial Secretary had failed in the country, and their humiliation had been as great that night. The amendment was an attack on private character. He did not know who, on the principles of the supporters of the amendment, was to be a member of a Government. Apparently they wanted men to serve her Majesty who had no money and no relations, and who inspired no such general confidence as would lead to their ever becoming trustees. Members of the front Opposition bench, of the highest honour, were as much open to attack in this connection as Mr. Chamberlain.

The conventionalities of the House not recognising the right of private members to speak after the leader of the House, Mr. Burns (*Battersea*) was howled down by the supporters of the

Ministry, and the amendment negatived by 269 to 127 votes. And, the closure having been carried, the address was agreed to.

Mr. J. W. Lowther having been re-appointed Chairman of Committees on the motion of Mr. Balfour (Dec. 11), Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*), as Secretary for War, in Committee of Supply, brought forward the business for which Parliament had been called together. In submitting the supplementary estimate of 16,000,000*l.* for the war in South Africa and the military operations in China, he stated that in the month of July our successes had been such that it was estimated that after October it would be possible to reduce the number of troops in South Africa by one-half, and that in the last quarter of the financial year the cost of the operations would also be greatly reduced. Events, however, had proved that these expectations were too sanguine, for the troops in Africa were now practically as numerous as in July, and the same quantity of supplies was being shipped every week from this country. Our forces in Africa, which, according to the last return, were 210,000 in number, could not as yet be reduced, and there was no prospect of any material reduction of expenditure during the remainder of the financial year. The guerilla warfare which had succeeded the organised resistance of our enemies had proved very harassing to our troops, and necessitated the occupation of all our lines of communication. The too favourable expectations which had been formed were accounted for by the fact that those best qualified to give an opinion had thought that the collapse of the Boer army would be followed by the submission of the Boer leaders. The present estimate included provision, amounting to 1,000,000*l.*, for the new Transvaal police, who would number 10,000; 1,000,000*l.* for the repair of the railways, and for the purposes of the war the sum required was 13,500,000*l.* Having observed that he could rebut a great many of the insinuations made against those responsible for our military administration, he said it was highly satisfactory to know that in the course of the war not a single man had gone hungry, not a single operation had been impeded, in consequence of any dearth of stores or materials at Cape Town and Durban. Some of the troops unfortunately had suffered, but not through the fault of any one here.

Sir W. Harcourt (*Monmouthshire, W.*), who had preserved a judicious silence during the debate on the address, found the criticism of War Office figures and fancies a congenial task. He thought Mr. Brodrick's statement very discouraging. From the first the Government had misapprehended the resources and spirit of the people against whom they were fighting. They had failed all along to realise that this was a racial war and not merely a war against the Transvaal Government, as Mr. Rhodes had represented. He ridiculed the idea that the number of police whom the Government intended to employ in the new colonies would be adequate, and refused to believe that the

estimate now submitted would be the last. The Government should learn that it was not by accumulating armed forces in Africa that peace was likely to be brought about. Believing that a change of policy was desirable and expedient, he had heard with gratification last week the Colonial Secretary's conciliatory speech, which contrasted so markedly with the *ex victis* declaration of the Prime Minister in the House of Lords.

Sir C. Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) joined Sir W. Harcourt in blaming the Government and the War Office for the many miscalculations which had been made during the course of the war. Sir H. Vincent gave expression to the widespread disappointment which the retention of the Yeomanry and Volunteers would cause, and suggested that appeal might be made to Volunteers at home to take service in South Africa, in order to relieve those of their comrades who wished to return to England.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman thought that some of the things which Mr. Brodrick had said, in his frank and manly speech, would startle the country. It appeared that the total expenditure on the war now amounted to 85,000,000*l.* Though further heavy charges were probable, he believed the people would meet them courageously.

Mr. Brodrick, replying upon various points to which his attention had been drawn, explained that he did not for a moment contemplate the retention of the Yeomanry and Volunteers in Africa for three or four years. The reasons for the return of the Composite Regiment of Household Cavalry to England before the auxiliary forces were that a certain number of mounted troops were required for the defence of the country in case of need, and that heavy cavalry were not the best mounted troops for the work which had now to be done in Africa. He assured the committee that there was no question of any general withdrawal of regular troops from Africa, and he mentioned that the Grenadier Guards, who had expected to come home, would not do so yet. He denied that the terms offered to the South African Constabulary were illiberal, stating that the cost to the country would amount to 250*l.* a year per man. He repudiated the allegation that the colonial troops who had been sent home from this country had been treated unfairly, explaining that all soldiers who had enlisted had been accommodated on board ship according to the rank in which they had undertaken to serve. That was the established practice. With regard to the accommodation to be supplied on board ship to the sick and wounded he had issued special instructions with a view to their comfort; and he would investigate any case of serious grievance, and punish any person of whatever rank who had shown remissness. He declined to admit that his statement earlier in the evening was lugubrious, and, as a matter of fact, he did not take a pessimistic view of

the situation. In February, however, he hoped to be able to give a very different account of the state of things.

After a bitter attack on the Government policy in South Africa had been made by Mr. T. M. Healy, who by his presence at Westminster emphasised his indifference to Mr. O'Brien's Dublin proceedings, the debate was carried on mainly by members of the Opposition, but finally the vote was carried by 284 against 8.

Thereupon the House having resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution empowering him to raise 11,000,000*l.* by means of a fresh War Loan or by Exchequer bonds or Treasury bills. He explained that 16,500,000*l.* (including 500,000*l.* for the interest of the War Loan) had to be found. Of the sums already voted for the war, however, he had 5,562,000*l.* in hand, and had therefore only a balance of 10,938,000*l.* to provide. As he was sanguine that the revenue for 1900-1 would come up to the expectations he formed in April, he believed the powers he asked would suffice to enable him to meet the needs of the country during the remainder of the financial year. The resolution was agreed to without debate, but the acquiescence of the Opposition was not yet complete, or the Opposition itself as united as its action on Mr. Emmott's amendment suggested.

On the report of supply (Dec. 12) Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries*) took up a different line to that adopted by his leaders on the Opposition bench. He maintained distinctly that "the time had arrived for negotiating," though on the basis of annexation, which he recognised was irrevocable. The demand for the unconditional surrender of the Boers still in the field ought, he considered, to be withdrawn, and he urged the Government to announce that a general amnesty would be proclaimed if the enemy laid down their arms, with a promise of assistance towards rebuilding and restocking their farms, as well as an assurance that self-government under the British flag would be granted at an early date. Further, and at variance with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman or Mr. Asquith, Sir R. Reid went on to maintain that negotiations with the Boers should not be conducted by the Imperial agents now on the spot, for they were associated with a policy which had engendered hostility and acrimony, but by a specially appointed agent sent out from this country.

The general line taken by Sir R. Reid immediately received the support of the authority of Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*). In regard to the past, he questioned the right of Lord Roberts to say, in his proclamation of June 12, that the people of the Orange River Colony found in arms after a certain date would be treated as rebels. That proclamation, he maintained, conflicted with the recognised usages of war. But the greatest mistake which had been made was to demand the unconditional surrender of the Boer generals. If that had not been done he believed the

Boer forces would have dwindled away. Mr. Bryce went on to urge that negotiations of the kind advocated by Sir R. Reid should be opened, and that they should not be intrusted to Sir A. Milner, who, rightly or wrongly, was distrusted by at least half her Majesty's subjects in Cape Colony.

Mr. Brodrick naturally welcomed this evidence of disagreement among his opponents, even while regarding Sir R. Reid's speech as mischievous, unwise, and unpractical. He scouted the suggestion that Sir A. Milner, to whom the country owed so great a debt of gratitude, should be superseded while negotiations with the Boers were proceeding; and, replying to Mr. Bryce's statement that Sir A. Milner was viewed with distrust by the Dutch in Cape Colony, he stated that the High Commissioner was distrusted only by those who were the Queen's enemies. He was honoured and revered by the loyal Dutch. Dealing with the contention that the Government had demanded the unconditional surrender of the Boers, he read extracts from Lord Roberts' proclamations to prove that the terms offered to the burghers were not exceptionally severe. They were told that those who surrendered would not be sent out of South Africa unless by their acts they had forfeited all claim to clemency, and that as soon as the leaders submitted and surrendered their artillery all prisoners of war, excepting members of the late Executives, who were responsible for the war and its prolongation, and burghers who had been guilty of acts contrary to the customs of war, would be sent back to their homes. Lord Roberts, in fact, by his proclamations had gone a very long way towards meeting the views of Sir R. Reid and Mr. Bryce. The Government, being anxious to bring to an end the guerilla warfare that was going on, were willing to take further steps to reassure burghers who were inclined to surrender, but any such steps must be in conformity with the spirit of the proclamations, and not such as could be interpreted as signs of weakness, for any manifestation of weakness would encourage prolonged resistance.

Several Radical members endorsed the appeal for further pacific measures, Captain Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*), Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*), and Mr. Channing (*Northants, E.*), in particular, supporting the protest against the appointment of Sir A. Milner as Governor of the new colonies. Sir A. Rollit (*Islington, S.*) from the Ministerial benches, while supporting the Government policy, complained of the tone in which Mr. Brodrick had met Sir R. Reid's "temperate observations," and Mr. E. Robertson, a Liberal ex-official, protested against the imputation of hostility to this country attached by Mr. Brodrick to those of the Cape Dutch who distrusted Sir A. Milner.

In the end, the vote was agreed to without a division, but it was noteworthy that neither Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman nor any member of the more Imperial section of the front Opposition bench took part in the debate.

On the report of the Ways and Means resolution, authorising the Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise 11,000,000*l.* for war purposes, Sir Charles Dilke urged the Government to establish without delay some form of Treasury control over the assets of the late Transvaal Government—notably its mineral rights and its interest in the Netherlands Railway—so as to prevent their disappearance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer excused himself from entering into the details of a subject which was difficult and delicate. The question of the concessions granted by the late Transvaal Government was being investigated by a commission presided over by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton. The question of the assets of the same Government would, he hoped, before long be dealt with by Sir A. Milner, and in the meantime Sir David Barbour was proceeding to the Transvaal to report fully on the subject. The resolution was then confirmed, and the new War Loan Bill read a first time without debate.

On the second reading (Dec. 13), however, Sir William Harcourt reviewed at length the financial position of the Transvaal, with the object of showing that the colony was unlikely to contribute towards the cost of the war. The Transvaal had been devastated, the people were ruined, and the prisoners when they returned from St. Helena would have to be supported. They had heard from the Colonial Secretary himself that famine was not improbable. In these circumstances a war contribution could not be extracted from the people. He questioned greatly whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would get the money from the mine-owners, who had shown no disposition to make any payment. Quite recently the chairman of the South African Banking Company had declared that to tax the gold mines for the purpose of defraying the cost of the war would be a suicidal policy. The view of the mining interest was that taxation should be reduced rather than increased. It was the hope of some of the companies that the Government would provide them with cheap labour by importing natives for the purpose. The wages of labourers were to be reduced by this means in order that the money for the war contribution might be obtained without any sacrifice on the part of the mine-owners. He argued that the general revenue of the Transvaal was likely to be less in future than in the time of the late Republic, and that its expenditure would be far larger. There was, therefore, but little prospect of any diminution of the British taxpayer's burden.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his reply to various criticisms, said that he had never imagined that the whole cost of the war could be borne by the Transvaal; but he still thought that the country ought to make a very considerable contribution towards the cost. Sir Wm. Harcourt, he thought, had done some injustice to Mr. Robinson, whose view, as far as he understood it, was that such an extravagant burden ought not to be imposed upon the mining interest as would interfere materially with its future development. For a year or two it might be

impossible to secure a war contribution; but, as the House knew, he had arranged that his loans should fall in at different times, so there would be opportunities of considering at successive periods how much the Transvaal could pay. Sufficient allowance was not made by Sir Wm. Harcourt for the vast mineral wealth of the Transvaal and its future development.

With regard to the possibility of cheapening native labour, Sir M. Hicks-Beach declared emphatically that the Government would take good care that nothing in the nature of forced labour was introduced with that object. But labour might be cheapened by other methods. The Government proposed to prohibit the sale of liquor to natives, and under our rule the natives would be treated more fairly than they were under the late Government. Such reforms would have a tendency to cheapen labour in the mines. The suggestion that the taxation imposed in connection with the mines should in future be direct instead of indirect deserved careful consideration. Turning to the question of the appointments made at Pretoria and elsewhere by Lord Roberts, he explained that he knew nothing about them, except that they were provisional appointments and that Lord Roberts had to select his officials from a very limited number of candidates. As soon as Sir A. Milner should have established a civil government in the Transvaal all these appointments would be considered afresh and new ones would probably be made. This practically ended the discussion, and the session might have been brought to an end, but the Opposition were not disposed to spare the Government criticism or to expedite its business, and each stage of the Appropriation Bill was made the ground for debate. On its second reading Mr. Burns (*Battersea*) made a violent attack on the administration of the Army, accusing Lord Roberts of favouritism, and asserting that the real work of the campaign was thrown on the Regulars, while the Yeomanry and Volunteers were "entrenched behind zarebas of Fortnum and Mason's delicacies."

Mr. Brodrick warmly retorted that there was no foundation for the statement that the Yeomanry and Volunteers had received better treatment than the Army and Militia. With regard to another point which had been raised, no more drafts inexperienced in musketry were to be sent out to the Cape. As to the position of officers who had failed in their commands and had been ordered home, he could assure the House that he was not inclined to view such cases leniently. He had just received information with respect to the inquiry into the disaster to the Yeomanry at Lindley. No blame attached to Colonel Spragge, but others were implicated whose conduct deserved censure; he had already taken steps to dismiss two of them from the Army, and further steps were being taken as to a third. On the following day, on the third reading of the War Loan Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declined to pledge himself as to how or where he proposed to raise the money voted.

Personal questions were not restricted to the House of Commons, and Lord Rosebery's remarks (Dec. 6) on the impolicy of appointing a member of the Stock Exchange to be Under-Secretary for India provoked a rejoinder from the Earl of Hardwicke. He stated (Dec. 14) that when the Prime Minister offered him that post he was obliged to say that, though he would relinquish any active part in the business of the firm of stockbrokers to which he belonged, he could not undertake to sever his connection with the firm, as that would be to give up his only permanent means of livelihood—the Hardwicke Estates Act, which had been intended to benefit him, having actually left him without a shilling. As the arrangements under which he was temporarily retiring from business would not be completed till the end of the year, he had obtained Lord Salisbury's permission to defer taking up his duties as Under-Secretary till that time, and meanwhile the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had consented to act in his stead. The Earl of Rosebery said his knowledge respecting the private act of Parliament to which Lord Hardwicke adverted had caused him to speak of the noble earl in generous terms. But he adhered to the principle he had laid down, that no member of a firm on the Stock Exchange ought to be a Minister of the Crown. The two positions had never been held compatible in the past. The Marquess of Salisbury carefully avoided grappling with the question raised by Lord Rosebery, whose principle he said lacked clearness and certainty. Were they to lay it down that any one who invested money in the business of a British merchant, if that merchant went occasionally on the Stock Exchange, became unfit for the service of the Queen? Such a doctrine was absolutely new, and there was no authority for it whatever. The field of selection for political office in this country was limited, and to exclude from it men of commercial experience would be to add greatly to the difficulty of finding efficient men.

In the Commons on the same day, Mr. Brodrick said that early in 1900 it became necessary to give large additional orders for field guns for early delivery. The ordnance factories and the only gun-making firms in the United Kingdom received orders for more field guns and carriages than they could execute in the current year, and an order equivalent to that given to each English firm was placed in Germany a month later. The ordnance factories had completed their orders. The German firm had delivered the whole order, and the guns were available for issue. One of the English firms delivered one-third of the order, and the other delivered nothing at all. Every encouragement had been given to gun-making firms in this country to lay down plant by giving orders to the value of several millions sterling, and he would take care that everything was done which foresight could suggest to secure continuity of orders. But he could give no guarantee that orders would not be placed abroad when the present rest required it.

The last sitting of the House of Commons (Dec. 15) was by no means a tranquil one. On the third reading of the Appropriation Bill several Radical members renewed their protests against the continued adoption of measures of severity like the burning of farm buildings in the Boer Colonies and the exemption of the Boer leaders from anything like amnesty. One speaker after another contended that the news just received, as to the desperate vigour and considerable measure of success with which the Boers were carrying on the struggle, proved the failure of severity and the necessity for a policy of conciliation.

Mr. Elliot (*Durham City*), whose attitude towards the war had always been independent, protested against the tone of some of the Radical members. They had, he thought, lost sight of the dangerous and difficult position in which this country stood. With regard to the burning of farms, they must bear in mind that the troops must be fed and the British lines of communication kept open. War was always deplorable and the present war was deplorable, but we were not only fighting for our own safety, credit and honour, but for the welfare of South Africa. He believed Sir Alfred Milner to be a thoroughly just man, who did not love tyrannical and arbitrary rule.

Mr. Brodrick, after warmly defending the City Imperial Volunteers from the attacks made upon them, declared that the Government adhered firmly to their determination that the Transvaal and Orange River territories must be British colonies, and that for a time the demand for representative institutions could not be acceded to. As to the desirability of conducting the war in as humane a manner as possible, he believed that Lord Kitchener was at one with her Majesty's Ministers.

The bill was read a third time.

With a passage of arms between the Secretary of War and Mr. Bryn Roberts (*Eifion, Carnarvonshire*) the session was brought to a close, and Parliament prorogued with the shortest Queen's speech—only thirty words—on record.

The remaining events of the year call for little remark. The new Secretary for War announced his intention of appointing a committee of inquiry into War Office administration, but on fuller information it appeared that no question of Army reform would be brought before it. What several War Ministers since the days of Sidney Herbert—after the Crimean War—had attempted, was to be again submitted to the criticism of unofficial experts, with the view to some system of decentralisation; and it was predicted that any reforms they might suggest would share the same fate as those of previous committees. Lord Salisbury's warning to the conference of the Conservative and Constitutional Associations (Dec. 19) showed that he wished to impress upon the "Moderates," in the metropolitan districts, the responsibilities which they had incurred and the use they should make of their majorities obtained at the new borough

council elections. He impressed upon them the necessity of taking up seriously the question of the housing of the poor—of devoting all their power to getting rid of the existing scandalous conditions—if they wished to maintain their hold on public opinion.

Although politically the year had been full of trouble and perplexity the trade of the country continued to enjoy a good deal of the prosperity which had marked the previous year. Colliery proprietors were able to maintain higher prices than had been reached since "the boom" of 1873-4, and the prices did not seriously slacken other industries until the second half of the year, which, as it advanced, witnessed a reduction in the production of iron and steel, due as much to American competition as to the lack of fuel. Woollen and worsted industries were also affected by overproduction and speculation, and the cotton market by a failure of the supply of cotton from America, two bad crops having followed in succession. And on the other hand the war in China was seriously affecting one of the chief markets for such goods. In most branches of trade, engineering included, the signs of increasing competition with foreign countries, especially Germany and the United States, had to be faced, and it was becoming more and more evident that in future Great Britain would not enjoy that monopoly of trade which she had possessed throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century.

The outlook at the end of the year which closed the nineteenth century could hardly fail to arouse misgivings as to the future in all except the imperviously self-satisfied. The course of the war in the Transvaal found us confronted with difficulties for which our forces were unprepared and which our rulers had never foreseen. The light-heartedness with which we had entered upon the struggle for supremacy in South Africa had been sadly clouded, but the arduous task before us was still scarcely realised by the country at large, whilst the general thriving condition of the artisan and agricultural classes caused the increased taxation to be borne without grumbling. The paralysis of Great Britain in the councils of Europe, recognised by the press of our own as well as of foreign countries, attracted no attention in Parliament and raised no indignant protests from any quarter, except from a few ardent and irresponsible Jingoese. Lord Salisbury was given an absolutely free hand; and his policy of graceful withdrawals in face of the firm insistence of other States was accepted with a shrug of indifference by the bulk of the nation. In China, where so far as could be gathered from the scanty official news our advances to a better understanding and a common policy among the Powers had been ignored or politely put aside, we found ourselves as isolated as in Europe, and our efforts to maintain an understanding with the United States seemed liable to fail through the prominence suddenly given in the Washington Senate to the Nicaragua

Canal question. Whatever the rights of this case may have been, the proposal by one party to tear up a treaty which had been ratified by two was a new departure in diplomacy, and showed as little regard for the goodwill of Great Britain as for the danger of any complications which might arise. The only compensating consideration was that the United States, in common with the nations of Europe, having embarked on a course of colonisation, the responsibilities entailed by such possessions would render the preservation of peace more possible; but against this was to be placed the lessening influence of rulers and politicians and the increasing power of popular passion.

In the narrower circle of home affairs the country had little reason for congratulation. In Parliament no fresh reputations had been made, and several had suffered eclipse. The Ministry—after their appeal to the country under conditions which failed to commend themselves to any but strict partisans—found themselves stronger by two seats, and weaker in public esteem, than at the beginning of the year. Recourse had been had to every means by which the popular imagination could be excited, and its love of military display fostered. Rowdyism, when directed against the opponents of the war, was treated with indulgent forbearance; and during the elections statesmen did not hesitate to appeal to the passions of their hearers, avoiding thereby the need of defending the shortcomings of the Government. The political situation at home at the close of the century, moreover, as well as the national had many points of resemblance with that which marked its opening; but the methods by which it had been reached were widely different. In the interval which separated the dawn and the close of the nineteenth century the principles of religious toleration, of popular government, of commercial freedom, and of compulsory education had been established; and the country, especially during its last half, had become rich and its people comfortable, so much so indeed that not a few who looked below the surface were tempted to ask whether the vigour and self-reliance of harder times were not disappearing, and whether the nation was not passing through dilettantism to decay. Healthier symptoms, however, were to be found in our colonies, of which the importance was becoming more steadily recognised, and in them the germs of a more thoroughly democratic government of the whole empire might be found. The consolidation of our colonial and Indian possessions was the great work of the century after the downfall of Napoleon; and this peaceful ambition was the chief aim of the Sovereign, who during her occupation of the throne throughout more than half its course had united the empire by the bonds of personal devotion to herself, had made loyalty popular, and by her love of truth and purity and by her devotion to duty had lifted the heart of the nation to a higher ideal than it had ever before recognised.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

I. SCOTLAND.

BOTH politically and ecclesiastically 1900 was a memorable year in Scotland. In 1899 there had been seen indications at once of the strength of Liberalism at home, as illustrated by several bye-elections, and of Imperial feeling in relation to external affairs. In the last year of the century these two currents of feeling were destined to come into conflict. The Imperial section of the Scottish Liberal party found exponents of conspicuous ability and weight in Lord Rosebery and Mr. Asquith. Their clearly defined attitude on all questions relating to the South African war brought into sharper relief the persistence of a very different temper among other influential members of the Opposition like Mr. Morley, Mr. Bryce and Sir Robert Reid, and even Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Nowhere, probably, was the extraordinary exhibition of Liberal disunion, afforded by the division (July 25) on the motion for the reduction of Mr. Chamberlain's salary, taken to heart more seriously than in Scotland. More sorrowfully, it may be, but not less surely than in England did large numbers of electors in Scotland who had never before given anything but a Liberal vote conclude that the party, uncertainly led and certainly not controlled by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman at Westminster, had for the moment shown itself disqualified for the conduct of Imperial affairs. This conclusion was not modified by the efforts of Liberal candidates of divergent sections to minimise their differences when the dissolution of Parliament was declared. Thus when the polls were closed it was found that, for the first time since the Reform Bill of 1832, Liberals had failed to obtain a majority among the representatives of North Britain, having lost eight seats—East Aberdeenshire, Edinburgh (South), Dumfriesshire, the Blackfriars and Bridgeton divisions of Glasgow, Sutherlandshire, Orkney and Shetland, and the Wick Burghs, and gained only one—Inverness-shire. Thus a Liberal majority of ten in the representation of Scotland was turned into a Unionist majority of four.

The solid support given to the Unionist Government by the commercial and industrial metropolis of the country, not a single Liberal being returned by the seven divisions of Glasgow, gave to the result of the Scottish elections more than a local interest. Some of its aspects were indicated in an interesting speech made at Leith (Nov. 19) by Mr. Munro-Ferguson, who had shortly before resigned the office of Liberal whip. Two days after Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, speaking at Dundee, had maintained that four-fifths of the Liberal party were in substantial agreement on Imperial questions, and had condemned

the exclusive attitude of the Liberal Imperial Council, Mr. Munro-Ferguson, a strong Imperialist, declared that it was futile to keep up the appearance of cohesion in the Liberal party when there was no such unity of purpose. He added that personally he saw no ground for alarm in the tendency of the various sections of the party to act independently. On the contrary he believed that that course offered the surest hope of ultimate success, "for the strongest group would attract support, it would come to represent the party, and so an Opposition would be formed which would eventually make a Government." In the extreme north the indignation already aroused among his constituents in Caithness-shire against Dr. Clark by his pro-Boer attitude was intensified by the appearance of his letters in the correspondence found at Bloemfontein (page 189), and resulted in his decisive rejection at the poll. Nevertheless the Liberalism of the far northern county still declared itself; the successful candidate, Mr. R. L. Harmsworth, a Liberal Imperialist, polling 1,189 against 1,161 for Mr. D. Henderson, a Conservative, while Dr. Clark only obtained 673 votes, and another Liberal, Mr. F. C. Auld, 141. On the other hand, Orkney and Shetland, for the first time in sixty-three years, rejected a Liberal candidate; Sir Leonard Lyell, who had sat for the islands since the last Reform Act, only polling 2,017 votes against 2,057 recorded for his Unionist opponent, Mr. J. C. Wason.

The main determining element of the elections of 1900 in Scotland was, no doubt, the war in South Africa. The Unionists were, however, appreciably aided by the general satisfaction felt at the recent course of legislation affecting Scotland. This embraced the new scheme of procedure enacted with regard to Scottish Private Bills and the Agricultural Holdings Act Amendment Act, by which the machinery for settling differences between landlord and tenant was greatly simplified and the cost reduced.

The confident expectations cherished at the close of 1899 as to the approaching consummation of the union between the two principal Presbyterian bodies outside the Established Church of Scotland were realised in 1900. At the May meetings of the leading representative courts of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church the final arrangements for the formal act of union were considered and determined—an attempt on the part of a number of lay office-bearers of the Free Church to secure delay with a view to a direct referendum to the constituent congregations being overruled. The General Assembly of the Free Church and the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church held their last separate meetings on October 30, when the resolution for union was carried by 643 against 27 votes in the former, and unanimously in the latter body. On the following day they formally constituted themselves the "United Free Church of Scotland," in the

Waverley Market, in presence of an audience computed to number 6,000 persons. Principal Rainy, of the Edinburgh Free Church College, the chief promoter of the fusion from his own side—while Professor Orr had been the most conspicuous leader of the movement from that of the "U. P.'s"—was elected first Moderator of the Assembly of the new denomination.

The opponents of the union, though unable to stop the action of the representative bodies of the uniting Churches, were not wholly silenced. Their strength lay chiefly in the Highlands and Islands, where Free Churchism of the older type had persisted much more extensively than in the south. There were a few individual Lowland Free Church congregations in which feeling was very strongly divided on the question of union with the United Presbyterians; but the only Presbyteries which finally withheld their collective approbation from that step were those of Dingwall, Lochcarron, Skye and Inveraray. The total number of the dissentients was not known, but it was considerable enough for them to resolve not only to carry on a distinct corporate existence, but to initiate litigation with a view to the establishment of their title, as the true "Free Church of Scotland," to the edifices and property of the whole of the original Free Church founded at the Disruption in 1843. Assuming that no such catastrophe as the judicial endorsement of this claim happened, there seemed to be every prospect of important economies in effort and expenditure for religious purposes as the result of the fusion. Naturally there were not wanting prophets of dissension and even secession as likely to grow out of the questions of practice and even of principle left over by the uniting bodies for the decision of the United Church. However that might be, it seemed possible that the fusion of the chief outside Presbyterian bodies might lead to a suspension and conceivably a permanent cessation of the agitation for the disestablishment of the national Church of Scotland.

Commercially and industrially, 1900 was in the main a prosperous year for Scotland. In most of the principal departments of manufacture of metal products there was a great abundance of work. The output of the shipbuilding yards fell short by only a few thousand tons of the splendid "record" of 1899. A total surpassing all previous Scottish figures, and also those of England for the year, was attained by the locomotive builders north of the Tweed. The makers of pig-iron, on the other hand, and the manufacturers of malleable iron and steel, were increasingly hampered by the extraordinarily high prices of fuel. And the steel makers found themselves subjected to the competition of the products of foreign and particularly American furnaces at rates which, under existing conditions, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to meet. The coal-miners, like their employers, had a remarkably good year. In the textile trades, except in the case of the Dundee jute manufactures, there was a marked falling off in prosperity and in the amount of work required in the latter part of the year.

II. IRELAND.

The three prominent incidents of the Irish history of 1900 were the unexpected visit of Queen Victoria, the development of schisms in the Unionist party, and the apparent consolidation of the forces of Nationalism under the leadership of Mr. William O'Brien. The Queen's visit was understood to spring entirely from her own initiative. Its announcement was led up to by an extremely felicitous act of Royal grace—the intimation that it was her Majesty's pleasure that on St. Patrick's Day, and on all future anniversaries of the day, all the Irish soldiers in her Army should wear a sprig of shamrock in memory of the gallantry of their countrymen in South Africa. Thus a periodically recurring source of irritation between Irish soldiers and their commanding officers was converted by the Queen's intuitive perception into an occasion for the innocent gratification of national feeling.

A few days later it was announced that instead of paying a spring visit as in several recent years to the south of France the Queen proposed to make a sojourn in Ireland. In deciding on this step her Majesty was in no way prompted by political motives, her sole desire being to show her personal interest in her Irish people and to give them an opportunity of coming into direct personal relationship with herself. This being recognised, no check was placed upon the disposition of the Irish people to give the Queen a welcome worthy of her and of themselves. There were some indeed who did what they could to discourage anything beyond the most frigidly civil reception of Ireland's illustrious visitor. Even Mr. John Redmond, while adopting a conciliatory tone in Parliament, wrote a letter to the papers declaring that an address to the Sovereign from the Dublin Corporation must be "either an insult or a lie." Pressure, too, was brought to bear in the same sense upon all Nationalist members of that body by persons of irreconcilable temper. Nevertheless an address was adopted by 30 votes to 22, offering to her Majesty "a hearty welcome on her arrival in the capital city of her kingdom in Ireland," in the assurance that she "came amongst the Irish people above and apart from all political questions." The Queen signified her pleasure to receive this address, and it was presented to her (April 4) by the Lord Mayor and corporation at the city boundary, together with the keys of the city and the civic sword. About half the members of the corporation, it is true, absented themselves from this ceremony, but the reception given to the Queen all along the route by which she drove from Kingstown pier through Dublin to the Viceregal Lodge showed that popular sympathy was with those aldermen and councillors who had reciprocated the goodwill avowedly expressed by the royal visit. The decorations of houses were abundant and in excellent taste, and the immense crowds which assembled along the line of her Majesty's progress

were always courteous, generally very cordial, and in many cases enthusiastic in their welcome. Her gracious bearing, her thoughtfulness for the feelings of all classes, and the confidence with which she had thrown herself on the chivalry of her Irish subjects appealed to their warm-hearted nature.

During her stay, lasting three weeks, she remained all the time at the Viceregal Lodge, whence she made drives through much of the beautiful scenery round Dublin, and visited without distinction of creed the principal charitable institutions of the capital and its neighbourhood. When on one or two occasions her drives took her through portions of the city, the Queen received a most hearty popular welcome. So she did, notably, at a review held by her Majesty in the Phoenix Park of some 6,000 soldiers, sailors and marines under the command of the Duke of Connaught. The Queen, with the Princesses Helena and Beatrice, who had accompanied her on her visit, left Dublin (April 26) amid the most cordial demonstrations of goodwill from all classes. In a most graciously worded letter, dated from the Viceregal Lodge on the previous day, her Majesty expressed through the Lord-Lieutenant to "her Irish people how very much gratified and deeply touched she had been by her reception." It was felt on all hands that while political questions remained unaffected, the Queen's visit had increased the ties of sympathy and the hopes of mutual understanding between England and Ireland.

During the year that unifying process at work among the Nationalists in the previous twelve months appeared to make further progress. At Westminster during the ordinary session the pact, the outcome of repeated conciliation conferences, was adhered to with loyalty. But more important was the power evolved, at any rate for electioneering purposes, in Nationalist constituencies by Mr. William O'Brien, and that "United Irish League" of which he was the principal founder. This organisation, though its original object was limited to the extension of the holdings of small peasant-farmers in the west at the expense of the large grazing farms, appeared to attract to itself much of the popular support and confidence given in Mr. Parnell's time to the Land League. Agriculturally the year was a fairly good one. Almost all crops were up to the average except the potatoes, and they did well enough where the plants were sprayed with the chemical preparations which the Agricultural Department made everywhere easily obtainable. Practical grievances therefore were not extensively available for the use of agitators. The growth in strength of the United Irish League was explicable partly by the adoption by Mr. O'Brien of the propaganda of compulsory sale to the tenants on easy terms of the holdings in which the great majority of them were doing very comfortably; and partly by a belief that in it lay the most effective means of annoying the British Government. In any case the league's strength grew

so much that when the general election approached Mr. O'Brien felt himself strong enough to attempt, through its agency, to acquire control over the whole of the Nationalist representation of the country, to the exclusion of all those to whom his leadership and his aims or his methods were uncongenial. Of such was not Mr. John Redmond, the titular leader of the reunited Irish parliamentary party, who during the year became curiously submissive to Mr. O'Brien. The recalcitrants were Mr. Healy and his immediate following, and the word went forth that they were to be cast out. Mr. O'Brien himself fought Cork city against Mr. Maurice Healy, and was victorious by a very large majority. In Mr. Healy's constituency—Louth—Mr. O'Brien appeared and made strenuous attempts to discredit him, which failed; but though Mr. Healy was able to retain his own seat hardly any of his adherents secured re-election, and to all outward appearance the general election resulted in the return to Westminster of eighty-one Nationalists, nearly all of whom were pledged to take their orders from Mr. O'Brien. To further strengthen his position, Mr. O'Brien began arranging a National Convention to be held in Dublin (Dec. 10). The constitution of this body was so devised that while it allowed a certain modicum of representation to all sufficiently Nationalist Municipal Councils, yet a clear and substantial majority of the seats was left in the convention to delegates of the branches of the United Irish League. The only practical business of any importance to be brought before the convention was the exclusion of Mr. Healy from the Irish parliamentary party. So anxious was Mr. O'Brien to get this done that when the special session of Parliament was announced for a date which made it certain to last over that fixed for the convention in Dublin, he determined, with the concurrence of Mr. Redmond, that the session should be ignored by the Irish Members. An appeal, not to say edict, to that effect was issued to the newly elected Nationalist Members, and was obeyed by all except Mr. Healy. While he was at Westminster the Nationalist Convention met in Dublin and passed sentence of exclusion upon him and Mr. J. L. Carew. The resolution to that effect, moved by Mr. W. O'Brien and spoken to by Mr. Dillon, was carried by an overwhelming majority, despite a strenuous opposing speech from Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., and a statement from the chairman, Mr. Redmond, that he distinctly disapproved of it, though he was prepared to bow to the verdict of the convention. Mr. O'Brien's triumph thus appeared to be complete, but some doubt was thrown on the extent to which he might be able to utilise it by the fact that in the last days of the year it was announced that the state of his health required that he should leave the country.

Meanwhile, on two distinct lines of cleavage the "union of the Unionist party" in Ireland had become seriously impaired. A considerable section of the Irish landlords and the classes con-

nected with or dependent on them bitterly resented the land legislation of the Unionist Government, under which many of them held that the injustice and hardship previously inflicted by Gladstonian measures on the proprietary had been not only continued but enhanced. To them the Tithe Rent Charge Bill, passed in the ordinary session of 1900, seemed, though good in its way, but a trifling instalment of the consideration due to them on account of their existing, to say nothing of their past, wrongs. They were equally or even more indignant at the temper in which Irish administration was carried on under the Chief-Secretaryship of Mr. Gerald Balfour. On the one hand they made bitter complaint at the failure of the executive to take any adequate steps for checking the growth of what they described as a dangerous and criminal system of intimidation under the auspices of the United Irish League. On the other hand, they resented the determination shown by the Irish Government to ignore party politics and creeds in their selections for administrative posts. This feeling applied particularly to appointments made in connection with the new Agriculture and Industries Department, of which Mr. Horace Plunkett had been made Vice-President, and above all to the choice of Mr. T. P. Gill as secretary to that department. Mr. Gill had been actively and publicly connected in 1887 with the Plan of Campaign—a scheme of organisation which received judicial condemnation, in strong language—and he had never made any public acknowledgement of error in regard to his agrarian record. The general election afforded an opportunity to sore and indignant Unionists for the infliction of some punishment upon the Government. The Chief Secretary, sitting for Central Leeds, could not conveniently be reached; but Mr. Horace Plunkett's seat for South Dublin County was assailable. An organisation, headed socially and financially by Lord Ardilaun, and intellectually by Professor Dowden, was formed, and Mr. Plunkett having refused to give up the seat on their demand Mr. Elrington Ball was started as an independent Unionist candidate. This proceeding obviously involved a gift of the representation of the constituency to the Nationalists, but that did not trouble Lord Ardilaun and his friends. Mr. Atkinson, the Irish Solicitor-General, in the course of some very vigorous speeches in support of Mr. Plunkett, adduced agrarian statistics which appeared to show clearly that the executive had been giving satisfactory protection to order and individual liberty. Mr. Plunkett, who vindicated his administration with spirit and good temper, was able to say that Mr. Gill no longer defended the morality of the Plan of Campaign. But it was all to no effect. A Nationalist candidate (Mr. Mooney) having been started, Mr. Plunkett, whose Unionism had been condemned as tepid, disclaimed any right to the votes of those from whom in politics he fundamentally dissented. The figures of the polling were: Mr. J. Mooney (N.), 3,668; Mr. Plunkett, 2,854, and

Mr. Ball, 1,533—the joint majority of the two defeated Unionists over the successful Nationalist being 719. Dissensions among Unionists also caused their loss of the St. Stephen's Green division of Dublin City. On the other hand was to be set the surprise of the Hon. Martin Morris' election for Galway City, and the recovery of Derry City for the Unionists by the Marquess of Hamilton, whose father, the Duke of Abercorn, head of Ulster Unionism and president of the Irish Landowners' Convention, took occasion to express his entire disapprobation of the attack on Mr. Plunkett, a feeling which he said was shared by many members of the convention. The Ulster Liberal Unionists, during the progress of the general election, declared their strong appreciation of the value of Mr. Plunkett's public services in connection with the Agriculture and Industries Department, as well as with the movement which led to its establishment, and also their cordial general approval of Mr. Gerald Balfour's administration. No Unionist seats were lost in Ulster, but it was believed that two, which might have been gained in Tyrone on the showing of the register, were lost through abstentions due to divisions, and in several other constituencies there were rival Unionist candidates. The lines of cleavage appeared to be mainly between the supposed interests of the landlord and tenant classes, and to some extent between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The acuteness of the former divergence was partly illustrated and partly promoted by the action of Mr. T. W. Russell, in a speech at Clogher (Sept. 20) at the outset of his electoral campaign for North Tyrone, for which constituency he was again returned. He there made an emphatic declaration of his belief in the necessity of the universal and compulsory expropriation of the Irish landlords, asserting that all confidence in the administration of the land courts had disappeared, and that peace, stability and justice could only be secured by the conversion of the tenants into an occupying proprietary. He propounded an elaborate scheme by which, as he maintained, this could be done without risk of loss to the State or hardship to the landlords, and suggested 120,000,000*l.* sterling as a figure which might meet the necessities of the case. In view of this speech the Prime Minister intimated that in existing circumstances the Government were quite unable to see their way to the adoption of the policy insisted on by the member for North Tyrone, and in the reconstruction of the Ministry he was removed from his post of Secretary to the Local Government Board. Several, perhaps most, of the Ulster Unionist candidates gave their adhesion to the principle of universal compulsory purchase. But they did so, frequently, in more or less hypothetical terms, and few, if any, of those who were elected were ready to join Mr. Russell in the campaign which he had undertaken for pressing the immediate adoption of that policy on the Government; nor did they welcome the prospect of his appearing in their constituencies to advocate it.

The Ulster linen trade during 1900 was subject to serious fluctuations in its prosperity. The year opened well for that important industry, and for several months the conditions continued favourable. In the summer and autumn the trade relapsed into a depressed and unremunerative condition, but at the end of the year there were many signs of recovery. The great shipbuilding industry of Belfast had a signally prosperous year, the total gross tonnage turned out by the two local firms amounting to more than 120,000, as compared with 45,000 in 1899 and 53,000 in 1898. The progress of agricultural co-operation continued to exercise a most favourable influence on the butter trade in respect of the amount produced and sold. There was, however, a good deal of discussion among experts on the question whether the cattle trade had not suffered in connection with the creamery system.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

It was recognised in advance that the year of the International Exhibition at Paris should be regarded as a political truce between all parties. This intention was not wholly realised, for it was scarcely possible that passions so sedulously excited should calm down in a few months. It was also only natural to suppose that more than one vigorous attempt would be made to deprive the Government of Republican defence of the privilege of presiding at the great universal *kermesse*. The numerous ceremonies, congresses and Pantagruelic banquets which were announced would necessarily attract people from all parts of the country, and would do much to facilitate propagandism by the extremists on both sides. Consequently political struggles were for a while keener than ever. Nevertheless, the year was destined to end far more peacefully than the earlier days of the session promised.

The High Court of Justice, after forty-seven sittings which were needed to unravel the plot against the safety of the State, delivered its verdict (Jan. 4), but it was scarcely to the liking of the friends of the Government. M. Paul Déroulède and M. André Buffet were condemned to ten years' banishment; M. Jules Guérin to ten years' imprisonment, while M. de Lur-Saluces, who had escaped, received in his absence a similar sentence to that on the two first named who were conveyed to the Belgian frontier, while the defender of the legendary Fort Chabrol was confined at Clairvaux. The senators were in a hurry to get away to their respective departments, in a third of which they had to face the risks of re-election. The Nationalist party determined to use all means in its power to punish the more active members of the High Court for their resolute attitude. Some of the measures employed, however, were not happily imagined. For instance, ridicule rather than respect was roused by the protest against the judgment of the High Court made by some of the jury of the assize court which had

acquitted Déroulède in the previous year, because their finding was not treated with due consideration. As a matter of fact, the protest was absurd, for the procureur-général had carefully avoided any reference to the points dealt with in that trial.

On the meeting of the Chambers (Jan. 9) for the ordinary session, M. Henri Brisson was induced by doubtful friends to allow himself to be put forward as a candidate for the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, but he only polled 221 votes against 308 given to the young academician, M. Paul Deschanel, and MM. Maurice Faure, Georges Cochery, Mesureur and Aynard were chosen as Vice-Presidents. The early days of the session were given up to a discussion of the estimates for Public Works, and to interpellations of which the most noteworthy was one by M. Victor Gay on the attitude of the Government during the strikes in the Loire district and round Belfort. Public interest, however, was rather attracted to the Palace of Justice, where the proceedings against the Assumptionist Fathers were going on, or to the departments where senatorial elections were being held.

The trial of the Assumptionists, which lasted over three days, resulted (Jan. 24) in an extremely mild condemnation. The worthy fathers were ordered to pay a fine of 16 francs and to dissolve the community, but the latter part of the sentence was not to be carried out, on the ground that the Government was about to bring in a bill dealing with religious Associations in general. As soon as the result of the trial was known, Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, paid a visit to the fathers, bestowed upon them his blessing, and urged them to pursue their way with simplicity and firmness. The President of the Council at once wrote to the archbishop to explain his visit, and thereupon a fresh question was introduced into the dispute. From all sides came letters to the persecuted fathers from bishops, canons, heads of communities, breathing the spirit of the Crusades, but with the only result of showing anew the urgent need of the safeguards so frequently insisted upon by the Republican party. Another consequence, chiefly affecting the South-west of France, was the light thrown by the trial on the so-called *Pacte de Bordeaux*, concluded in 1896 between the Catholics and Socialists to expel the Opportunists from their seats. This compact was put an end to, and a fresh understanding was come to at Bordeaux in view of the approaching elections.

The Nationalists anticipated great results from the senatorial elections (Jan. 28), which involved ninety seats in the ordinary series of outgoing members and seven others which had incidentally become vacant. The League of the Patrie Française had, in the first instance, wished to designate the Opposition candidates in each district, but it was soon evident that between the neo-Republicans and the converted Radicals there was no real understanding. M. Cavaignac, ex-Minister of War, thought

that his advice was not accepted with due deference by MM. Jules Lemaitre and François Coppée, and he insisted that these two poor men of letters who had gone astray in the maze of politics should throw over their quondam leader, the ex-procureur-général, M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Nationalists the elections on the whole were a triumph for the Republican party, although the latter had to submit to the loss of M. Ranc in the department of the Seine and of M. Thevenet in that of the Rhone, but while General Mercier was elected in the Loire Inférieure, the Royalists who avowed their principles were everywhere defeated.

The elections, whilst strengthening the Government, stimulated and envenomed the attacks of the press. The provinces had clearly pronounced against a policy of conciliation *à outrance*. The Republicans had learnt that the so-called Nationalism was merely a recrudescence of Boulangism, and that the new shuffling of parties which the Dreyfus affair had started had resulted in a somewhat increased hostility to clericalism. The enemies of the Republic rallied round the threatened religious bodies, and found all sorts of pretexts for protesting against the Government Bill on Associations. Each party worked with a will in its efforts to stir public opinion. The Opposition press began a lively onslaught on the proposal to make a three years' course in government *lycées* or colleges a condition precedent to all candidates for Government employment, educational or administrative. The Minister of Public Instruction's circular to this effect was denounced as a tyrannical proposal, contrary to the rights of man, and an attack upon the freedom of fathers. A bill on this subject having been referred to the Education Committee of the Chamber was rejected by a small majority, but at the same time the president of the committee, M. Ribot, published his report in which he asserted the need of great changes in the organisation of secondary education. The University, of which these proposed changes affected the dignity as well as the interests, was greatly disturbed, and protests against them from Paris and the provincial schools were so general that the Ministry realised the danger of the situation. The Army, on the other hand, was gradually coming to the conclusion that the only aim of General de Galliffet's reforms was to break up the coteries which had regarded the general staff and the Ministerial offices as their special domain and hereditary privilege, and day by day those officers whose chief complaint was that the reforms were not sufficiently sweeping found their numbers increased by fresh adherents. The Finance Minister, at the same time, was busying himself with reforms of another order; he ordered a searching inquiry to be made into the actual financial position of the religious bodies in France, and took up the bills left on the shelf by his predecessors, relating to the taxes on successions and alcoholic drinking. The fact that these topics were to be dealt with seriously soon became known

throughout the country, and contributed not a little to the settling down of public opinion. At the same time the Pope, Leo XIII., more prudent than the bellicose bishops of the south, ordered the Assumptionist Fathers to give up the publication of their organ, *La Croix*, both in Paris and the provinces, and to devote themselves exclusively to works of charity. The ownership and the editing of this paper and its satellites nominally passed into lay hands, but it was difficult to recognise any change in their tone or ways.

On its reconstitution the Senate elected M. Fallières as its president, no competitor offering himself for the post, whilst the deputies spent the most of their time in proposing amendments, trivial and important, to the Estimates. Amongst the latter was one raised by M. Camille Pelletan on the Army votes, aimed at the persistent abuses of its costly administration. The Radical leader chiefly attacked the waste in the Engineers, Artillery and technical branches of the Army, and declaimed against the unnecessary number of captains. In comparison with the German Army the French had 8,200 officers of this grade, against 4,500 in the far larger Army of Germany. The result of this unbridled extravagance in the matter of officers was a complete upsetting of the regiments, so many men being withdrawn from their military duties to act under a variety of names or titles (*ordonnances*, *brosseurs*, *plantons*) as servants to officers, their wives, and even to act the part of nursemaids to their children. Moreover, the number of soldiers detached from regular service as clerks, accountants, pay sergeants and other administrative duties was very much greater than in any other European army. In conclusion, M. Pelletan moved (Feb. 15) the appointment of a parliamentary commission to inquire into the manner of keeping Army accounts, and at the same time he invited General de Galliffet to explain the meaning of his remark in the Chamber that his (M. Pelletan's) speech was calculated to give pleasure to the enemies of France. The President of the Chamber (M. Deschanel), however, intervened, asserting that no such words had been used, and that "if the Minister of War, more accustomed to the battlefield than to the tribune, had allowed himself to make use of words intended to cast a doubt on the patriotic intentions of the Budget Committee," he would have been called to order. After a few words from M. Waldeck-Rousseau the Chamber voted, and the motion for an inquiry was negatived. A like fate befel a few days later a proposal by the Socialist deputy, M. Sembat, to suppress the post of military attaché at the various embassies abroad.

The Senate meanwhile had once more assumed the duties of a High Court of Justice to decide upon the case of M. Marcel Habert, the friend and lieutenant of M. Déroulède, who had given himself up to the authorities just before the beginning of the New Year. The most interesting point raised by the trial was

strictly a constitutional one. The Senate had been partially renewed between the acts for which the prisoner was being tried and the sentence pronounced. Should the senators, whose re-election was pending, take part in giving judgment, and if any were not re-elected would the new Senate be competent? In the end the senators, whose seats became vacant in January, were challenged, and the court pronounced after four days' hearing (Feb. 19-23) M. Habert guilty, and sentenced him to five years' banishment.

A few days later the Bonapartist deputy, M. Lasies interpellated the Government on the manner in which the High Court had acted, but a large majority of the Chamber, in spite of the violence displayed by the deputies of the Right and the friends of M. Méline, supported the Ministry. The President of the Council, feeling himself strengthened by this and other votes of confidence, forthwith laid on the table an amnesty bill consisting of a single paragraph "All public actions concerning matters connected with the Dreyfus affair are extinguished." The bill was in the first instance submitted to the Senate, and M. Clamageran was named chairman of the committee to which it was referred. Captain Dreyfus' most ardent defenders, MM. Piquart, Zola and J. Reinach, at once addressed protests against the bill to the chairman, requesting to be heard. On the other hand the opponents of redress were even more vehement, pretending that the Government was endeavouring to screen the traitor and his friends from the consequences of their acts, and was surreptitiously attempting to revise the sentences delivered by the Councils of War at Paris and Rennes. The Senate, unmoved by these attacks, and while the committee calmly and thoroughly investigated the question, turned its attention to the serious problems of national education which were pressing for solution. An important debate arose upon the question of university degrees, and after speeches from MM. Leporché, Rambaud, Pozzi and Wallon, the minister promised to take no decisive step without previously submitting his intentions to the knowledge of the two Chambers.

In the Chamber of Deputies the debates on the estimates (expenditure) had at length (March 10) been concluded, and those on Ways and Means (receipts) were forthwith commenced. As a preliminary, however, M. Berthelot André intervened with a most important resolution, to the effect that henceforward no private member should have the right to propose any amendment to the estimates which involved an increase of expenditure. M. Rouvier, an ex-Premier, supported this view by an even stronger resolution, which was carried by an overwhelming majority. It was, however, one thing to adopt such an excellent resolution, and quite another to act upon it. Moreover the decision would have been more useful, and its real value better ascertained, had it been taken before the estimates had been discussed instead of after they had been voted. The Budget,

however, had been got rid of, and the deputies were now free to take up questions interesting the people at large. One of the most important was the suppression of the *octroi*, a long-desired reform which now seemed to be approaching realisation. Dijon demanded the right to get rid entirely of this barbarous method of tax-levying, and to replace it by a house tax. An important debate followed (March 20) in the course of which the Conservatives as a body insisted upon the retention of *octrois* and opposed the adoption of equivalent taxes. The Government, however, carried its point without much difficulty, and the example of Dijon was generally followed, fashion being paramount in France.

Its rule might also be traced in matters relating to foreign politics. The Parisians for generations had been accustomed to mark the Mi-Carême by popular *fêtes* and processions. The worthy Corporation of Washerwomen that day reigns supreme and is allowed to block the principal streets of Paris with its triumphal cars. Amongst the groups which were to be paraded through the streets and boulevards, escorted by students and market women, it was announced that Jeanne d'Arc would be most prominent. Notwithstanding the historic doubts thrown upon the whole subject, it was one which had been long since labelled as patriotic. It was further determined, in order to flatter still more the jingoism of the crowds, that the Maid of Orleans should be attended by Boers on horseback. The Government, however, at this point interfered, and caused this feature of the programme to be struck out. The Nationalists were naturally furious at this simple act of prudence, and howled in the streets and in their press that M. Delcassé was sold to England, but no one was seriously moved by such denunciations.

The like could not however be said of the charges brought against the Government by the groups under the leadership of M. Méline and M. Ribot. The great grievance of these sensitive politicians was the influence they ascribed to M. Millerand in the Cabinet, and they found it good policy to brandish before the eyes of the public the spectre of Socialism. One great effort to upset the Ministry before the opening of the exhibition was then decided upon, and an opportunity was found (March 26) on the attempt by M. Duquesnay to raise a debate on the troubles in Martinique. In the course of some riotous proceedings arising out of a strike of farm labourers, a lieutenant of Marines had ordered his men to fire on the strikers. A split in the Socialist party on the conduct of the Ministry allowed the motion to be brought forward by such a slight majority. -Rousseau at once insisted upon placing the Government on a footing of confidence in the person of M. Ribot strongly protested but with-
try carried its vote.
ay, M. Millerand, who it was

hoped might prove to be the stumbling-block of the Ministry, was occupied in persuading the Senate to assent to his bill regulating the employment of women in factories, and with such good effect that he was enabled to put it strictly in force from the moment of its becoming law.

The Chamber was for some days occupied in the discussion of a scheme which had for its ultimate aim the reconciliation of a conscript army with the maintenance of colonial possessions. The primary difficulties in the way of recruiting a colonial army had been surmounted, and the principle of maintaining such a force was endorsed (April 6) by 400 to 131 votes. The question of its administration presented more serious difficulties. The colonial army was to be placed under the direction of the Minister for War, but at the same time was to be wholly distinct from the territorial army in everything which concerned its management, the Minister of Marine thus losing the special privilege which his department had jealously guarded for the last twenty years. The Senate still had to express its opinion, but from what had been let drop in that body there seemed no desire on its part to take a different view, or to delay its acquiescence in General de Galliffet's proposal.

The final attack on the Government was raised just before the adjournment by M. Cochin, who exposed at length the grievances of the various sections of the Opposition. This gave M. Waldeck-Rousseau the opportunity of making a declaration of principles of which the Chamber voted the *affichage* by 261 to 199 votes, showing a manifest increase of the Ministerial majority. The Chambers then adjourned for a long holiday in honour of the exhibition and in order that members might take part in their provincial councils.

The great international *fête* offered to the world by France and Paris was inaugurated (April 14) in accordance with the date formally fixed, and without regard to the completion of the work. The delays, however, had been beyond the control of the commissioners, and it was evident from the warmth with which the President was greeted that the Government was not held responsible for the non-completion of the vast undertaking. In accordance with established custom the inaugural speech, addressed to the President, was delivered by M. Millerand, Minister of Commerce—a speech of rare excellence and concluding with an apostrophe which was justly described as a hymn to labour. Everything in connection with the exhibition went smoothly, its vastness and completeness reconciled Parisians to the discomforts through which they had passed during its construction, and the good-humoured crowds which flocked to it were the best evidence that public feeling was calming down.

This lull after the storm which for so long had swept over France was traceable in the proceedings of the *Conseils-Généraux*. A number of these departmental assemblies took the

opportunity of the opening of the exhibition to send congratulatory addresses to the President of the Republic and to his ministers. The chief bone of contention was not politics, but automotor cars. The revolution brought about by this new method of locomotion had produced anarchy in the neighbourhood of all large towns, and the County Councils were agitated by conflicting claims of valid and doubtful interests.

The municipal elections, fixed for the first Sunday in May throughout the whole country, Paris included, aroused in the Opposition fresh hopes, and gave them fresh opportunities. The Nationalists were loudly assertive of their power to capture all the large towns, and to make Paris a special object lesson. At the first ballot they carried nine districts, and on the second vote a week later (May 13) their success was crushing, nearly every district returning their nominees. The ninth arrondissement, which had formerly elected such men as Thiers and Jules Grévy, consented to be represented by a butcher, whose sole claim to distinction was that he had been acquitted by the High Court. The outgoing president of the Municipal Council was defeated in the third arrondissement by a young professor, M. Dausset, recently dismissed for political reasons, and secretary of the *Patrie Française*. In all forty-five out of eighty members of the council owed their seats to the yellow press, and Paris thereby declared openly against the Government. On the other hand, the Socialists had triumphed at Lyons, Marseilles and Lille, but this so far from being a compensation for the attitude of Paris was a further source of anxiety to the Government. A few days later the Nationalists elected as their president M. Grébauval, who at once gave a touch of his quality by declining to be present at some public function in which M. Waldeck-Rousseau was to take part. The result was that the Hôtel de Ville had to play a somewhat secondary part as entertainer in the *fêtes* arising out of the exhibition—strongly in contrast with former precedents. The success of the Nationalists, however, although striking in Paris was not far reaching; the total result of the municipal elections showing that the Republicans and the Socialists held 24,832 seats, the Reactionaries 8,519, and the Nationalists 153. The interesting feature of this official return was the distinctly pronounced mingling of two groups hitherto essentially different, the Republicans and the Socialists. At any rate it furnished a text for numerous political speeches and attacks upon the Ministry, with which MM. Méline, Ribot, Cochin and Lasies principally consoled themselves during the spring recess.

No sooner had the Chambers reassembled than the onslaught upon the Government was renewed. A somewhat confused and irregular debate on its general policy was met by the following order of the day: "The Chamber determined to pursue a policy of Republican reform and of Republican defence, and inviting the Government to oppose energetically the reopening of the

Dreyfus affair, approves the declarations of the Government." This vote of confidence was adopted by the Chamber after a more qualified one, opposed by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, had been rejected by 298 to 249 votes.

This victory, which ought to have been decisive, was however compromised by an unfortunate incident. A captain attached to the staff had been censured and subjected to disciplinary punishment for having published letters referring to an agent of the secret police. M. de Bony-Castellane brought the matter before the Chamber, when it was debated with much acrimony and the Minister of War severely attacked. In the midst of the debate General de Galliffet quitted his seat, left the Chamber, and on the following day his resignation was officially announced. On the resumption of the discussion M. Léon Bourgeois mounted the tribune, eloquently appealing to all sections of the Republic to rally to the defence of its fortress, which was at that moment in peril. An order of the day was thereupon adopted, declaring that the Chamber approved of the acts of the Government, and was sure of the devotion of the Army to the country and to the Republic.

The resignation of General de Galliffet appeared simultaneously with the appointment of his successor, General André, commanding the Tenth (Paris) Division. This officer had the reputation of being one of the staunchest Republicans in the Army. He was a man of varied gifts and powers, and promptly displayed a mixture of boldness and prudence combined with a spirit of initiative, such as his predecessor had rarely shown. His appointment was the most effective blow at the military *camerilla*, whose credit had been already shaken by the peremptory measures taken by General de Galliffet on assuming office. General André's chief aim was to foster in the Army Republican and Democratic feeling, and with this view he sedulously devoted himself to recruiting the general staff of officers as well as his own, from the classes of society most attached to the Republic.

Meanwhile the Senate had taken up the Government Amnesty Bill, which M. Trarieux vigorously attacked, and the Nationalists qualified as a Dreyfusard manoeuvre. Although they managed to raise a noisy debate, the bill was accepted. On the other hand the reception given by the Chamber to M. Caillaux' remarkable Budget was strangely divided, for whilst its leading features were admitted to be original and sensible, the supporters of the Government were scarcely represented on the Budget Committee. M. Cochéry was appointed its chairman; to M. Perreau, a university man, favourable to allowing liberty of instruction to the *Congréganistes*, was entrusted the report on public education; to M. Georges Berger, that on fine arts; and M. Guillaïn, a former Minister for the Colonies, was appointed general reporter. This choice indicated the intention of the Committee to keep a strict watch on the financial policy of the Government.

The amnesty having passed the Senate, in due course was presented (June 12) to the Chamber. The commission appointed to examine the bill was not favourable for the Government as it contained a majority in favour of extending the bill to those who had been condemned by the High Court. The number of absentees on the occasion of the nomination of the commission had given an appearance of victory to the enemies of the Cabinet. The Nationalists celebrated their triumph at the municipal elections by a grand banquet (June 16) at which General Mercier assured his fellow guests that they represented both the majority and the moral force of the country, but this did not prevent them from hurling abuse at the Government, which at length declined further relations with the Municipal Council, and forbade Major Marchand to appear at a banquet which it was proposed to give in his honour. Parliament moreover displayed a willingness to strengthen the hands of the Government against its factious opponents; for the Chamber, after discussing the dismissal of General Delanne, Chief-of-Staff, passed a resolution to the effect that it would not permit the severe discipline imposed upon soldiers to be relaxed in favour of officers, however high their rank. At the same time the Senate, on the motion of M. Joseph Fabre, agreed to a bill for repressing the licence of the press in the matter of insults and defamation of the President and functionaries of the Republic. The resignation of the General-in-Chief Jamont (July 4) led to no complications, his place being at once taken by General Brugère, and the debate which ensued was a fresh triumph for M. Waldeck-Rousseau, whose speech was ordered to be placarded throughout the country. The Nationalists, however, were not to be thwarted, and on every possible occasion incited the Army to acts of partisanship. The more imprudent officers, who had suffered themselves to be led astray by the rabid insults of the assailants of General André, were promptly dealt with, and removed to a distance from the capital where they might reflect in silence on their folly. A general sweep was made by the War Minister of the General Staff offices, and officers known for their Republican opinions, and for that reason kept in disgrace, were brought back to Paris. At the same time he re-cast the classes of the great military schools, where little by little the nominees of the Church had managed to get hold of the most desirable posts. Saint Cyr, Saumur, the Polytechnic School, the Engineering School, and the Artillery School at Fontarabieau were by turns thoroughly reorganised. The Superior Council of War was also transformed. At the same time General André applied himself to the urgent task of adapting the national Army to the institutions of the country, displaying both strength and circumspection in an equal degree. It was thus that he found himself able to recall General de Negrier to service, placing him upon the Council of War and pro-

At the same time, the Chamber was not behindhand in endorsing the demands and the policy of the Government. Liberal sums were voted for the complete renewal of the fleet, to be effected in eight years, and for the development of the numerous colonies to which the country had made good its claims. In the matter of the sums required for the expedition to China, the Chamber made no demur and asked no questions, postponing indefinitely an interpellation moved by the Bonapartist deputy, M. Lasies, and supported by a small group of obstructionists. Shortly afterwards having agreed to four months' votes on account, the Chambers adjourned (July 10) leaving the Ministry stronger than ever, and, with the exception of General de Galliffet, intact.

The stability of the Government was not a little due to the popularity of President Loubet, which had gone on increasing from the time he took office. The good-natured optimism with which in private conversation he expressed his conviction that he would reconcile all good Frenchmen stimulated the goodwill of all parties. He displayed the greatest interest in everything which concerned the Army, seizing every occasion to bring himself in touch with the troops. Such occasions were not wanting, for not only did he attend the annual review at Longchamps (July 14) for the annual national *fête*, but he was present at the grand naval review at Cherbourg (July 19) of the combined fleets under Admiral Gervais; at the embarkation of the troops for China (Aug. 12) at Marseilles, where he presented the colours to the expeditionary force under Generals Voyron and Bailloud, and again at the grand review with which the autumn manœuvres closed. The enthusiasm with which the President was received on all these occasions showed how great was the distance which separated the present from the noisy disorder and the humiliating precautions of the previous year.

Nevertheless the recess did not pass as quietly as might have been anticipated from the distractions offered by the Universal Exhibition. In the seaports strikes assumed alarming proportions, beginning at Havre and extending to Marseilles, Cette, Bordeaux and Dunkirk, and at the two last named they were marked by extreme violence. At Nantes the steam transport companies thought it better not to join in the struggle and assented at once to the terms obtained by the strikers at Havre. This coincidence of trade disputes was openly ascribed by the Conservatives and their allies to the presence in the Ministry of M. Millerand, a Socialist, and the friendly attitude of the mayor and police of Marseilles towards the dockers on strike was severely censured. If, however, the Government ever interfered otherwise than to protect the public and to maintain order it was only when the exigencies of the public service made it imperative, as, for instance, when stokers were put forcibly on board the mail steamers and the transports ordered to China. The annual strike of the Paris cabmen led to no disturbance,

the Prefect of the Police having taken the precaution to occupy the stables, and to patrol the streets with the Republican Guards. It should be added, however, that nearly everywhere the strikers were successful in obtaining their demands.

The autumn sittings of the Conseils Généraux aroused no interest. China absorbed what attention the public could withdraw from the Paris Exhibition and *fêtes*. Only at Lille, where the Conservatives and Socialists came to blows, was the peaceful discussion of departmental business disturbed. Here and there, but very rarely, addresses to the expeditionary troops were passed, but more generally economic questions alone were discussed. A curious complication, however, was to be generated by the remarkable vintage, both in quantity and quality, by which the year was marked. The grievance of the British farmer who had no barns for his harvest found its parallel in the French vine growers, who were at their wits' ends to know, first, how to store the extra millions of casks, and next how to find purchasers for them. An appeal was made to the Government to suspend the decree of 1883, issued at the worst moment of the phylloxera, under which it was permitted to make artificial wines from dried grapes and the like. But the sugar refiners and beetroot growers of the north at once protested that any lowering of the tax on grape sugar would be detrimental to their interests. The southern wine growers at once attempted to organise a general strike of all elective bodies and by this means to bring pressure on the central Government. But such tactics required the greatest unanimity among the grumblers to make success possible, and with this condition they failed to comply.

The really great event of the autumn was the great *fête* given by the President of the Republic to the mayors of France to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the first Republic, and to do honour to the International Exhibition. The Government had invited the mayors of all the 36,000 communes of France, with the exception of the President of the Municipal Council of Paris, who, having obstinately refused to have any intercourse with M. Waldeck-Rousseau, conceived the idea of organising at the Hôtel de Ville a series of *fêtes* which would be at once a reply and a rival to the Ministerial love feasts. Invitations were addressed not only to French municipalities but to the lord mayors, burgomasters, corporations and consuls of foreign countries. There was a moment of hesitation, the majority of foreigners being ignorant of the tactics of the Nationalists, and among others the Lord Mayor of London sent a cordial acceptance, and promised to attend in state. But the haughty refusal of the Mayor of Lyons followed by hundreds of others who refused to be brought in this way into contact with the Nationalists, exploded the plot, and the organisation of the purely Parisian banquet was abandoned amid general derision. Two days later (Sept. 20) M. Loubet received

an enthusiastic reception at Chartres, where he closed by a grand review the autumn manœuvres, directed by the Generalissimo Brugère and Generals de Négrier and Lucas. The grand *fête* to the mayors followed (Sept. 22) when 22,000 guests were entertained in tents arranged in the Tuileries gardens. This colossal merry-making passed off without any untoward accident, and was the occasion of showing the esteem which the President had gained by his dignified attitude, and on the following day a large number of the mayors were received at the Elysée.

It was, however, the Ministry which most profited by the impression produced by these successful displays. It became more and more evident that the extremists were left without support. The Socialist Congress (Sept. 30) bore witness to the irremediable schism between the partisans of M. Jules Guesde and those of M. Jean Jaurès. The Duc d'Orléans published a manifesto, but by general consent it was pronounced ridiculous and insignificant. The Government seized the opportunity of nominating M. Jounnart, Governor-General of Algeria, in the place of M. Laferrière, who returned to the Court of Cassation as Procureur-Général, whilst M. Ballot Beaupré became first President of the Court in the place of M. Mazeau, and a President's place was also given to M. Bernard. All these magistrates had displayed their courage and independence in the discussion of the Dreyfus affair, and it was only logical that the changes made by General André in the direction of the military schools should be supplemented by the nomination of true Republicans to the magistrature.

In anticipation of the reassembling of Parliament the Progressist Republicans made a serious effort to reconstitute the majority which they at one time possessed, but of which they had never been able to take advantage, and with this view, M. Aynard, Deputy of the Rhône, founded at Bordeaux a newspaper, *La République Nouvelle*, which was to combat both Nationalism and Socialism. The opponents of the Government were equally busy in putting their views forward, to prepare the way for a return to office, M. Barthou, who had been Home Minister in M. Méline's Cabinet, being especially careful, in a speech he made at Pau, to define the points upon which the heirs-expectant were in agreement. On the part of the Government, however, there were no symptoms of approaching dissolution. In fact, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, in a speech delivered at Toulouse, went so far as to say that the Ministry had as yet scarcely completed the first part of their self-imposed task, the defence of Republican institutions. The second portion which they had proposed to pursue with vigour was the passing of laws necessary for the definite organisation of the Republic. In the first line of this programme figured the repression of the pretensions of religious congregations, and the final ending of a control which divided French youth into two irreconcilable camps.

The autumn session of which the opening had been post-

poned on account of the exhibition opened (Nov. 6) with a debate on the general policy of the Government raised by M. Vazeille, and the Ministry was severely attacked on the one hand by the Socialist, M. Vaillant, who accused them of caring only for the interests of the moneyed class, and on the other by M. Ribot, who represented them as bound and gagged by the Collectivists. In presence of such contrary criticism, it was not surprising that after two days' debate the Government obtained (Nov. 8) a vote approving its line of conduct. Before reaching its final stage, the amendment underwent numerous alterations, some wholly incoherent, all of which were put aside, and on the order of the day the Government found itself supported by a majority of more than a hundred in excess of its strength as shown before the recess.

It was under the impression produced by this success that the exhibition was closed (Nov. 12) with brilliant ceremonials. The balance-sheet of this magnificent but costly enterprise was made public a little later, showing that whilst the receipts from all sources had reached 114,456,000 francs (4,578,280*l.*), the expenditure had been 116,000,000 francs (4,640,000*l.*). One of the reasons for the excess of the latter was the indemnity granted by the Government to the managers of some of the "side-shows" which had not proved as attractive as had been anticipated, and by their quality had earned the disrepute into which they fell with the daily visitors. At the same time one of the most important elements upon which the Government had relied to enhance the attractions of the exhibition had completely failed them. Lavish preparations had been made for the reception of the crowned heads of Europe and the rest of the world, but the King of Sweden and the Shah of Persia were the only guests of France on this occasion, the insane attempt of the anarchist, Salsou, on the life of the Persian monarch in Paris, the murder of King Humbert at Monza, and the attack on the Prince of Wales at Brussels, had shown that the police precautions were not adequate to anticipate the intentions of the anarchists.

The Chamber on resuming work decided to take specific means for averting the oft-repeated scandal of partially debated estimates. It was settled therefore that four mornings of each week should be given up to the discussion of the financial questions raised by each departmental budget; Friday afternoons were to be reserved for interpellations; and the other sittings were to be given over to reforming legislation, it being understood that the first measure to be taken should be that of the Government regulating the sale of alcoholic and other liquors, next the bill on associations, and finally a Workmen's Pension Bill, which was so far a consequence of the preceding that the funds for starting this stupendous undertaking were, it was suggested, to be found in the confiscation of the revenues of unauthorised bodies.

The programme thus agreed upon was observed with unusual exactitude. The Chamber gave a singular proof of its deference to the Government in limiting the number of amendments suggested, and the general debate on the budget was allowed to proceed with little interruption. Interpellations, on the other hand, raising more personal questions, were not conducted with similar tranquillity. M. Ridet, for instance, in raising (Nov. 19) the question of the qualification of certain persons who had received decorations gave occasion for unloosening a good deal of passion, which, however, expended itself in noise as the Government without difficulty obtained a vote of confidence. Far more interesting in every respect and of far wider interest was the debate raised by the Bonapartist deputy, M. Lasies, on the cruelties ascribed to the Commandants Voulet and Chanoine in their African expedition, and on the terrible drama of Zinder in which first Colonel Klobb, and afterwards his murderers, met with their death. The discussion then extended to the policy pursued in Madagascar by General Gallieni, and an inquiry was demanded. Three days were devoted to these debates, at the end of which the Ministry astutely put aside all reference to an inquiry, and obtained a unanimous vote calling for the repression of all acts of slavery or cruelty which had been or which might be committed in French colonies.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau was not less successful in the Senate where he carried a point to which he attached almost vital importance. The Amnesty Law applying to all matters connected with the Dreyfus affair, but not to Dreyfus himself, was passed, notwithstanding strong opposition led by M. Trarieux, and a sort of compromise was arrived at by consenting to extend the measure to the troubles which had taken place in Algiers. With this addition the bill was sent to the Chamber on the very day (Nov. 26) that ex-President Kruger had received a grand ovation from the public and a courteous reception by the authorities. It was not until three days later that an occasion presented itself for M. Denis' interpellation. He gave notice of his intention to question the Government on its intention to take advantage of Art. III. of the Hague Conference to propose an arbitration between the South African Republics and Great Britain. M. Delcassé, in reply, said that having already explained both to the House and to the Senate the views of the Government on this point, he must ask the House to postpone the interpellations *sine die*. M. Denis protested against this course, but did not deliver his anticipated speech, preferring to replace it by an alternative motion welcoming Mr. Kruger. There was no reason that this mark of platonic regard should not be given him by the French Parliament, in which friendship for Great Britain was not strongly represented, and it was consequently adopted without dissent.

The value of the vote, however, was apparently greatly

appreciated by the Nationalists. They insisted loudly on their right to take for themselves all the benefits of the popularity which the Boers were enjoying throughout France; and claimed to be the sole defenders of their down-trodden flag. If this claim still passed as current coin in Paris, it was not equally so in the provinces. M. Grébauval, the President of the Paris Municipal Council, who had played a somewhat ludicrous part in his attempt to entertain the mayors of France, was anxious to find a seat in Parliament. The opportune death of General Cluseret, once a Communist but more recently a Nationalist, placed an apparently certain seat at the command of the party. The department of the Var, whilst willing to be represented by General Cluseret, would have nothing to do with M. Grébauval, who was crushingly defeated by a Radical Ministerialist. This check was further emphasised by an extraordinary speech made by General Mercier in the Senate (Dec. 4). The former Minister of War, well known by many startling sayings and doings, took occasion of the debate on the bill for increasing the Navy to urge upon the Ministers of War and Marine to take up in concert the study of the means of embarking and disembarking an expeditionary force. Everybody at once understood that England was the country in the general's mind, and admired the well-timed flourish of trumpets. Naturally the Government declined to accept a resolution framed in this sense, and in this was supported by the Senate.

Two days later the Chamber of Deputies further marked its approval of the Ministerial policy by refusing to discuss M. Dérivière-Desgardes' motion in favour of a complete amnesty, that meaning, one including those condemned by the High Court. The Government had already replied on this matter saying that they would await some proofs of a conciliatory attitude on the part of the convicted persons. MM. Déroulède and Marcel Habert at once telegraphed to their friends that they would accept no favour, and in fact no one seriously thought of according them any.

According to the programme, the Government bill on the sale of alcoholic liquors next came on for discussion, and the dulness of the debates contrasted strongly with the passionate eagerness with which the southern departments were watching its course. To these it meant the power to get rid of millions of hectolitres of wine remaining over from the previous year's stock. The Chamber decided upon allowing to stand the scandalous privilege enjoyed by landowners and farmers to distil the fruit of their own land without paying any alcohol excise. This privilege known as that of the *bouilleurs du cru* had admittedly been used most fraudulently, causing an annual loss to the Treasury of more than 98,000,000 francs. As a sop to another set of electors, the Chamber accorded to the makers of wine from dried grapes the right to use forty kilogrammes of sugar per head of the family free of duty, and

on the other hand the duty on alcohol itself was raised to 220 francs per hectolitre. The Senate, without attempting to modify the proposals of the bill, passed it a few days later.

There was thus no further obstacle to the discussion of the Amnesty Bill in the Chamber, except such as were introduced in the course of the sittings. On the opening day (Dec. 13), MM. Bernard, Lasies and others were the leaders of the noisy section, and they managed to prolong the proceedings for a couple of days. At length (Dec. 17), M. Waldeck-Rousseau mounted the tribune to repeat once more the arguments by which he had already supported the bill, declaring that the Dreyfus affair was the hogwash necessary to keep Nationalism alive. At length after continued obstruction had prolonged the sitting until the early hours of the morning (Dec. 19), the longest sitting of recent parliamentary annals in France, the bill was forced through the weary Chamber. The amnesty as adopted included (1) all offences against the press, public meetings and association laws; (2) all acts connected with strikes and labour disputes; (3) the incendiaries of the Church of St. Joseph; and (4) the deserters and offenders against martial law.

After this outburst the Chamber addressed itself once more to the estimates, and devoted the remainder of its sittings until the close of the year to this useful but ungrateful task. This zeal, however, was insufficient to bring them to the discussion of Ways and Means or Finance Bill, so that it was found necessary to vote a month's expenses on account. The Senate accepted without demur the Amnesty Bill as presented, and passed it together with the bill regulating the sale of alcoholic liquors. This last-named law, which was to come into force on the first day of the new century, effected a complete revolution in the habits of the people by suppressing summarily in every town of France the entrance duties which weighed so heavily upon all wine, beer and cider introduced, and which had as a consequence favoured the consumption of alcoholic drinks to the exclusion of less harmful beverages. It would be needful, it was admitted, to find some means by which the deficit in the revenue thus caused would be made good, but the importance of the reform still remained. As the result showed its application, scarcely less than the amnesty itself, had a pacifying effect on public opinion, and contributed greatly to strengthen the Republic and the popularity of the President.

II. ITALY.

The century did not close auspiciously for parliamentary government in Italy. The Ministry, violently attacked by both Ultramontanes and Socialists, weakly defended by its supporters and badly served by its agents, showed itself incapable, notwithstanding its majority, of ensuring freedom of speech in the Chambers, or, notwithstanding its laws and its

police agents, of protecting the life of the Sovereign. By turns violent and yielding its efforts were equally futile. Beginning with the scandals of the Mafia, which attested the social degradation of the urban populations of Sicily, the year closed with the widespread strikes at Genoa, which showed how dissatisfied with their lot were the industrial classes of Northern Italy.

The Minister of War, General Mirri, having been called to give evidence in the Notarbartolo trial, took occasion to speak of the consideration shown by the magistracy for the Mafia. This statement aroused the anger of the former *procuratore* of Palermo, Sgr. Venturini, who forthwith published a number of letters showing that the general himself had at one time been forced to come to terms with that mysterious and formidable association. There could be no doubt of the authenticity of the documents, and the outcry which followed was so loud that the Minister was forced to resign.

In order to draw away public attention from this scandal the Government found nothing better at hand than to drop hints of an alliance with England for the purpose of garrisoning Egypt with Italian troops. Nobody took this ingenious suggestion seriously, and its only result was to confuse home politics still more. It was understood that a Ministry obliged to reckon with Parliament would be defenceless against the Mafia, for nearly all the deputies from the southern provinces were under the influence of that society, and moreover they were not only in a majority, but they attended with greater regularity than the deputies from the north. Consequently legislation was in their hands. To add to the confusion, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Sgr. di San Julianò, was denounced as being affiliated to the Mafia, and finally the Milan Court of Assize postponed (Jan. 17) *sine die* the Notarbartolo trial on the pretext of making further investigations.

On the same day seven generals and twenty colonels were summarily retired by royal ordinance, thereby giving rise to warlike rumours, which were strengthened by certain untoward incidents on the French frontier. On the ground that smallpox was raging at Marseilles, the Italian sanitary authorities applied for authorisation to stop all persons from that city entering Italy without a certificate from the Italian Consul to the effect that they had been recently vaccinated. This order especially affected the numerous pilgrims who on account of the Holy Year were flocking to Rome to attend the *fêtes* at the Vatican and at St. Peter's. The detention of hundreds of these pilgrims at the frontier aroused the wrath of the Ultramontanes, who at once saw in the sanitary precautions a deliberate insult offered to the Holy Father. As a matter of fact the restrictions caused but little inconvenience, and in no way stopped the flow of pilgrims who, after disinfection, were allowed to pursue their devotions without interference.

Rome, however, was far more tranquil than Naples, where

the Camorra, a powerful association, had managed to get possession of most of the important public posts. At the same time a squabble arose between the professors of the university and the Government. The faculty of medicine accused Dr. Baccelli, deputy and Minister of Public Instruction, of exercising the prerogatives of his office with too great rigour. The students took part with their teachers, and serious disorders ensued, ending in the closing of the university by the Government.

In Parliament matters were even worse. The Ministry brought forward a Bill of Indemnity for having lengthened the parliamentary recess by decree and carried on the Government without the Chambers. The Extreme Left talked of resorting to its usual tactics of preventing by noise and obstruction a vote being taken. The constitutional Opposition was in favour of a milder course. Sgr. Giolitti entreated his allies of the Extreme Left not to move the previous question, but to allow the bill to come up for debate. He urged that the country knew the feelings of its representatives, and that it knew also those who after fifty years of parliamentary life would allow the constitution to be violated. Sgr. di Rudini also declared against the proposal, and the leader of the Extremists, Sgr. Pantano, promised that the debate should be entered upon.

The first clause of the decree had limited the right of public meeting. The debate at its opening (March 10) was somewhat hampered by a speech from Sgr. di Rudini, who, whilst opposed to the principle, could not approve of obstruction. But he spoke in vain, for the more violent, as usual, soon got out of hand, and, after a fortnight's noisy discussion, not a line of the bill had passed. It was in vain that the majority obediently supported the Government and prolonged the sittings—each week holding two morning sittings; the obstructionists held their ground. Every prominent deputy of the Left rose to defend the right of meeting, and each speech occupied the whole sitting. It was in vain that the Ministry evoked the spectre of a dissolution, or that the President broke his bell in his efforts to preserve order. The debate made no progress.

At this juncture, Sgr. Cambray-Digny and fourteen members of the majority proposed a resolution to the effect that the Committee of Procedure should draw up a scheme for ensuring means to preserve order and decency in the conduct of parliamentary debates. Their proposals should, when presented, be accepted provisionally without debate. This was applying to the Chamber a measure equivalent to the Decree Law recently applied to the country. Sgr. Giolitti and di Rudini at once protested (March 22) against the resolution as the abdication of Parliament. The leader of the obstructionists, Sgr. Pantano spoke through an entire sitting against it, so that the object but not the character was changed. The poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, shifted his seat to the extreme Left because, as he said, it was on that side of the Chamber there was life; that there was

liveliness there, no one doubted. In vain, President Colombo attempted to patch up a truce by mutual explanations, and appealed to the leaders of the Opposition, Sgrì, Giolitti, di Rudini, Zanardelli and Biancheri, to allow the House to come to a vote. These deputies insisted as a primary condition that Sgrì Cambray-Digny's resolution should be withdrawn. This not having been conceded, the struggle continued, and on Sgrì Pantano rising to speak, March 27, the President accorded the right to another speaker. The extreme Left thereupon raised a tumult in the Chamber which put a stop to further proceedings, and what was worse the disorder generated in Parliament spread to the universities which were torn by political factions, and to the streets where the crowds shouted with as little sense as their deputies.

At length after another week the Government thought fit to make concessions. General Feiloulx moved (March 29) the postponement of the Cambray-Digny resolution until after the report of the Procedure Committee had been presented. This was promptly adopted, and the Easter holidays temporarily suspended further hostilities.

The country, however, had been thrown into a state of agitation by these squabbles in Parliament, and would take no interest in quiet useful topics such as an inquiry into the best mode of dealing with economic problems, treaties of commerce, internal revenue and the like. At the same time the severe measures taken by the police against the Anarchists and the *Mafiosi*, so far from allaying alarm stimulated it, and when the Chamber reassembled (May 15) the disturbances began afresh. Three days later, President Colombo resigned, and almost immediately afterwards a decree appeared dissolving Parliament. This was perhaps almost the first occasion in the history of parliamentary Government of a Ministry commanding a majority of at least 300 votes finding itself reduced to impotence by a handful of noisy opponents, and forced to have recourse to a dissolution.

The extreme Left, however, was not taken unawares. In anticipation of some such act, its members had appointed a sub-committee of three to superintend the elections. To this committee were affiliated sub-committees in each province whose duty it was to find candidates for the Opposition and to support them in every place which offered the remotest chance of success. Sgrì Zanardelli moreover called together the members of the constitutional Opposition and arranged for the appointment of a permanent Electoral Committee to watch over election proceedings and to see that freedom of voting was everywhere secured.

Under these conditions, the elections were not likely to be decided on the merits. The passions of all parties were kindled, and when the polling day arrived the rival groups attacked one another. The extreme Left had no fewer than

235 candidates, who were made up of 115 Socialists, fifty Republicans and seventy-five Radicals. The Constitutional Opposition, which might be compared to the old Whig party in England, patronised 180 candidates, whilst the Government anxious to promote tranquillity rather than to provoke tumult abstained from putting forward official candidates in upwards of 100 districts. General Pelloux, in his electoral address, whilst attempting to identify the cause of the Government with that of the Monarchy, posed as the defender of the rights of the majority and of parliamentary institutions. To this Sgr. Zanardelli replied by a manifesto, in which he claimed Mirabeau and Sir Robert Peel as his guides in dealing with factious opposition and unreasoning obstruction, at the same time asserting his devotion to the principles of the *Risorgimento*. Sgr. Giolitti and Biancheri adopted a similar line, but openly declared themselves against the Government. This attitude of the most trusted leaders of the traditional Opposition was not without its effect upon the country at large. The Government had hoped and intended that the sole issue before the country should be the need of modifying the rules of procedure, but by hurrying on the elections they had prevented their nominees from making themselves known to the electors, and thereby had weakened the authority of the Monarchy.

It was therefore not surprising that the results of the elections should be unfavourable to the Ministry. The most significant and untoward blow was the defection (June 3) of the whole of Upper Italy, which threw in its lot with the Opposition, Turin even following the general current. The extreme Left doubled the number of its partisans, but these were almost exclusively gained from the Constitutional Opposition. The fight had been carried on with extreme keenness, and few scruples, for at Turin, for example, where a Ministerialist had won the seat by six votes against a Socialist, ten votes were found in the ballot box in excess of the total number of voters.

The King on opening Parliament (June 16) adopted a somewhat melancholy tone in his speech. "It is my duty," he said, "to defend the institutions of the country against every danger which might threaten them." But the deputies to whom this warning was specially addressed were not present to listen to it, for they had resolved not to attend the opening ceremony. The first trial of strength in the new Chamber took place over the election of the President, on which occasion the Ministerial candidate, Sgr. Gallo defeated by 242 to 214 votes (and nine blanks) Sgr. Biancheri, the Opposition nominee. This narrow result was significant of the critical position in which the Ministry found itself, for the fantastic classification of parties by means of which it was explained away deceived no one.

Sgr. Gallo, however, did not observe the rigid refusal to take an active political part which had been the rule of his

predecessor in the Presidential chair. He at once opened up negotiations with the leaders of the several parliamentary groups, and as in the composition of permanent committees, especially in that dealing with procedure, he had a controlling power, he undertook to specially recognise the claims of the extremists. It was therefore settled that a committee of fifteen, of whom three were Socialists, should draw up new rules of procedure, and in return the Opposition undertook to give fair consideration to any equitable proposals, but reserved the right to withhold any concessions on points which limited the freedom of speech in Parliament.

The terms, however, were such that the Ministry decided to remain in office no longer, and General Pelloux laid (June 19) its resignation before the King, after having held office through thirteen stormy months. With its fall, however, the policy of stern repression was doomed, and Sgr. Sarocco was commissioned to form a Cabinet of milder policy.

After an unusually short interval, Sgr. Sarocco was able (June 24) to submit a list which comprised a few members of the outgoing Cabinet: the Marquis Visconti Venosta took Foreign Affairs; Sgr. Sarocco, the Home Office, with the Presidency of the Council; Sgr. Gallo, Public Instruction; General Ponza di San Martino, War Office; Vice-Admiral Morin, the Admiralty; Sgr. Rubini, the Treasury; Sgr. Cimini, the Finances; and Sgr. Gianturco, Justice and Public Worship, which he had previously held under both Sgr. Giolitti and the Marquis di Rudini.

The Cabinet was one of conciliation and of deference to parliamentary opinion, as was seen by the election of the President. The leaders of the old Constitutional Opposition, Mgr. Zanardelli, Giolitti and Coppino, put forward Sgr. Villa as their candidate, who was accepted by the Government and elected by 304 votes against 79 blank papers. The extreme Left at once seized the opportunity to demand from the President a formal promise that Sgr. Colombo's draconian rules of procedure should be dropped. The Government stood aloof from the debate, and the Chamber passed (July 1) without opposition a set of rules which were declared to be definitive. The former majority, numbering 200 members, consented out of regard for the Ministry not to oppose the proposals, although Mgr. Bonanno remarked that the new rules merely confirmed the powerlessness of the President to intervene, and that consequently the extreme Left might whenever it pleased resume its obstructive tactics. For the moment, however, the extremists were satisfied with their success, especially as the Government showed little desire to introduce any serious legislative measures. A vote on account for six months was granted without demur, as it was too late to undertake the discussion

of the Budget, and a Treaty of Commerce with the United States was ratified (July 6) by a large majority. On this occa-

sion, in reply to Sgr. Nocito's request for information as to the protection accorded to Italians by the Federal Government, the Marquis Visconti Venosta stated that, at the request of the King's Government, two bills dealing with the subject had been laid before Congress. A few days later (July 9) Parliament was prorogued, and on the formal farewell visit of the chief members to the Quirinal King Humbert congratulated them upon the restoration of order and tranquillity in the Assembly.

The recess which opened thus peacefully was destined to be rudely disturbed. A few unimportant disturbances in the northern provinces, caused by the high price of bread, were met as far as possible by the sale of corn from the military stores to such municipalities as should apply. At Milan, the Municipal Council, composed almost wholly of Socialists, refused to attend at the railway station when the King passed through on his way to Monza. But little notice was taken of this incident which was regarded as only a proof of bad taste or bad manners; neither the police nor the Government saw in it any cause for alarm, and no extra precautions were taken. As he was returning from a local *fête* to his palace at Monza King Humbert was assassinated by the anarchist Bresci.

This crime, conceived in America and executed under circumstances which were never cleared up, aroused indignation throughout the entire kingdom. The Prince of Naples, who had recently started on a cruise in the Eastern Mediterranean, hurried home, where he was everywhere received with the marks of popular respect and sympathy. Investigations subsequently showed disgraceful neglect of duty on the part of officials especially charged with the safety of the Sovereign. The formidable array of laws against the anarchists had proved useless, for the assassin had been able to move about the country without hindrance and to arrange his plans without the knowledge of the police. The Sarocco Ministry might well have been called to account for its incredible carelessness and incapacity, but the new King thought it more fitting to retain in office the Ministry which his father had approved.

On arriving in Rome the new King announced his accession in a manifesto marked by great feeling, but throwing little light upon his intentions. He took the title of Victor Emmanuel II., and, in accepting the heritage of his father, declared "that solidarity of thought and affection has been, and always will be, the strongest bulwark of my kingdom, and the best guarantee of the unity of the country which is summed up in the august name, '*Roma intangibile*.'"

Never, perhaps, had a prince a finer opportunity of obtaining a durable popularity by discerning the ills from which his people were suffering, and by profiting by the emotion aroused by his father's assassination to carry out rapidly the indispensable reforms. Unfortunately the general elections were only just over, and although they had been held under unsatisfactory

conditions and upon the narrow issue of the Decree Law, it was thought that a fresh appeal to the nation would be imprudent, and the King had to pay the penalty of being surrounded by men who had grown old and listless in the royal service. The Chambers assembled Aug. 11, for the purpose of receiving the King's oath and declaration to loyally respect the Constitution, to exercise the royal prerogative only in accordance with the law, to render justice between each and all, and to act at all times solely to the maintenance of the interests, the prosperity and the honour of the nation. After this ceremony the young King devoted himself assiduously to learning his own duties, without actively interfering with those of his Ministers, except so far as attending the Council meetings, to receive their reports, or to approve such a proposal as that of the Queen-De-wager's pension.

Unfortunately the liberty of action thus left to the Ministry was employed in ways least suited to strengthen the royal authority, or to bring classes into greater harmony. A number of poor wretches, more or less vaguely incriminated, were summarily arrested and clapped into prison, vivandees who had irritated the local authorities and tradesmen denounced by their debtors or their rivals, were alike subjected to the harassing intrusions of the police; officials of humble rank were dismissed or transferred, and the acts of those of greater importance were subjected to more or less formal inquiries.

The trial of the regicide Bresci was sent to the Court of Assize and not to a High Court, by which it would have been dealt with as a political crime, the sole ground for the decision being that the assassination was thereby placed in the category of those offences for which the extradition of accomplices from foreign countries might be demanded. In the present case, however, no accomplices were discovered, and Bresci throughout the proceedings asserted that he acted alone, and alone he was condemned Aug. 29 to perpetual imprisonment *ergastolo*, the death penalty having been done away with in Italy.

The King's assassination, which might have led to the establishment of kinder feelings between the Vatican and the Quirinal, was turned to a very different purpose. Queen Margherita, in her deep sorrow, had composed a beautiful prayer which she invited those who sympathised with her grief to recite. The ecclesiastical authorities of the Vatican to expressly forbid the introduction of the prayer into the liturgy, even temporarily, and a few days later Aug. 24 the Holy See renewed its formal protest against the usurpation of the King of Italy.

Unhappily there were other and more serious protests which awoke far wider sympathy. Low wages were everywhere arousing popular discontent. At Messina the workers in the rice fields appealed to the President of the Council to arbitrate between themselves and the landowners. Sgt. Sarocco declined

the task, and his refusal was seized upon by the Socialists as evidence of his indifference. At the annual congress of the party the leaders were able to congratulate the members on the result of the discipline maintained. In Parliament they were represented by thirty-three deputies, the votes cast by the party throughout the country had risen from 13,000 in 1895 to 68,600 in 1900. At the same time the party had not grown so rapidly without developing some rifts. One of its members, an office bearer in the Chamber, had officially taken part in the funeral obsequies of the late King, and for this was censured by a section of the congress, and from this small beginning arose a general cleavage, one party wishing to devote all its strength to gaining seats, the other wishing to place its representatives in Ministerial office. A new managing committee was elected, consisting of Sgr. Costa, Ferri, Rigola, Parpagnoli, Giustini, Lollini, Soldi and Faggi, who were further delegated to represent the Italian proletariat at the international Socialist congress in Paris. It was noteworthy that alone among the statesmen of Europe Sgr. Sonnino sounded a note of alarm, and in an article which appeared in the *Nuova Antologia*, a monthly review, of the highest merit, he appealed to Liberals of all shades and in every country to agree amongst themselves unless they wished to be overwhelmed by the Socialists, just as the Conservatives would be swallowed up by the Clericals. The examples of France and Belgium were ready to his hand to support his warnings, which, however, for the most part fell on deaf ears.

It was a far easier matter to preach concord than to bring it about. Sgr. Giolitti was quite prepared to consent to a coalition provided that he was to be its centre. He undertook the initiative by forming a group of followers who purchased for 2,500,000 lire *La Tribuna*, which was to become the organ of the new national party, but beyond this the movement hardly progressed. The Ministry was even less able to decide upon a policy, for the more frequent were its meetings the more evident was the schism between the Ministers of the Treasury and of Finance, on the one side, and those of the War Office, Admiralty and Public Works, on the other. Meanwhile the King in his retirement at Capo di Monte was arranging his father's papers and devising radical economies in the royal household.

Reforms, however, were even more pressingly needed in other quarters. At the Vatican itself peculation was rife, which at length culminated in a flagrant act of robbery. The Roman police and magistracy were placed at the disposal of the Holy Father; but the offer to search out the guilty persons was declined, nominally on the ground that such compliance would seem to recognise the Italian authority. At Naples the deputy, Sgr. Casale, having been accused of peculation by the journal, *La Propaganda*, was forced to defend himself by an action for

libel. The Public Prosecutor pledged his word for the strictly honourable conduct of his client, Sgr. Casale, and asked for substantial damages, notwithstanding the fact that the most convincing proofs of his dishonesty had been brought out by the trial. The newspaper was acquitted, whereupon the counsel which had appeared for it telegraphed to the Public Prosecutor: "You ought to quit the profession of which you are no longer worthy to be a member." As a result of the trial Sgr. Casale resigned his seat, and proceedings were taken against him. The revelations which were made at the trial showed that the majority of the Municipal Council of Naples were members of the Camorra, and the Government had the courage to summarily dissolve the body. The young King gave expression to a widespread feeling when he declared that "the great evil of Italy is that nobody does his duty."

It was under the shadow of gloom and discouragement that the winter session of Parliament opened (Nov. 22), and the very first sitting was marred by an untoward incident. Admiral Morin, the Minister of Marine, having occasion to congratulate the Italian squadron on its brilliant performances in China, added: "We must also congratulate our soldiers for not having been guilty of acts of violence such as those going on beside them." At these words, which might easily have been applied to Germany, the Marquis Visconti Venosta, rose and quietly led his colleague away, and care was taken that the words should not be recorded in the official reports.

The Minister of Finance was happily able to throw a little gleam of hope upon the dull outlook. He hoped that the State would be able to lower the stamp duties on the transfer of land, either by sale or inheritance, and, moreover, in cases where the claim was under 25 lire that it was not intended to enforce the law, which enabled the tax collector to sell the goods of taxpayers in arrears. A few days later the Minister of the Treasury, Sgr. Rubini, made his financial statement. The service of the year 1899-1900 (the Italian financial year ending June 30) had closed with an increase of 5,000,000 lire (200,000*l.*) on the receipts, arising from the improved returns of the railways, Post Office and Customs. On the other hand, the additional expenditure consequent upon the Chinese expedition and the reduction of the duties on sugar and coffee foreshadowed a deficiency of about 19,000,000 lire (760,000*l.*) on the current year, but this deficit might be converted into a surplus if the 4½ per cent. stock was converted into a 4 per cent. security, a very legitimate operation in view of the fact that Italian savings absorbed on an average annually about 150,000,000 lire of the external debt. On the motion of the President of the Council the financial proposals of the Government were referred to a committee of fifteen members, whose report, however, was scarcely favourable to the Government. Before it was presented, Sgr. Sarocco sustained a serious check in his first

encounter with Parliament. An interpellation on the assassination of King Humbert forced him to admit (Nov. 26) that the measures taken to insure the King's safety were inadequate, the police were insufficient and the officials incapable, but he hinted as an extenuating circumstance that the sore of anarchy was not confined to Italy. This way of throwing upon subordinates a responsibility which rested on the Ministry was not only wanting in dignity but a confession of weakness. Sgr. Sciacca della Scala at once seized upon it to move a vote of want of confidence; but the Ministry avoided a debate by appealing to the Chamber to first vote the Budget.

Before arriving at this, a general discussion was raised (Dec. 4) on the programme of the Government. The President of the Council strenuously denied the rumours of dissension in the Cabinet, promised to make reductions in the War Office expenditure, and declared that the Government would neither allow the power of the State to be weakened nor would it fail to carry out his promises, but would steadily defend the institutions of the country by the law and within the law. Sgr. Giolitti replied by pointing out the inconsistencies of the Ministerial policy, but the Chamber allowed the matter to drop without coming to a vote.

The first serious blow to the Ministry was delivered by the Budget Committee which negatived by a majority of three the Government proposal relating to the mercantile marine. But this check was alleviated by the defeat (Dec. 11), by 196 to 37 votes, of the motion by the Socialist, Sgr. Bovio, to recall the Italian troops from China. A far more serious struggle arose on the proposal of the Government to prolong the circulation of bank notes. On this point the Budget Commission, acting under the influence of the great banking firms, were at variance with the Minister of the Treasury. After an entire day given to the discussion (Dec. 18) the Budget Committee urged that there was not time to properly examine the question, and suggested its postponement until after the New Year, meanwhile approving those clauses which prolonged for a year the circulation of the notes. Sgr. Rubini, however, would not consent to this, and thereupon tendered his resignation (Dec. 20), and his colleague, Sgr. Cimini temporarily took over his portfolio, but it was felt that the Ministry was in a critical condition. A serious strike at Genoa among the dock labourers, aggravated by the incapacity of the prefect, forced the Government to supersede him, but this step failed to produce immediate tranquillity, and the year closed as it had opened with a general feeling of uneasiness and disquiet.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I. GERMANY.

THE year 1900 was a busy one for Germany, both at home and abroad. There were many interesting debates in Parliament on questions of internal policy, and during the second half of the year public attention was almost entirely absorbed by the war in China. The Emperor, as usual, was the most prominent figure in the country, and he took the occasion of the rededication of the flags and standards of the Guards to make a speech in which he compared the present condition of Germany with that of Prussia at the beginning of the century, and laid stress on the necessity of her having a stronger Navy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, he said, their country had suffered a great disaster. The glorious army of Frederick the Great was slumbering on its laurels. Its generals had become old and inefficient, its officers incapable. Self-indulgence and self-glorification prevailed, and the real duties of an army were forgotten. The punishment which followed was crushing; but in its seven years of servitude under the heel of the oppressor the nation had learned its lesson, and had itself evolved from its own consciousness the sublime conception that the greatest honour to which men could aspire was to bear arms in the service of their country. The great revival and reorganisation of the Army was begun by Frederick William III., but the work as it had ultimately been achieved was due to the assiduous labours of the great Emperor William I., who had not allowed himself to be distracted from his great task by unintelligent opposition. Reorganised in accordance with his ideas the Army had achieved a series of victories which had surpassed all expectation. By means of the Army William I. had united the German races, and had vindicated for his country its rightful place in the council of the nations. It was now for the officers of the Army to maintain its efficiency by zealous work, by simplicity of living, and by absolute devotion to the interests of the service. For his own part, the Emperor continued, he was determined to see that the Navy should likewise be reorganised and strengthened, so that it might one day take its place by the side of the Army, and might secure for Germany abroad that position which had not yet been attained. In this endeavour he would allow nothing to disconcert or distract him.

In February, at a banquet given on the return from China of his brother, Prince Henry, he further declared that "the German people with its princes and its Emperor, was preparing to forge itself an arm with which the black, white and red flag would to all eternity at home and abroad maintain the dignity of the Empire."

This speech was followed by the issue of the new Navy Bill, which had been promised at the end of the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 279), together with an *exposé des motifs* which dealt with the eventualities which might arise if Germany were involved in a war with a more powerful naval adversary. German ports could, it stated, be more easily blockaded than those of any other country. In a war with a superior naval adversary the fleet contemplated in the last Navy Act could render a blockade difficult, but could never prevent it. German mercantile shipping on all seas would be at the mercy of a superior adversary. The enemy's cruisers on the chief trade routes from the Skager Rak to the Suez Canal and the Cape of Good Hope could make German navigation almost impossible. It was not absolutely necessary that the German Navy should be as strong as that of the greatest naval Power, for a great naval Power would in general not be able to concentrate its whole strength against them. But even if such a Power succeeded in meeting Germany in very superior strength it would be so seriously weakened by having had to beat a strong German fleet that, in spite of its victory, that Power's own position would not in the immediate sequel be secured by the possession of an adequate fleet.

To this *exposé* was attached an appendix on the foreign trade of Germany, showing that it had increased in value between 1896 and 1898 by 16 per cent., and had attained the sum of ten milliards of marks. Seventy per cent. of the whole foreign trade was carried by sea, as against 66 per cent. in 1894. The number of ships that visited German ports had increased, and there had been a great development in the coasting trade since the opening of the Baltic Canal.

The bill was introduced in the German Parliament on February 8 by Admiral Tirpitz, the Secretary for the Imperial Marine. He urged that it was absolutely necessary for the protection of German harbours and German commerce that Germany should possess two double squadrons of battleships, with their complements of cruisers and torpedo boats. The difference between the naval strength of Germany and that of other Powers was such that the Government regarded their inferiority at sea as a danger, which was increased by the prospect of intensified commercial rivalry among the nations. The uncertainty of the development of German foreign relations must also be taken into account. "We do not know what adversary we may have to face. We shall, therefore, have to arm with a view to facing the most dangerous naval conflict possible." Dealing with the dangers of a blockade, Admiral Tirpitz maintained that, even if the blockade could be broken, "we could not man the prizes we might take without denuding our own vessels of their necessary crews, and the prizes would probably never reach German ports. Moreover, while we were coaling, the enemy would resume the blockade of our coasts. If,

however, we have a strong fighting fleet of battleships, the enemy will have to beat us at sea before he can establish a blockade. Our enemy would in such circumstances probably prefer to come to an arrangement with us if we had a strong fighting fleet."

Admiral Tirpitz further insisted upon the advantage of the new scheme which provided two complete fighting fleets operating independently. But the Reichstag might still have to consider whether the doubling of the fleet would be enough to meet all possible dangers. The amount required to be raised by loans up to the year 1920 would be 800,000,000 marks, or a yearly average of 40,000,000 marks, which was no more than the amount of the estimates for the year 1900 for naval purposes. If an increase in the revenue were necessary it would be met by imposing direct taxation and not by taxing articles of universal consumption. The Government, notwithstanding the adoption of the sexennate two years previously, felt it was now necessary to make new demands and to do so in the form of a bill enacting a scheme of construction which covered a long series of years.

The admiral's speech was very unfavourably received by the Clericals and the Radical Left, who criticised it chiefly on account of the heavy expenditure which the proposed increase of the fleet would involve. The Social Democrats, too, held a number of public meetings to protest against the bill, and their ablest leader, Herr Bebel, declared in the House that the object of the Government was to create a fleet capable of coping with that of England, and that a conflict with England would be the greatest misfortune which could befall Germany, as France and Russia would wait until she had exhausted her strength and then fall upon her. England, he added, was the natural ally of Germany, and the relations between German and English trade were of the closest and most friendly description. Replying to Herr Bebel, Admiral Tirpitz stated that it was the object of the Government to create a fleet that could keep the North Sea open. He regarded the development of the shipbuilding industry as of great importance, 30 per cent. of German trading vessels being still built abroad. The Government held strongly the view that other countries should have their ships of war constructed by German firms, and added that the view that a conflict with England would be the greatest misfortune for Germany was that not only of Herr Bebel but of the Federated Governments and of the whole German people. "But I cannot see what it has to do with the increase in the strength of the Navy."

The bill was then referred to the Budget Committee. It approved the imposition of a stamp duty on mining shares, the doubling of the stamp duty on lottery tickets, a stamp duty on bills of lading for goods from foreign ports, increases of the duty on foreign champagne, foreign spirits and foreign beer, and a

stamp duty on sea passengers' tickets, in order to cover the proposed increase in the naval expenditure. It also rejected the Government proposal to increase the number of cruisers to be employed on stations abroad, thereby reducing the proposed expenditure by 390,000,000 marks, but it approved the provision of two double squadrons, each of seventeen battleships, with the necessary complement of cruisers. The bill, as thus amended by the committee, was passed by a majority of 201 to 103 on June 12 (the extreme parties of the left only voting against it), after the Foreign Secretary, Count von Bülow, had made a statement as to the objects of German policy to the committee. He said that any aggressive tendencies were foreign to German policy, the object of which was, on the one hand, to maintain peace, and, on the other, to preserve the dignity of the Empire. To that end, not only diplomatic circumspection, but also an adequate measure of material power was necessary. Since Prince Bismarck considered a small fleet sufficient circumstances had considerably changed. Germany's trade and her industrial and transoceanic interests had developed, the areas of political friction were extended. The difference between the present situation and the position of affairs which existed at that time was shown by the fact that the United States have abandoned their former paths and made themselves stronger at sea. British policy also was under the influence of the ideas of Adam Smith and John Bright and followed the principle of non-intervention. At the present time the Imperialist current in England was gaining ground more and more. One of the principal objects of German policy was the maintenance of good relations with all the Powers on the basis of the fullest reciprocity and mutual consideration. Official relations were in every way the best possible, but the days of "Cabinet policy" were past, and popular passion was becoming more and more an influential factor. For that reason an increase in Germany's material resources was indispensable for assuring peace. In this connection the Foreign Secretary also made an interesting speech on the development of the German mercantile marine on the occasion of the launching of the *Deutschland*, a new boat for the Hamburg-America line, on January 10. The Hamburg-America line, he said, was founded in 1847 with a capital of 550,000 marks; its capital was now 65,000,000 marks, and it employed 9,000 persons. The Vulcan Shipbuilding Company, whose beginnings were equally modest, now gave employment to 8,000 workmen; it built all types of vessels for the German and other Governments, from torpedo boats to the biggest battleships, and from river steamboats to ocean liners. The enterprise of the old Hanseatic League had decayed because it was not backed by adequate Imperial power. Germany had deserted the sea. For three centuries the Germans had been like Peter in their old fairy tale, who shuddered at the idea of crossing the ocean. The Germans, who had formerly colonised

distant lands, had brought civilisation to barbarians, and "had covered the globe with their factories," ceased to be in the vanguard of the seafaring nations. By the labours of William I. and his "immortal counsellors," and by the self-sacrificing patriotism of all races and classes of the nation, Germany had re-established her political unity. It was only then that the country remembered the old Hanseatic saying, "My field is the world"; it was only then that Germany entered upon the theatre of *Weltpolitik*.

The present policy of Germany beyond the seas, Count von Bülow continued, arose from her mighty economic development, which, again, was a consequence of the establishment of the Empire. When once German industry had won its place in the markets of the world German foreign policy had to follow in its footsteps. At the present time they felt more and more that a nation which allowed itself to be elbowed off the seas would have to take its place as a supernumerary in the background while others played a great part on the world's stage. Between the years 1860 and 1897 German trade had increased in value from two and a half milliards of marks to eight and a half milliards; during the last thirty years the tonnage of the German mercantile marine had been multiplied fifteen times over; and Germany now occupied the second place among the commercial and seafaring nations. It was, therefore, necessary that she should be strong enough at sea to maintain "German peace, German honour, and German prosperity all the world over." No obstacle would daunt them. With courage, constancy and energy they would press on towards the goal of their endeavours.

The next important measure introduced by the Government in the German Parliament was a bill for the purpose of preventing the sale of diseased meat. The agricultural interest, which commands a large majority in the House, composed chiefly of Conservative and Clerical members, strove to enlarge the scope of this bill by prohibiting the importation of foreign meat altogether, instead of submitting it to inspection as proposed by the Government. An amendment to this effect was passed in committee, and carried in the House by a majority of 168 to 99. The Government, however, declined to accept this amendment on the ground that foreign Powers would retaliate and thereby inflict a heavy blow on German trade. The Radicals and Social Democrats also opposed it, fearing that its effect would be to seriously raise the cost of living among the poorer classes. Ultimately a compromise was arranged under which the importation of sausages and tinned meats was totally prohibited, and severe restrictions were imposed on the importation of fresh and pickled meat, and the bill as thus amended was passed on May 23 by a vote of 168 to 123.

Another bill, which led to great controversy was the Lex Heineke (after the name of its author), a bill deal-

ing with questions of public morals, which the Clericals tried to render more severe by restrictions on the sale and exposure of books and works of art of an objectionable character, and by subjecting theatrical and other entertainments to stricter supervision. These amendments were opposed by the Radicals and the Social Democrats, supported by a strong agitation outside the Reichstag. The centre party endeavoured to force the bill through, and thereby provoked scenes of obstruction unprecedented in the parliamentary history of Germany. The Clericals and the Radicals, however, eventually came to a compromise by which the bill, with its amendments, was dropped and another bill was passed rapidly through the House. The new bill, which in all other respects was identical with the old one, omitted the paragraphs affecting art and literature which had roused so much opposition.

In the Prussian Parliament, which was opened in February, the chief subject of debate was a bill for imposing special taxation on shops engaged in retail trade on a large scale. Under this bill all firms dealing in more than one of four categories of goods and with an annual turnover of more than 500,000 marks were subjected to a progressive tax varying in amount from $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 2 per cent. of the turnover, the percentage to be paid increasing with every 50,000 marks turnover up to 1,000,000 marks. A firm doing a business of 1,000,000 marks per annum would pay 20,000 marks. All business above this would be taxed at the rate of 2 per cent. of their turnover. The four categories of goods defined were: (1) Groceries, provisions, tobacco, drugs, etc.; (2) clothing, drapery, linen, etc.; (3) household and cooking utensils, glass goods, furniture, etc.; (4) precious metals, objects of art, fancy articles, stationery, tools and instruments, hardware, arms, etc. Firms dealing in only one of these categories would not be subject to the new tax, no matter how great their turnover may be, nor were corporations and registered supply associations affected.

The bill was passed at the end of June, and in a speech addressed to the Central Committee of the Societies of Independent Tradesmen the Minister of Finance, Dr. von Miquel, stated that the primary object of the bill was to make the great retail stores bear their fair share of the burden of taxation. But at the same time it would be of help to the *mittelstand*, or the class of independent shopkeepers and small tradesmen. The extension of the store system would be delayed, if not altogether prevented, and the small tradesmen would have time to organise themselves more effectually.

Some sensation was created by a speech delivered in June at Munich by the Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria at a meeting of the Canal Society. The Empire, he said, which so largely subsidised the great steamship companies, should also do something for the canal navigation companies in which Bavarian interests were concerned. He repudiated the idea that it was

a favour for Bavaria to belong to the German Empire. "The German Empire has been welded together with Bavarian blood just as much as with the blood of any other German race. We, therefore, claim to be on an equality with other Germans, and not as inferior members of the family." At a reception given at Moscow to the German princes who had come to be present at the coronation of the Czar he had expressed a similar view, pointing out with great emphasis that the members of the sovereign houses of Germany were in no respect the vassals of the German Emperor.

On July 30 Duke Alfred of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha died at Castle Rosenau. The semi-official *North German Gazette* observed on this occasion that though the late duke had received the education of an English prince, he had zealously devoted himself to the duties of a German sovereign after ascending the throne of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, and that his loss was regarded with sincere sympathy in the other federated States of Germany. As the late duke had died before his successor, the young Duke of Albany, had attained the age of twenty-one, the Government of the Duchy was, by the law regulating the succession which had been passed in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 274), vested in the Hereditary Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, the late duke's son-in-law.

At the annual congress of the Social Democratic party, which took place at Mainz in September, further evidence was given of the growing tendency of the Social Democrats to thrust into the background the theoretical and revolutionary portions of their programme and to transform the party into a labour party bent on practical social reforms. The death of Herr Liebknecht had removed the strongest opponent of compromise, and the general feeling of the congress was in favour of adopting an opportunist policy. A motion was accordingly adopted for raising the salary of one of the agents of the party, Herr Fischer, the manager of the bookselling department of the Socialist organisation in Berlin, who had been offered 1,000 marks more a year if he would transfer himself to the Leipzig offices of the party.

Several ladies who were present at the congress next protested against their exclusion from certain positions in the Socialist organisation, although the official party programme proclaims the absolute equality of the sexes. To this the male members of the congress replied that the political women of the party were not content to be elected on committees as ordinary representatives of both sexes on equal terms, but laid claim to a special position on the ground that they should represent their fellow-women. The best women, it was added, were content that their husbands should take an active part in politics, and on the other hand, the women were not naturally qualified to take part in public life. The ideal was that children should be brought up by their mothers, and the cooking be done in the kitchen.

public kitchens, and all women be compelled to work for the public benefit outside their homes, but the time had not yet arrived when this ideal could be realised. Even on the question of free trade, which had hitherto been a prominent item in the Socialist programme, one of the members urged that "if only wages were high the proletariat could afford to pay high prices for what it consumed, and therefore need not fear heavy tariffs." All the other speakers on the subject, however, dissented from this view, and pointed out that as Germany chiefly imports raw material and exports industrial products she had everything to lose by provoking a war of tariffs. Finally, the congress condemned the military policy of Germany in China as being dictated by "lust of conquest, Chauvinistic territorial ambitions and the unbridled eagerness of the *bourgeoisie* to reap commercial gain"; but two prominent German Socialists, Herr Bernstein and Herr Schippel, who were absent or silent on this occasion, were inclined to favour a policy of colonial expansion as a necessity in the interests of the working classes, whose welfare depends upon the opening of new markets for the products of their industry. A resolution was also passed condemning the South African war as a campaign of robbery waged by English capitalists.

On October 11 the German Emperor laid the foundation stone of the Imperial "Limes" Museum in an old Roman *castellum*, or fort, at the Saalburg, near Homburg, which had just been restored. The proceedings took place in the *sacellum*, the site of the ancient Roman shrine, where the standards of the legions used to be housed. On entering this enclosure the Emperor and Empress were met by a set scene representing a Roman prefect surrounded by priests officiating at smoking altars. Roman warriors mingled with friendly German chieftains clad in the skins of bears. In reply to an address of welcome recited by an actor representing the Roman legate, the Emperor, speaking of the new German Empire, expressed the hope that "by the harmonious co-operation of its princes, its armies, and its citizens, it may in future times become as powerful, as firmly united, and as authoritative (*massgebend*) as was the Roman Empire, so that as of yore it was said, '*Civis Romanus sum*,' in the future the saying might be, 'I am a German citizen.'"

On October 18 Count von Bülow was promoted to the post of Imperial Chancellor in the place of Prince Hohenlohe, whose advanced age had been rendering it more and more difficult for him to discharge the onerous duties of that office. The appointment was generally approved, the count having displayed conspicuous ability both at the Foreign Office and in the House as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The new Foreign Secretary was Baron Richtshofen, who had previously been Under-Secretary.

The Emperor opened the winter session of the German

Parliament on November 14 by a speech from the throne, in which, after referring to the murder of the German Minister in China, he expressed his regret that it was not possible to convene Parliament for an extraordinary session with a view to obtaining its approval of the expenditure which would be entailed by the China expedition, as action had to be taken without delay, and no estimate could then be made of the expenditure which would be necessary. He gave the usual assurances as to the friendly character of the relations of Germany with the other Powers, and made a reference to increased estimates for the benefit of the working classes, meaning the usual vote in aid of the workmen's insurance fund. Two days after an attempt was made on the Emperor's life at Breslau, a woman of weak intellect having thrown a hatchet at his carriage, fortunately without hurting any one. The woman was arrested and placed in an asylum.

The German Imperial Estimates for the financial year 1901 balanced with an expenditure of 2,240,947,301 marks (112,047,365*l.*) an increase of 174,303,289 marks (8,715,164*l.*) over the estimated expenditure for the current year.

The ordinary non-recurring expenditure of the Foreign Office was estimated at 26,396,607 marks (21,162,879 marks in 1900), showing an increase of over 5,000,000 marks on the estimated non-recurring expenditure during the current year. This increase was accounted for by the fact that the Foreign Office Estimates included those of the Colonial Department, which were considerably higher than before. The non-recurring expenditure of that department was estimated at 25,947,807 marks (20,553,079 marks in 1900). Of this sum the greater portion was accounted for by the subsidies to the administrations of the various colonies. The estimated amount of these subsidies for 1901 exceeded the estimate for the current year by more than 5,000,000 marks. The subsidy for German South-West Africa was calculated at 9,378,600 marks (7,181,300 marks in 1900); for German East Africa at 9,117,000 marks (6,700,060 marks); for the Cameroons at 2,192,800 marks (2,063,000 marks); for Togoland at 884,000 marks (270,000 marks); for German New Guinea at 709,700 marks (848,500 marks); for the Caroline, Pelew and Marianne Islands at 286,500 marks (370,000 marks); for Samoa, 146,000 marks (52,000 marks). To this list was added the item of 3,020,807 marks (2,808,219 marks) required to cover deficits in former estimates for German South-West Africa, German East Africa and Togoland. Among other interesting items in the Foreign Office and Colonial Estimates was the sum of 28,800 marks for the extension of the German Consulate in Jerusalem. The sums of 15,000 marks and 10,000 marks were set aside for the advancement of archaeological research in Asia Minor and in Egypt respectively, in addition to the usual contribution towards the expenses of the Archæological Institute and of its branches in Rome and Athens.

The estimates of the military expenditure contained several interesting items. All the army corps were to be supplied with machine guns and to form machine gun detachments, each of which was to be attached by degrees to a rifle or infantry regiment. A sum of 175,000 marks was provided for continuing the experiments in the use of motor waggons for the transport of guns and ammunition. Other items provided for a new balloon which can be used in windy weather and for experiments which were being made at Strasburg in the use of balloons in fortresses. It had been found necessary to use hydrogen instead of coal gas for filling these balloons. The estimates also provided for an increase in the strength of the Army on a peace footing of 295 officers, 3,125 non-commissioned officers and men, 25 surgeons and 1,556 horses.

The Naval Estimates were the first to be calculated on the basis of the new Navy law. They provided for an increase of 91 officers, 11 surgeons and 2,735 men over the estimated strength for the current financial year. Among the votes for naval construction were instalments for placing on the stocks two new battleships, one large cruiser and three small cruisers. The Naval Estimates showed an increase of 49,000,000 marks over the estimated expenditure for the current financial year.

The revenue of the Empire for the financial year 1901 was estimated at 2,137,192,606 marks (1,980,775,601 marks), or 103,754,695 marks less than the estimated expenditure. This deficit it was proposed to meet by a loan of 97,362,545 marks and by the sum of 420,000 marks returned from advances made to the Imperial Fortification Fund. The principal sources of revenue were: Customs and excise duties, which were estimated to bring in 810,330,850 marks (789,725,000 marks in 1900); the Post Office receipts, 420,162,950 marks (393,209,930 marks); and the contributions of the Federated Governments, 570,933,000 marks (527,662,374 marks). According to the estimates the whole of this contribution of the Federated States was to go back to them in the form of repayments by the Imperial Treasury.

The amount to be raised by loan—97,362,545 marks—was nearly 17,000,000 marks greater than the loan provided for in the estimates for the current year, and the expenditure on the expedition to China was not provided for in these estimates.

The publication in a Socialist paper of a letter addressed by Herr Bück, the secretary of the Central Union of German Industrialists, to several leading members of that union, produced considerable agitation in official circles, and was made the subject of some violent attacks on the Government in the German Parliament. In this letter Herr Bück stated that the Minister for Home Affairs had expressed to him the desire that manufacturers and others interested in German industries should place a sum of 12,000 marks at the disposal of the department to be used for agitating in favour of the bill rejected in the

previous year known as the Penal Servitude Bill (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 277), and that the vice-chairman of the union had accordingly placed 5,000 marks at the disposal of the Home Office for that purpose. This statement was confirmed by the *Berliner Correspondenz*, the organ of the Home Office, which explained that it was at the suggestion of Dr. von Woedtke, the head of a department in the office, that the amount in question was paid by the union, and that it was expended in the circulation of extracts from the explanatory memorandum annexed to the bill and the reports of speeches made on the subject in the House by representatives of the Government, as it was deemed necessary to inform public opinion as to the facts of the case. The subject came on for debate in the German Parliament in December, the Socialist member, Herr Auer, having called upon the Government for an explanation of the gross favouritism which he alleged had been shown by the Government to the manufacturers at the expense of the working classes. This interpellation would in the ordinary course have had to be replied to by Count Posadowsky, the Minister for the Home Department. The count, however, though present, did not take part in the debate, and the new Imperial Chancellor, Count von Bülow, replied in his place. He strongly condemned the action of the officials of the Home Office, whose course of action was "a mistake." The Government should avoid even the appearance of dependence upon any interested parties. If such a proceeding were suggested now that he was Chancellor he would find means of preventing it, and he was in perfect agreement as to this point with Count Posadowsky.

On December 2 an imperial edict was published giving the Emperor's consent to further reforms in the higher schools of Prussia. These reforms were a continuation of those begun in 1892. It was laid down in the edict that the general education received in the three kinds of schools, the Gymnasium, the Realgymnasium, and the Oberrealschule, was to be regarded as of the same value, and as only requiring to be supplemented for several branches of study and professions where special preliminary knowledge, not included in the curriculum, was requisite. The desirability of extending the privileges of the Realgymnasien and of the Oberrealschulen was accordingly to be kept in view in order to raise these schools in public estimation, and to render an acquaintance with modern subjects (*Realistischen Wissens*) more general.

In view of the great importance of a knowledge of English, stress was laid upon the necessity of giving more attention to that subject in the Gymnasiums. English was to be taught as an alternative subject to Greek in all the classes of those schools, except the three highest. Where the local conditions are favourable to the alteration, English was to take the place of French' compulsory subject in the three highest classes.

French, however, was to be retained as a voluntary subject wherever this change was made. More time was to be given to geography in the higher Realschulen than had hitherto been the case.

Headmasters were urged to bear in mind the motto "*Multum non multa*." In the teaching of Greek useless technicalities were to be neglected, and teachers were to make prominent the connection between the ancient world and modern civilisation. In the teaching of modern languages importance was to be attached to fluency in speaking and to the understanding of current authors. Important periods of ancient history had been neglected, and the history of Germany in the nineteenth century, with its inspiring memories and its great achievements for the Fatherland, had not been treated with sufficient thoroughness. Greater attention was to be devoted to physical exercise, the health of the pupils was to receive more consideration, and the distribution and the duration of the intervals between the lessons was to be better arranged.

On December 5 a bill was introduced in the German Parliament by the Clerical party for enabling religious bodies which are recognised by any of the German Governments to practise their religion without let or hindrance throughout the whole empire, and for exempting religious orders (meaning especially the Jesuits) from requiring special permission for their foundation or for the exercise of their functions. Motions in favour of repealing the exclusion of the Jesuits from Germany had been frequently passed by the German Parliament in previous years, but had been rejected by the Federal Council on the ground that they constituted an interference with the constitutional independence of the Federal States, and Count von Bülow, while expressing his sympathy with the objects of the bill, stated in the House that the Federated Governments would, on the above ground, be unable to accept it.

The anti-Semitic agitation was more or less prevalent in Germany throughout the year. In the beginning of March a schoolboy, named Winter, was murdered at Konitz, a small town in the province of West Prussia. His body was afterwards discovered dissected and bloodless, and this circumstance gave rise to rumours that the boy had been murdered by Jews and his blood preserved for ritual purposes. The anti-Semitic press seized upon the opportunity to stir up hatred against the Jews. Disturbances ensued and a strong military force was sent to the town to keep order. The agitation rendered the police investigations exceedingly difficult. The reward offered for evidence leading to the detection of the criminals was raised to 20,000 marks, but without result. The *Germania*, the leading Clerical organ in Berlin, envenomed the agitation by publishing an article insinuating that the police authorities were not in earnest in their efforts to discover the murderers of Christian children.

Some months later a serious riot took place at Konitz, when a crowd, chiefly composed of country people, attacked the houses occupied by Jews, assaulted the police, and succeeded in wrecking the Jewish Synagogue. The police being utterly unable to cope with the rioters, a company of infantry was sent from Graudenz, and later was followed by a whole battalion. A "state of siege" was proclaimed in the town, the effect of which was to place all executive authority in the hands of the military commander. In consequence of the widespread agitation caused by these events, the Rabbi, Dr. Fessler, asked the Professors of Old Testament Theology at the Protestant Theological College at Halle to state whether the use of Christian blood in religious rites is prescribed by any writings or traditions among the Jews. Professor Kautzsch and Professor Rothstein replied in terms identical with those of a resolution adopted at the Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in the previous year: "In view of recent events, the Orientalists assembled at the Twelfth International Congress in Rome regard it as their duty to declare that the assertion that the use of Christian blood for ritual purposes has ever been prescribed or even hinted at in any directions which are valid for the followers of the Jewish religion is an absolutely senseless calumny unworthy of the end of the nineteenth century."

During the latter part of the year there were some grave financial scandals at Berlin. A Berlin banker named Sternberg having been prosecuted for indecent offences, one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution, a police officer named Stierstädter, brought charges in the course of his evidence against his superior officer, Commissary of Police Thiel, whom he accused of attempting to influence the investigations by holding out the prospect of pecuniary advantage in the event of Sternberg's acquittal. Commissary Thiel having been called to deny the charges made against him, gave an account of a conversation with Stierstädter, in which the latter had spoken of the prisoner Sternberg's wealth, and had indicated that Sternberg would be prepared to pay large sums in order to escape punishment. Commissary Thiel declared that he had spoken "ironically" when he said that he hoped Stierstädter would give him half the amount of the bribe. Stierstädter and Commissary Thiel, confronted with each other, maintained each his own version of the story.

In the course of the trial it transpired that one of the highest officials of the criminal departments of the police, Director von Meerscheidt-Hüllessen, had been for years in a position of financial dependence on the prisoner Sternberg, who had frequently helped him when he was in pecuniary difficulties. These revelations produced a sensation as painful as that which was excited in 1896 by the exposure of the political police in the Lecker trial (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1896, p. 265). A conference took place on the subject between the Imperial

Chancellor and the Minister of the Interior, at which it was decided to institute an official inquiry with a view to taking severe disciplinary measures against the officials implicated. The first step taken was to forbid the Director of Police, Herr von Meerscheidt-Hüllessem, to continue to exercise the functions of his office, and he died shortly after from a seizure of the heart. Police Commissary Thiel, on being called upon to give evidence as to the charges made against him by Stierstädter, admitted that they were true and acknowledged having accepted bribes to assist in procuring Sternberg's acquittal. The leading counsel for the defence, too, were forced to withdraw from the case on the ground that they had employed illicit means to further the interests of their client. Sternberg was found guilty, and was sentenced to two and a half years' penal servitude.

Almost simultaneously with these scandalous revelations of official corruption it was discovered that the Deutsche Grundschuld Bank and the Preussische Hypotheken Actien Bank, which had stopped payment, had for some years published false balance sheets, and some of the directors and other persons implicated in these irregularities were arrested.

In colonial affairs considerable activity was manifested, though without any very important results. According to the official account of the development of German East Africa the native population numbered over 6,000,000 inhabitants. The hut tax had brought in over 300,000 marks, or three times as much as was estimated. Owing to the drought and to the damage done by locusts the colony had suffered severely from famine, which had caused great mortality among the natives. Throughout the colony there had been numerous deaths from smallpox. Plague and leprosy were also prevalent, the number of lepers amounting in the coast districts to several hundreds.

In a memorial addressed on January 11 by the German Colonial Society to the Imperial Chancellor on the subject of the colonisation of German South-Western Africa in connection with the war in South Africa, it was stated that "if the English element is to predominate in future in the Transvaal or in the Orange Free State, there can be no doubt that a considerable number of the Boers, in accordance with their traditions, will seek a new home. The climate of the north is too tropical to suit them, and it is, therefore, probable that, following in the footsteps of individual pioneers, they will betake themselves to German South-West Africa. . . . In view of the small capability of the Boers for adapting themselves to foreign conditions of life, it may be questioned whether an immigration of this kind would be a thing to be welcomed in all circumstances. It could, in fact, only be welcomed if the Boers were content to become German subjects and to submit to the obligation of German military service. In that event, however, adequate

cadres for their reception would be required, and these can only be furnished by a strong German colonial force." The memorial added that it is important not to "postpone an increase in the strength of the German colonial forces until a Boer immigration actually takes place, because all experience in South Africa demonstrates that soldiers fresh from Europe are of inferior value, and that a man must have resided in the country for years before he can become an efficient instrument for the maintenance of German authority. If, on the other hand, the present war should be decided in favour of the Dutch element, British enterprise would be attracted to the German territories to a much greater extent than has hitherto been the case."

At a meeting of the society held at Coblenz in June violent attacks were made upon the policy of the German Government in granting concessions of land and of mining rights in German colonies. Dr. von Buschka, at that time director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, was accused of "squandering" German territory upon English capitalists, and much was said of the designs entertained by Mr. Rhodes and the De Beers Company upon German South-West Africa. A resolution was passed, begging the Government to grant concessions only to companies in the administration of which the decisive influence of the German element was permanently secured. The society also passed a resolution in November urging that the products of German colonies should receive preferential treatment in the new German tariff.

A proposal for the construction of a railway from Dar-es-Salaam to Mrogoro in German East Africa, which had been struck out of the estimates by the Budget Committee of the German Parliament in the previous year, was this year again rejected by the committee, although it agreed to a vote of 20,000 marks for preliminary works for the construction of a line of telegraph from Dar-es-Salaam to Kilosa. It was also decided to make small grants of land to Indian agriculturists who might desire to settle in German East Africa. In order to enable them to defray the expenses of the journey and to provide themselves with the necessary implements, etc., it was proposed to grant to each of these immigrants a bonus in money of about 500 marks (25*l.*). From these a vigorous development of the cultivation of rice and cotton in the colony was anticipated.

As regards German North-West Africa, arrangements were made for the construction of a railway, 400 miles long, from Great Fish Bay, in the Portuguese West African territory of Angola, to Otavi, in German South-West Africa, the seat of the future operations of the South-West African Mining Company. The total amount of capital to be embarked in this mining and railway enterprise was to be two millions sterling, and to be placed in equal shares in German and British hands. The railway was to be the first section of the line contemplated in the agreement concluded in the previous year

(ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 289) between the German Government and the British South Africa Company, and was to connect the Cape to Cairo Railway with the West African coast. At a meeting of the German Colonial Society in November, Dr. Sharlach and Herr Wörmann, speaking on behalf of the South-West Africa Company, declared that the seven German directors had never observed that any attempts were made by their three English colleagues to create an English influence, whether of a political or commercial nature, in the company. Mr. Cecil Rhodes had no authoritative influence in the company. The German directors and the representative of the German Government on the board of directors would be able to defend German interests. No attempt would ever be made on the board to oppose the settlement of the Boers in German South-West Africa. Dr. Stuebel, the director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, said that it was desirable that the company should publish a declaration to this effect.

According to a Berlin journal, the number of Boers who desired to cross the Kalahari Desert and to settle in German territory was estimated in the Colonial Council at about 15,000. In reply to a question, the German Government stated that Boer immigrants would be received in the most friendly manner, but it was recognised that the influx of the Boers must not be so great as to imperil the German character of the colony, and the immigrants must give security that they would submit to the German laws, and that their children, if not they themselves, should become German subjects.

A difference having arisen at the beginning of the year between Germany and the Congo State on a question of boundary between that State and German East Africa, an agreement was concluded (April 10) at Brussels, by which, both parties reserving their rights and claims, it was decided to determine the exact position of Lake Kivu and the River Rusizi. A mixed commission of four experts would proceed to the district and complete their investigations within two years. Until a final agreement should be concluded the territory in dispute was to be occupied by the forces of the two Governments. The rights of sovereignty were to be exercised by Germany. The Congo troops were not to exceed the German garrison in numbers, were to refrain from interfering in any way in political affairs, and were to observe the regulations issued by the German Government for the districts in question.

When the troubles in China broke out in June the Emperor, with characteristic energy, at once proceeded to secure for Germany a leading part in dealing with the many difficult questions involved. In addition to a small body of troops disembarked at Ta-ku up to the end of the month, an expeditionary force of two battalions of marines, with artillery and a medical detachment, was despatched early in July, and was followed by

two mixed "East Asiatic" brigades of volunteers (i.e., regular soldiers who had volunteered for the war) of eight battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and five batteries of field artillery, besides which four battleships and a despatch boat were sent to strengthen the German fleet at the China station. Although there is nothing in the constitution of the German State or the German army to prevent German soldiers from being employed on active service in any part of the world, and the oath taken by the recruit on joining the colours obliges him to go anywhere the Emperor sends him, "on land or on water," it was not deemed expedient to make the service on this occasion a compulsory one, and plenty of men were found to volunteer. The gunboat *Iltis* and her crew having behaved with great gallantry at the capture of the Ta-ku forts, the Emperor sent his thanks by telegram from Kiel and decorated some of the officers.

On receiving the news of the murder at Peking of the German ambassador, Baron von Ketteler, the Emperor delivered a rousing harangue to the troops which were about to embark at Bremerhaven. The following passage in this speech caused much indignant comment both in Germany and abroad: "When you meet the foe you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as the Huns, a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Etzel (Attila), gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again even dare to look askance at a German."

Towards the end of July a telegram was addressed by the Emperor of China to the German Emperor expressing the deepest regret at the murder of Baron von Ketteler, promising to punish the murderers, and begging the German Emperor to take the lead in the restoration of peace. To this Count von Bülow replied in a verbal note to the Chinese Legation at Berlin, that he could not communicate the telegram to the Emperor until the truth was known as to the fate of the other Europeans at Peking, and the Chinese Government had atoned for the murder of the Imperial Minister and given a sufficient guarantee that its conduct would in future be in accordance with the dictates of international law and of civilisation.

Meanwhile the German Emperor issued a decree promising to pay 1,000 taels (about 150*l.*) for the deliverance of any one of the foreign colony shut up in Peking, and Count von Bülow sent a circular note to the Governments of the different German States stating that the policy of Germany in China would be to obtain the rescue of the Europeans in Peking, to exact retribution for the murder of Baron von Ketteler and the other atrocities committed by the Chinese, and to secure "the re-

establishment and the safeguarding of law and order under a proper Chinese Government"; further, that Germany does not desire a partition of China or any separate advantages for herself. At the end of July the Emperor preached a sermon on board the *Hohenzollern*, taking for his text the eleventh verse of the seventeenth chapter of Exodus: "And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed." The Emperor began by a description of the scene where Moses, Aaron and Hur prayed on the mountain top while the fight went on below. "That is the holy battle picture of our text. Who does not understand what it means for us to-day? The heathen spirit of the Amalekites is again astir in far-off Asia—with great might and with much cunning, with fire and with slaughter, is the attempt being made to bar the way of European commerce and of European intelligence—to check the triumphal progress of Christian morality and of the Christian faith. And once again has the word of God gone forth, 'Choose us out men, and go out and fight with Amalek.' A terrible and bloody struggle has begun. Many of our brethren are already under fire—many are on their way to the hostile shore. When the word went out: 'Volunteers to the front! Who is ready to defend the empire?' You saw thousands gather together and march out with flying banners to meet the foe. But we, who are bound by sacred duties to remain behind at home, do we not hear the word of God which goes out to us and say, 'Climb up to the mountain top. Raise thy hands to heaven. The prayer of the just man is mighty when it is sincere.'"

Protesting against the idea that they could remain idle spectators of the battles which others had gone forth to fight, the Emperor said: "We will mobilise not only battalions of warriors, but also a holy force of supplicants." He then dwelt upon the sacred power of intercession. "'When Moses held up his hand Israel prevailed.' God has not withdrawn a syllable of all His promises. Even to-day the banner of the dragon can be hurled into the dust by faithful prayer and the banner of the cross planted upon the ramparts. . . . Yes, the God of our fathers still lives. Our great ally still bears sway." The Emperor then appealed to his hearers to think how it would fill the hearts of their brethren with courage, with enthusiasm, and with passionate devotion to know that they are the subject of the prayers of millions of Germans at home. "The King of Kings calls 'Volunteers to the front! Who will pray for the empire?' Oh, that here too it could be said that the King called and none remained behind." After declaring that history would show that the secret prayers of true believers had also been one of the great powers in these struggles, the Emperor concluded with the following prayer: "Almighty God, dear Heavenly Father, O Thou Lord of Hosts and Ruler of battles, we raise our hands to Thee in prayer. To Thy goodness we

commend the thousands of our brothers in arms whom Thou, Thyself, hast called forth to fight. Shield Thou the lives of our sons with Thy omnipotent protection. Lead Thou our soldiers to a mighty victory. To Thy goodness we commend the wounded and the sick; be Thou their consolation and their strength. Heal Thou the wounds they have received for King and country. To Thy goodness we commend all those who it is Thy will shall die upon the distant field of battle. Stand Thou by them in their last fight and give them eternal peace. To Thy goodness we commend our people. Maintain and sanctify and strengthen the exaltation which now inspires us. O Lord, our God, we go forth relying upon Thy help; lead Thou us on. We boast, O Lord, that Thou aidest us. In Thy name we raise our standards. O Lord, we will not let Thee go until Thou bless us. Amen!"

After much negotiation Field-Marshal Count von Waldersee was appointed (Aug. 8), with the consent of the Powers, to command the allied forces in China. A commander-in-chief was indispensably necessary, and as a British, a Russian, or a Japanese would find his position exceedingly difficult on account of the jealousies between the three Powers which have the greatest stake in the East, it was on the whole considered that the least objectionable choice would be that of a German officer, who would be able to play "the honest broker" as German statesmen had done before him. The German Emperor, on receiving Count von Waldersee and the officers of his staff at Cassel (Aug. 19), stated that his appointment "had its origin in the initiative and by the wish of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias," but it afterwards appeared from an article in the official paper of St. Petersburg that the Czar had only assented to the appointment and had not initiated it. It was also officially stated in the Russian capital that the commander-in-chief would merely act as president of the council of generals to direct and combine the operations of the different detachments, but without in any way weakening the independence of their respective commanders in carrying out the strategic arrangements decided upon in common.

Count von Waldersee arrived in China in September, by which time the chief object of his mission had been accomplished, the Peking legations having been rescued by the allied troops. He took up his quarters in the Empress's palace, and sent various expeditions into the country against the Boxers, in which the Russian troops took but little part, as Russia had decided to withdraw from Peking. Germany, however, adhered to the policy she had laid down, and on the 18th of that month the following circular note was telegraphed to the Powers:—

"The Government of his Majesty the Emperor considers that a preliminary condition of entering upon diplomatic dealings with the Chinese Government is the surrender of those persons regarding whom it has been ascertained that they were

the original and real instigators of those crimes against the law of nations which were committed in Peking. The number of the criminal instruments employed is too great; an execution *en masse* would be against the conscience of the civilised world. The circumstances of the case, moreover, involve the impossibility of discovering even the whole of the group who were the ringleaders. The few, however, whose guilt is notorious ought to be delivered over and punished. The representatives of the Powers in Peking will be in a position to give or to obtain competent evidence in this investigation. The number of those who are to be punished is of less importance than their character as prime movers and ringleaders. The Government of his Majesty believes that it can reckon upon the unanimity of all the Cabinets on this point; since indifference to the idea of a righteous expiation would be equivalent to indifference to a repetition of the crime. The Government of his Majesty the Emperor, therefore, proposes to the Cabinets concerned that they should invite their representatives in Peking to designate those leading Chinese personages regarding whose guilt in respect of the instigation or perpetration of the crimes there can be no possible doubt."

At the end of September another telegram was addressed by the Emperor of China to the German Emperor, stating that orders had been given by him commanding sacrifices to be made for the late Baron von Ketteler at an altar to give expression to the Emperor's grief at the ambassador's murder. The German Emperor replied on September 30 that he could not regard this deed as expiated by religious sacrifices, that besides his Minister a great number of Christians in China had died violent deaths under torture, and that the officials who were guilty of these crimes must be brought to condign punishment.

"I, too," he added, "long for peace; but the peace I desire is one which will atone for guilt, which will make reparation in full measure and in every regard for the wrong that has been done, and which will afford complete security for all foreigners in China in respect of their lives and property, and, above all, in the free practice of their religion."

On the following day another circular note was sent by Count von Bülow to the Powers, stating that as the German Government had been informed that an edict had been issued by the Emperor of China for the punishment of certain princes and other high dignitaries concerned in the outrages in China, it proposed to the Powers that they "should now unite in instructing their diplomatic representatives in China to consider the following points and to give their opinions upon them: (1) Is the list of persons mentioned for punishment in the edict adequate and correct? (2) Are the punishments which are apparently to be inflicted suitable? (3) In what manner can the execution of the punishments be supervised by the Powers?"

The prominent part which the German Government was taking in this matter, the ostentatious despatch of Count von Waldersee as commander-in-chief, and the apparent isolation of Germany in an enterprise of which no man could see the issue, coupled with the fall in industrial and bank shares, the general collapse of the Berlin Stock Exchange, the raising in the United States of German 4 per cent. Treasury bonds amounting to 80,000,000 marks, and the great rise in the price of coal and other necessities of life caused great discouragement and anxiety among the German public, which was to some extent allayed by the news that Germany had come to an agreement with England as to the Chinese question. The following is the text of this agreement, which was signed on October 16:—

“Her Britannic Majesty’s Government and the Imperial German Government, being desirous to maintain their interests in China and their rights under existing treaties, have agreed to observe the following principles in regard to their mutual policy in China:—

“1. It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade and to every other legitimate form of economic activity for the nationals of all countries without distinction; and the two Governments agree on their part to uphold the same for all Chinese territory where they can exercise influence.

“2. The Imperial German Government and her Britannic Majesty’s Government will not, on their part, make use of the present complication to obtain for themselves any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and will direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire.

“3. In case of another Power making use of the complications in China in order to obtain under any form whatever such territorial advantages, the two contracting parties reserve to themselves to come to a preliminary understanding as to the steps which may have to be taken for the protection of their own interests in China.

“4. The two Governments will communicate this agreement to the other Powers interested, and especially to Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States of America, and will invite them to accept the principles recorded in it.”

In a speech at Barmen the Emperor said that this agreement “with the mightiest Germanic State except our own (*Mit dem mächtigsten Germanischen Staat ausser unserem Volk*) will, I hope, guarantee far into the future a common endeavour on the part of our two nations in the open market of the world in friendly competition without bitterness.”

The wording of the agreement was perhaps purposely vague, and the general opinion on the Continent seemed to be that it

was merely a *protocole de désintéressement*, in which the other Powers were invited to join, not involving any menace in the event of the principles it laid down not being adhered to. The German semiofficial papers especially disclaimed any idea of its being directed against Russia, and declared that there was no intention on the part of Germany of embarking on a "quixotic opposition" to Russia in Manchuria, or "interfering in any way with her development in that sphere." According to the semiofficial *North German Gazette*, "Germany does not pledge herself to exert her influence in places where other Powers have already acquired special rights," and this was understood as referring specially to Russia's occupation of Manchuria. The chief object of the agreement was represented to be "to assure Germany's rapidly developing trade with China, and especially with the region of the Yang-tzse, against the danger of a one-sided and preferential treatment of the trade of other countries, and to do so by arranging that the principle of the 'open door' should obtain practical recognition in a binding form. We welcome as a reassuring element for the peace of the world the fact that England as well as Germany expressly renounces the idea of taking advantage of the Chinese troubles in order to secure separate advantages, and that England adheres to the principle of equal rights for all as authoritative for her commercial ambitions."

In November the estimates for the German expedition to China, laid before the Federal Council in the form of a supplementary vote for the financial year 1900, showed that the cost of the expedition up to March 31, 1901, was estimated approximately at 152,770,000 marks (7,638,500*l.*). The estimates gave the strength of the expedition as follows: 582 officers, 120 ambulance officers, 161 superior officials, 18,712 men, 27 petty officials, and 5,579 horses.

A memorandum attached to the estimate laid stress upon the German interests in China and upon the extent to which they had suffered in consequence of the troubles in that country. German commerce, which was only second in importance to that of Great Britain, had been considerably affected. The railway and mining enterprises in Shantung had been suspended; the German missions, established in Shantung and in the *Hinterland* of Canton and Swatau, had had to abandon their work, and would perhaps never be able to resume it, and the European trade in China would be permanently ruined, or seriously endangered, if the disturbances were not resolutely suppressed and the Chinese made to feel the military superiority of the Powers. It had been due to the prompt suppression of disturbances that more serious outbreaks in the Yang-tsze Valley, in Shantung, and in other parts of China, had been prevented. The outbreak of hatred against the foreigners had had a more widespread effect on this occasion than ever before. The defence of the treaty rights which had been violated had to be undertaken against

an enemy who, as regards numbers, weapons, and training, was incomparably more powerful than during former disturbances. To stop the military action now would involve further sacrifices of the life and property of the peaceably disposed inhabitants to the anti-foreign movement. But, nevertheless, the single object of this action continued to be the restoration of tranquillity in the Chinese Empire. The memorandum concluded by stating that the cost of the expedition would be borne by all the German Federal States, including Bavaria, which has, for ordinary purposes, a separate military budget of its own.

On November 19 the estimates came on for debate in the German Parliament, and were introduced by Count von Bülow in a very able and lucid speech. To the objection that they had not been presented to Parliament at a special session at the time when the expedition was decided upon, he replied that Prince Hohenlohe, his predecessor, had thought that there was not sufficient material at that time on which to base an estimate, though he himself had been in favour of summoning Parliament on the occasion. He gave an assurance, however, that the constitutional rights of the House would be respected in future, and that in the present case an indemnity would be asked for. With regard to the statement of the foreign press that the origin of the troubles in China was traceable to the German occupation of Kiao-chau, he said: "Long before that event acts of violence had been of too frequent occurrence at many different points in the Chinese Empire. It was only when Germany became convinced that her modesty would not be imitated, that others were acquiring important advantages in China, and it began to seem as if the partition of China might take place without Germany, that Germany abandoned her reserve, not in order to gratify a desire for adventure, but in compliance with the demands of an imperative necessity."

After recapitulating the main characteristics of the German attitude and again protesting against the accusation that Germany entertained territorial ambitions, Count von Bülow said that, among other reasons why Germany would not, except on the most urgent grounds, resort to a policy of annexation, was the fact that "we have no interest in being tied down to a particular district of China." He further added that the German policy was to take advantage of the peaceful rivalry of all nations in China for the German merchant, and this was the motive and object of the Anglo-German Agreement of October 16, to the guiding principles of which the other Cabinets had assented. All this, however, was on the assumption that others would not make territorial acquisitions for themselves in China. In so far as this condition was loyally observed by all parties—and there was no reason to suppose that it would not be so—it was intended to stick to the basis of the treaty of March 6, 1898, and not to go beyond that treaty. Count von Bülow concluded by saying: "The last thing that we would think of is to do

other people's work for them in China. We share in the common task of all civilised nations, but we have not the slightest intention of acting as a lightning-conductor for any other Power. . . . We have shown by our attitude during the South African war and during the war between America and Spain that we will not without a cause interfere in other people's business. We adhered to a policy of honourable neutrality because that was what German interests demanded, and we now intend to maintain our prestige at a high level in East Asia, and to assert our position there, simply because that course is to the advantage of German interests."

Dr. Lieber, the head of the Clerical party, and Herr Bebel, the Socialist leader, sharply criticised the "Waldersee theatricals" and the speeches of the German Emperor exhorting his troops to give no quarter and asserting that without Germany and the German Emperor no important step of international policy should be taken, even beyond the ocean. These utterances, said Dr. Lieber, had created profound uneasiness through wide circles of the German nation, and it was significant that they were followed by barbarities on the part of the German troops, as described in the "Hun" letters from private soldiers published in the press, which were unprecedented in German history. A slashing attack by Herr Richter, the brilliant orator of the Radical party, was skilfully repelled by Count von Bülow with some good-humoured chaff, and with reference to the Emperor's speeches the Count said that Germany would not let herself be deprived of her position of equality as regards other Powers and of the right to make her voice heard in the world with the rest. She had become a great Power, and intended to remain so. The nation would not be persuaded to abandon its right to an intelligent and reasonable *Weltpolitik* or to its legitimate position as a world-Power. Dealing with the relations between Russia and Germany, the Count further stated that the Russian proposal for the evacuation of Peking was in no way attributable to a feeling against Germany, and in no sense could it be said that the Russian proposal was directed against the chief command, since "that demand was in the first instance placed in our hands by his Majesty the Emperor of Russia." Count von Waldersee had not been pressed by Germany upon the other Powers. On the contrary, "the idea of a German chief command was based upon a suggestion from abroad which reached us through an official channel. I cannot say more, because it was a case of an exchange of ideas between Sovereigns and heads of States."

With regard to the charge that the Government had acted unconstitutionally in not summoning Parliament to a special session in the summer for the purpose of laying before it a vote of credit for the Chinese expedition, Count Lerchenfeld, the Bavarian Minister Resident and Plenipotentiary to the Federal Council said that the committee of the Federal Council on

Foreign Affairs called together in the summer having received from Count von Bülow full information regarding the state of affairs in China, the action which the Imperial Government intended to take was fully approved. Count von Bülow had also addressed a circular note to the Governments of the federated German States in which he had explained the objects followed by the German Foreign Office in its Chinese policy. Count Lerchenfeld added that it would have been quite impossible to have laid a proposal for a vote of credit before the Reichstag in the summer.

With regard to the action of the Government in creating special formations (the "East Asiatic" brigades) for the Chinese campaign without the consent of the Reichstag, Herr Richter proposed a motion granting an "indemnity" for this infringement of the constitutional rights of the Reichstag. This motion, the chief object of which was to guard against the permanent maintenance of the expedition or a part of it as a "colonial army," was approved by the committee as laying down the principle that the consent of the Reichstag must be obtained before new formations could be created in the Army or in the Navy.

On December 16 a detachment of sailors of the German cruiser squadron who took part in the storming of the Ta-ku forts, arrived in Berlin, after having been entertained at a supper by the naval and municipal authorities at Wilhelms-hafen. They marched in procession through the streets, a company of the Foot Guards, with band and colours, forming a guard of honour, and they were inspected at the arsenal by the Emperor in his admiral's uniform.

The arrival of Mr. Kruger in Europe gave a strong stimulus to the feeling in favour of the Boers which had prevailed in Germany since the beginning of the war, and violent demonstrations in their favour and attacks upon England were made at public meetings and in the press. The chief instigator of these demonstrations was the Pan-Germanic League, but no encouragement was given to them by the semi-official press, which continued to urge that a policy of neutrality was the only one compatible with the true interests of Germany. The *Cologne Gazette* even went so far as to ascribe the movement to "a blind and unintelligent hatred of England." Professor Mommsen, though he took the side of the Boers in his controversy with Professor Max Müller, expressed entire agreement in this view, saying that the cry for arbitration was "either a meaningless phrase or a declaration of war against England, and that when Germany cannot be of any assistance she should avoid even the appearance of being ready to give it." When Mr. Kruger arrived at Cologne at the beginning of December with the intention of proceeding to Berlin, he was informed by the German Government that the Emperor would not be able to see him, and he accordingly abandoned his plan.

In one of the Parliaments of the small German States, that of Hesse-Darmstadt, it was actually proposed on December 21 to request the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Council to take steps in order to secure the institution of an International Court of Arbitration "to decide the pending questions of controversy between England and the Boer States," and this ridiculous motion was only defeated by the casting vote of the President. The proposal was not only absurd, but unconstitutional, as the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Council is a purely consultative body, the main function of which is to keep the Governments of the Federated States informed with regard to the relations of the empire with foreign countries.

During the debate in the German Parliament on the estimates questions as to the non-reception of Mr. Kruger were put by a National Liberal and a Conservative deputy, and Count von Bülow at once replied to them. "We sincerely deplored," he said, "the outbreak of war between the South African Republics and England. We deplored the fact that such a war was possible between Christians, between white men, between members of the same great Germanic race. We also deplored the war because by it weighty German commercial and political interests were affected. Several thousands of German subjects had settled in South Africa, where they had founded factories and industrial and banking establishments; German capital invested in South Africa amounted to hundreds of millions of marks; the traffic between Germany and the South African coast was great, and from the commercial point of view we were interested to a high degree in the future of South Africa. From the political point of view it was our duty to see that this war did not indirectly exercise a prejudicial influence upon our South African possessions. We, therefore, did what we could, as a neutral Power, and without imperilling direct German interests, to prevent the outbreak of this war. We acted in the most straightforward manner towards the Governments of the two South African Republics, and from the first and in good time we left them in no doubt regarding the situation in Europe, and also regarding our own neutrality in the event of a war in South Africa."

Count von Bülow then quoted from the documents published by the Dutch Government in their yellow-book, showing that in accordance with the views of the German Government the Dutch Foreign Minister had strongly advised Mr. Kruger to maintain a moderate attitude. In June, 1899, Mr. Kruger was advised by Germany, through the Dutch Government, to invite mediation, but Dr. Leyds informed the Dutch Minister in Paris that Mr. Kruger did not consider "that the moment had yet come for applying for the mediation of America." At a later date Mr. Kruger made the attempt to obtain arbitration, but "feeling had become too heated," and in August Mr. Kruger

Two days later the Imperial Chancellor made another speech on the subject in reply to attacks on the Government by Herr Hasse, of the Pan-Germanic League, and Herr Bebel, the leader of the Socialists. He stated in the most positive manner that

on the part of the English Court or on the part of the English Government neither a desire nor any kind of proposal with reference to the journey of President Kruger, or with reference to the attitude of Germany in the South African war, had reached either his Majesty the Emperor or himself as his Majesty's responsible Chancellor.

Referring to the Anglo-German Agreement as to South Africa, concluded in 1898 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1898, p. 259) Count von Bülow declined, on the ground of diplomatic etiquette, to say what was in the agreement, but he stated most positively that the Anglo-German Agreement did not contain a single article, paragraph, or provision which had any reference to a conflict between England and the South African Republics. Germany's attitude towards the South African war would have been precisely the same attitude of independence and neutrality as regards both sides if the Anglo-German Agreement had not existed.

As to the telegram which the Emperor in the year 1896 addressed to President Kruger when it was not a case of a regular war between two States but a case of a filibustering enterprise, the Chancellor declared that he had not the slightest intention of disavowing that telegram, by which his Majesty gave correct expression to his sense of the law of nations. At the same time the telegram had no intention of fixing the lines of German policy in *omnes casus et eventus in saecula saeculorum*; we could not do that, in fact, because the situation had since undergone a change. This telegram had, at any rate, the good effect, by virtue of the reception with which it met, not in Germany, but outside Germany, of obviating all possibility of a doubt that in the event of a conflict with England in Africa, Germany would have had to rely solely upon her own strength. From the perception of this fact a conscientious Government was bound to draw its own conclusions.

The annual bill, enabling the Government to prolong the provisional concession of the most-favoured-nation treatment on reciprocal terms to Great Britain and the British colonies, pending the conclusion of a new commercial treaty in place of that denounced by the British Government on July 30, 1897, which expired on July 30, 1898, was passed in June. The present bill, like its predecessor, had the effect of excluding Canada from the most-favoured-nation privilege, and also extended this exclusion to Barbados, neither of these colonies granting, in the German sense, reciprocal treatment to German goods.

Dr. Rösicke, vice-president of the Agrarian League, moved an amendment restricting the duration of the provisional arrangement to one year, till July 30, 1901, instead of "till further notice," as the Government had proposed. Count Posadowsky said that the reason why the Government demanded powers unlimited in respect of time was that they did not consider

these annually recurring debates on commercial relations with Great Britain very desirable. Their position was this—according to the powers now conferred upon them and prolonged by the Bill they could at any moment apply the German “autonomous” tariff to any British colony which by its Customs policy placed German goods at a disadvantage. If this disadvantageous treatment were adopted by a great portion of the British empire they could apply the “autonomous” tariff to the whole of the imports from Great Britain and her colonies. He asked the House to bear in mind, however, that they must be guided by wise business principles. They were bound to consider on which side the greater loss would fall if they were suddenly and radically to alter their whole commercial relations with the British empire. The question profoundly affected the German agricultural interest, since the value of German agricultural products annually exported to Great Britain now amounted to 200,000,000 marks (10,000,000*l.*). In dealing with their commercial policy as a whole they must therefore ask themselves: “Is the present situation advantageous enough for our exports to enable us to endure the differential treatment at present inflicted upon us in certain portions of the British empire?” He had come to the conclusion that it was; and he thought they could do no more than they had already done by way of reprisals. There were unfortunately two parties to every treaty, and they must remember that it was no simple matter for Great Britain, with an empire which extended over the whole world, to settle a great question like this off-hand. The amendment limiting the duration of the arrangement to one year was, however, adopted.

The Imperial Bureau for Statistics, in its annual report on German commerce in 1899, showed that German imports (including precious metals) from Great Britain amounted in value to 777,100,000 marks (38,855,000*l.*); German exports to Great Britain to 851,600,000 marks (42,580,000*l.*). The corresponding figures, excluding precious metals, were 673,000,000 marks (33,650,000*l.*), and 801,500,000 marks (40,570,000*l.*). Great Britain continued to be by far the most important country for German commerce, the total value of Anglo-German trade in 1899 having amounted to 1,628,700,000 marks (82,435,000*l.*), as compared with 1,284,800,000 marks (64,240,000*l.*) of German trade with the United States, 1,195,400,000 marks (59,820,000*l.*) with Austria-Hungary, and with Russia and Finland 1,153,200,000 marks (57,660,000*l.*). The chief import from Great Britain consisted of yarns of a great variety of sorts, and this general item alone amounted in value to 146,100,000 marks (7,305,000*l.*) last year. The chief export of Germany to Great Britain was sugar; it amounted in value last year to 128,300,000 marks (6,440,000*l.*). The value of the yarns imported showed an increase on the previous year, and the value of the sugar exported a decrease.

Replying to an interpellation with regard to the seizures of German ships by British cruisers, Count von Bülow said Great Britain had acknowledged her obligation to indemnify the owners of ships detained without just cause, and had promised to molest as little as possible German ships near the theatre of war. In reply to a proposal for arbitration to fix the amount of compensation due, the British Government said they hoped arbitration would not be necessary, but they would accept it if it were. Count von Bülow closed by expressing a hope that the British naval authorities would not in future act in too hasty a manner. He admitted, however, that the German contention that food cannot be contraband of war in trade between neutral ports, even when the goods are destined for a belligerent, "had not yet met with universal recognition in theory and practice."

The Imperial Chancellor also gave some interesting information in February with regard to the Samoa Treaty (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 287), which had been submitted to the House for ratification. After defending the cession of Tutuila to America and expressing the hope that good relations would be maintained between the German and American Governments in the Samoa Islands, the Foreign Secretary proceeded to minimise the rights which Germany had surrendered to Great Britain in the Tonga Islands, where she only possessed the right of establishing a coaling station.

Speaking of the value of the Samoan Islands to Germany, Count von Bülow said that German plantations constituted the greater portion of the productive land on Upolu and Savaii, and German trade held the first place.

The extracts above given from Count von Bülow's speeches show sufficiently what was the attitude of the German Government towards England. Towards the other Powers its policy was marked by the same cautious and practical spirit. When it was proposed by some of the Powers to confer a mandate upon Japan to restore order in China, Germany, though inclined to be favourable to the proposal, at once withdrew from it on finding that it was not welcome to Russia. The German press, on the other hand, was almost as hostile to Russia as to England, especially on account of articles which appeared in the organ of Prince Uchtomsky, the *St. Petersburg News*, and in other Russian papers, attributing the blame of the troubles in China to Germany's policy of "the mailed fist," and of the attempts of Russia to prevent further commercial advantages from being granted by the Sultan to Germany in Asia Minor. France, too, was the subject of much bitter invective in the German papers, which accused her of striving to get Germany "to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for herself and Russia," and to sow distrust between England and Germany with the object of isolating the latter Power and attracting England to the side of the Dual Alliance. The Academy speech of M. Deschanel and the campaign of the French Nationalists

against the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry were cited as examples of a deep-laid plot for intensifying hatred in England against Germany.

To the United States Germany was this year specially friendly on account of the conclusion of the reciprocity convention under which Germany had at length obtained the concessions with regard to her trade which she had so long demanded, all the abatements of import duties hitherto granted to France, Italy, and Portugal having been extended to German imports, the United States at the same time recognising that if the new convention is denounced by either party Germany will be under no obligation to continue to extend to American products the advantages of the most favoured nation.

The Emperor Francis Joseph paid a visit to Berlin in May, and was present at some military manœuvres at the artillery range. A state banquet was given on this occasion, at which the two Emperors made speeches which were generally understood to proclaim to the world with peculiar emphasis the continued validity of the Triple Alliance. The Emperor William described the alliance as "deeply rooted in the convictions of the nations" concerned, and said that nothing could in his opinion now separate those nations. The Emperor Francis Joseph, on the other hand, bestowed upon the German Emperor the rank of Field-Marshal in the Austrian Army, and as the former already held that rank in the German Army, this was regarded as equivalent to the union of the two armies, implying "the joint exercise of the chief command in the event of war."

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The year in Austria was again a dismal record of parliamentary deadlock caused by the strife of the nationalities which paralysed industry and trade, impeding material as well as political progress.

At the usual dinner given at the palace to the parliamentary delegations in January, the Emperor used some very plain language on the subject. Addressing Dr. Stransky, one of the Czech leaders, he declared that he would not tolerate any trifling in military matters, and that if the Czechish recruits continued to answer in Czech instead of in German (*see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 296*), at the annual muster-rolls, as they were encouraged to do by Dr. Stransky, he would not hesitate to proclaim a state of siege. Then, speaking to the other deputies, the Emperor insisted on the urgency of a compromise being effected between the Czechs and the Germans, pointing out that the strife between them had sapped the vitality of the whole country, had delayed the most urgent business of state, and could not fail to have an unfavourable influence on the foreign relations of the monarchy. The Vienna Chamber of Commerce also held a meeting to consider the situation, at which

it was resolved that: "The political and parliamentary condition of affairs in Austria, through the development it has undergone during the last three years, had had the most prejudicial influence on interior political affairs, as well as on the economic situation of the monarchy. It had become impossible to establish constitutional and stable relations with Hungary. Government measures for promoting native commerce, industry and trade could not be carried out. The Chamber of Commerce realised that to put order into the affairs of state and to remedy the prevailing economic evils, it was necessary that the nationality questions in Austria should be definitively solved in a sense which secured the State against illegitimate opposition and aspirations, and that a definite and energetic economic policy should be inaugurated."

A new Ministry was formed on January 20, under Dr. Körber, with the mission of restoring peace between the conflicting nationalities, but all its attempts in this direction were fruitless. It had become evident that nothing could be done with the existing Reichsrath, and it was accordingly dissolved in September. The Emperor at the same time stated to the president of the Polish parliamentary party, which had throughout denounced the obstructive tactics both of the Germans and the Czechs, that the dissolution and the general election which would follow would be the last constitutional means which would be adopted by the Government to end the crisis. This, of course, meant the eventual suspension of the Constitution. The elections had not been concluded at the end of the year, but so far as they had gone they did not offer any prospect of the new Reichsrath being more tractable than the old one had been. A *coup d'état* was generally expected, and all the principal Vienna papers were very despondent. One paper said that not only had things not improved during the past year, but they had grown worse. Many illusions of the Austrian people had been cruelly dispelled and many silent hopes annihilated. Economic expectations had not fared one whit better than those pertaining to the domain of politics. Another observed that stagnation in every direction characterised the past year in Austria, and that in Austria the Government and the different political parties were less entitled than elsewhere to found hopeful expectations on the coming century. A third, in an article entitled "Progress Backwards," argued that Austria was less advantageously situated than she was a century ago. "It is true," said the writer, "that Austria has at her disposal a larger and more efficiently trained army than ever. The natural resources of the country have been better developed than in the past. The progress of the century has not been without influence upon ourselves. But, whereas other nations are more vigorous, greater and mightier, we have become weaker, smaller and less important. The history of the world during the second half of the past century has been made at our expense."

These doleful forecasts gained strength from the attitude taken up at the end of the year by M. Szell, the Hungarian Prime Minister. Speaking in the Hungarian Parliament, he foreshadowed the possibility of a situation in which Austria would be unable to fulfil her obligations under the arrangement with Hungary concluded in 1867, and told the House that he was fully prepared for taking measures in that event to "assert the rights of Hungary and its independence." "When the right time comes," he added, "I shall explain my views and submit my proposals on the subject to the House. Meanwhile, let us husband our strength and keep our powder dry." This declaration on the part of so prudent and moderate a statesman as M. Szell produced a profound impression at Vienna, especially as it was preceded by resolutions in favour of a Hungarian autonomous tariff, independent of that of Austria, passed by several important public bodies in Hungary, headed by the municipal council of Buda-Pesth.

In June a series of festivities took place at Cracow in commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the university of that city by King Ladislaus Yagiello, the founder of the famous Yagiello dynasty of the Polish kings. Representatives of the principal universities of Europe and America attended this imposing celebration; among them were Professors Hill and Munro of Cambridge, Professor Fergusson of Glasgow, Professor Morfill of Oxford, and the Rector of the University of Berlin.

A great state ceremony took place on June 28 at the Palace of the Burg at Vienna in the presence of the Emperor and the Archdukes, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, the Primate of Hungary, the Ministers of both halves of the Empire and numerous Court functionaries, privy councillors, general officers and high officers of state. This was the solemn renunciation by the Archduke Franz Ferdinand d'Este, heir presumptive to the throne, declaring by oath as a preliminary to his morganatic marriage with the Countess Chotek, that neither the Archduke's wife nor his children, nor yet their descendants, will have any rights or privileges such as result from a marriage of equal birth, and that the issue of the marriage and their descendants, not being members of the archducal house, will have no right to the throne in Austria or in Hungary. The concluding paragraph of the oath was to the effect that it will be binding as well for the Archduke himself as for his wife and children for all time. It pledged him never to attempt to recall his present declaration or to undertake anything calculated to weaken or destroy its force.

In September the Emperor attended the military manoeuvres in Galicia, and made a speech on the occasion, which was received with great gratification by the Poles and produced a considerable impression in the Empire generally, as it pointed to the Poles as the only great nationality in the country which

had abstained from party strife and had always loyally striven to promote the welfare of the State. He said that the manoeuvres had afforded him the pleasure of visiting a country which gratefully responded to his constant solicitude by devotion to the Throne, and the representatives of which always had the welfare of the Empire at heart and judiciously considered the requirements of the State. The Emperor concluded by saying that he thanked the whole province, over whose welfare he would always watch, as his most earnest wishes were for its prosperity.

In December the Italian deputies of the Tyrolese Diet showed themselves as competent in the arts of obstruction as the Germans and the Czechs. They had abstained for nearly ten years from taking any part in the proceedings of the Diet on the ground that when putting forward the claims of their nationality to recognition they had always been outvoted by the German deputies, and now they resumed their seats and thwarted every measure that was brought before the Diet by insisting that their numerous interpellations and speeches should be read in full and translated into German.

The long-standing jealousy between Austria and Hungary on account of the one-sided advantages which were continually being claimed by the Hungarians for their industry and commerce culminated towards the end of the year when the question of the Bosnian railways came on for settlement. Austria proposed to construct a narrow-gauge railway connecting the Bosnian railway system with the Dalmatian coast at Spalato, the line being required for exploiting the mineral and other resources of Bosnia. To this Hungary objected, on the ground that it would interfere with their hitherto existing monopoly of railway communication with that province. This produced such an outburst of indignation in Austria, all the nationalities uniting against the Hungarian pretensions, that a council of Austrian and Hungarian ministers, together with the members of the "common" Ministry, met at Buda-Pesth to settle the question. It was decided that an extension of the Bosnian State Railway to the sandjak of Novi Bazar, with a branch line to the Servian frontier, which was considered of strategic importance, should be built within three years, and that on the completion of that line the proposed railway to Spalato and another railway to Schamatz, on the Hungarian frontier, should be built simultaneously. This was practically a surrender to Hungary. Austria was to pay two-thirds of the cost of the railway from Serajevo to the Servian frontier, a line which would be mainly advantageous to Hungary, and which would, therefore, certainly be adopted by the Hungarian Parliament, and probably approved in Austria under article 14 of the Constitution, as there was no prospect of the new Austrian Parliament being any more capable of legislating than the old one had been. On the other hand, the line to the Dalmatian coast, which was the only one likely to be advantageous to Austria, would be postponed for

three years, and it was far from certain that the Hungarian Parliament would then pass it. The Austrian Ministry, in fact, did not meet the Hungarian one on an equal footing, the former being merely a Cabinet of officials chosen by the sovereign and without any parliamentary support, while the latter had a strong parliamentary majority at its back. Under these circumstances the Hungarian ministers were clearly the more powerful of the two, and they used their power to the full. In a word, the economic development of the Austrian province of Dalmatia was to be postponed for three years, if not indefinitely, rather than that there should be any trade competition between Austria and Hungary. Such a result might, however, have been too dearly gained in view of the coalition against Hungary among the mutually antagonistic nationalities of Austria, which promised to be the consequence of the Austrian surrender. After all Austria is both numerically and financially much stronger than Hungary, and a collision between the two would be very dangerous for the Hungarians. The Slavs and Roumanians in Hungary are much more numerous than the Magyars, and they are constantly agitating against the Magyar supremacy. In the Hungarian frontier districts, which are inhabited by Slovaks, the peasants, although they speak Hungarian, do not call themselves Hungarians but Slavs. Hungary has already more Slavs than she can well manage, and this is the principal reason of the opposition to the tendency of certain Magyar politicians to agitate for the incorporation of Bosnia and Dalmatia in the dominions of the Hungarian crown. The Magyars are very high handed in their treatment of other nationalities, and they would probably be far less successful in governing Bosnia than the Austrians have been. The Mahomedans of that province, for instance, as was acknowledged by the Hungarian Prime Minister, enjoy the special protection of the Government in all matters affecting their religion and national customs. Strangers are not allowed to enter Mahomedan dwellings, and notice must be given of domiciliary visits in order to enable the females to retire, while women can only be unveiled in presence of the Cadi. The customary prayers and ablutions are permitted both in the Army and the schools. The Mahomedan civil code and law of inheritance are in force, and are administered by Mahomedan judges. The minarets are illuminated on Mahomedan festivals, when the usual festivities are observed. The inhabitants are also allowed to celebrate the Sultan's jubilee. In 1882 a Mahomedan consistory was created, which was maintained, not by the population, but at the cost of the Government. Of the sixty-two municipalities in Bosnia no fewer than sixty have Mahomedan burgomasters.

Religious fanaticism, however, was far from being extinct in Austria itself. In May a Jewish girl, thirteen years of age, named Michalina Araten, suddenly disappeared from her home

at Cracow, and was traced to a convent where, although claimed by her parents, she was detained. The father's application to the local and provincial authorities and the Prime Minister for help having proved fruitless, he sought an audience of the Emperor, who received him with great kindness, and promised that the competent authorities should be called upon to perform their duty. Orders to that effect left the palace within a few hours of Herr Araten's audience with his Majesty. The girl, however, had disappeared and no trace of her could be found. On the other hand, the sentence of death which had been passed in the previous year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 297) on the Jew Hilsner for complicity in the murder of a Christian girl at Polna, in Bohemia, was quashed by the Court of Appeal, on the ground that it had been incorrectly described as a case of ritual murder, and a new trial took place at which Hilsner was charged not only with the murder for which he had already been tried, but with a second one, the victim again being a Christian girl. He was convicted on both charges and sentenced to death. The circumstantial evidence produced in support of these charges was not convincing, but the report of the leading medical authorities in Bohemia proved conclusively that the motive of the murder could not have been, as was asserted by the anti-Semitic press, to obtain possession of the blood of a Christian, and this view was adopted by the public prosecutor and the judges.

Count Goluchowski made his usual statement of foreign policy to the Austro-Hungarian delegations on May 14. Referring to the recent visit of the Emperor Francis Joseph to Berlin, the Count said that it was entirely in accordance with the cordial relations which unite the two countries and their rulers. "Although it is unnecessary to point out that this meeting of the Emperor did not raise any specific political questions, it cannot, on the other hand, be denied that it was important as a renewed confirmation of the principles on which the solid structure of the peaceful alliance of Central Europe is built." That valuable guarantee of European peace, the speaker proceeded, continues to exist with undiminished force and permanency, justifying the hope that in the future it will likewise effectually maintain the undisturbed development of normal relations. In this respect, he added, a valuable supplement to the intimate alliance with Germany and Italy is the agreement between the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg in dealing with matters affecting the near East, and especially the Balkan Peninsula, besides the excellent relations which exist between Austria-Hungary and all the other Powers. To fully maintain this state of things, and to secure its continuance, is the object of the constant care of the Austro-Hungarian Government. The knowledge of the beneficent results thereby produced for the maintenance of the peace of Europe will also confirm the other parties interested in the determination to co-operate

frankly and loyally in consolidating a work which alone can preserve Europe from perilous international conflicts and far-reaching internal disturbances.

As regards the war in South Africa, the minister observed that the conviction he had expressed that it would not have any dangerous effect on the relations of the great Powers among themselves, had so far been entirely confirmed by events, and he had every ground for hoping that they would also in the future be spared any dangerous surprises on this account. This confident hope could not, however, in any case weaken the ardent desire that the war should speedily come to an end. "How far we can reckon upon this it is difficult at present to foresee; but in any case it appears to me that any friendly action in the direction of mediation is absolutely excluded; such action, moreover, could only be successful if both of the belligerents were equally disposed to appeal to it, which, as is known, is not the case."

Passing to the complaints which had been addressed to the Austro-Hungarian Government on the ground of alleged breaches of neutrality in the sale of horses to England for the Boer war, the minister decidedly protested against arbitrary interpretations of certain principles of international law which are not in accordance either with the text or the meaning of the decisions defining the principles of neutrality.

At a subsequent sitting of the delegations Count Goluchowski, replying to certain criticisms made by some of the delegates on his speech, said that "the triple alliance had for twenty years continued to be what it was at the beginning, namely, a defensive alliance which was *par excellence* pacific"; and that "if Russia had joined that alliance, this was a very gratifying incident, as it made no difference whatever in the objects of the alliance, and was only an additional guarantee of peace."

Further, both Austria-Hungary and Germany attached great value to the alliance of Italy, who they were convinced would fulfil her obligations should the occasion arise for her doing so. With regard to the expulsion of Austrian subjects from Prussia, the Minister said that friendly representations were always made by him and the Austro-Hungarian ambassador at Berlin when such cases arose, and very often with success. They could not, however, intervene in cases where the persons expelled had not worked in Prussia for some years and had settled there with their wives and children, as every State has the right of expelling from its territory casual immigrants whom it may not think it desirable to retain. Finally, the Minister asserted that he did not interfere with the internal politics of the monarchy, but he must appeal to the delegates, in the general interest of the State and of the country, to do their utmost to restore order in the Reichsrath and enable it to resume work. The present state of things made the Minister of Foreign Affairs powerless to negotiate treaties of commerce and other matters,

the neglect of which must produce incalculable harm both to the monarchy and the country generally.

An important statement as to the Triple Alliance was also made in the Hungarian Parliament in December by the Prime Minister of Hungary, M. Szell, who besides being in high favour with the Sovereign, was in very cordial relations with Count Goluchowski.

In reply to the reproach that Austria-Hungary allowed herself to be exploited by Germany, M. Szell declared that the Hungarian Government, the bulk of the population, and the overwhelming parliamentary majority believed that the Triple Alliance was advantageous for Hungary as well as for the monarchy. Ever since 1867 Hungary had regarded friendly and intimate relation with Germany as a fundamental principle of her policy, and eminently calculated to safeguard the interests of the monarchy. No conflict of interests existed, nor was there any prospect of any arising. It was precisely in that community of interests that the strength and the *raison d'être* of the alliance, as also the evidence of its intimate nature and the guarantee for its permanence, were to be found. Every State occupied among nations the position and importance which it was entitled to claim in virtue of its "interior consolidation."

In the course of the debate on the Naval Budget in the Delegations Vice-Admiral Baron Spaun, chief of the Naval Department, made a statement on submarine boats, which might in the future have a certain importance for the local defence of harbours. Extensive trials had been made with them both in France and America, but so far the information as to their practical use was vague and scanty.

Referring to the question of new guns, Baron Spaun stated that the Naval Department had taken advantage of the lessons derived from the Chino-Japanese and Spanish-American wars, and quick-firing guns were replacing those of older patterns on board their larger ships of war. The Austrian Admiralty was at present in a position to obtain all the guns required in the country with the exception of 24 cm. cannon, but he hoped that shortly the Admiralty would be independent of foreign countries as regards the whole of its artillery, as it was already for the supply of ammunition.

With regard to China, Austria's contribution to the international forces there was exclusively naval, as her interests were limited to the protection of the European settlements on the coast. She was not in a position to send a large force to China, and as she had no material profit or increased prestige in view, she took no part in the military operations there.

Significant demonstrations of the sympathy of the Austro-Hungarian Government with England took place at Trieste and Fiume during the visit to those harbours of the British Mediterranean fleet. The genuine and unaffected character of the fraternisation of the Austro-Hungarian and British navies left

nothing to be desired, while the magnificent reception organised for the British fleet by Count Szapary and the authorities at Fiume clearly showed the high value attached by Hungary to her old friendship with England. Indeed, at Fiume the popular festivities assumed an even more intimate and cordial character than at Trieste. This was an effective counter-demonstration to the attacks upon England of the Pan-Germanists, anti-Semites, Clericals, and Social Democrats, inspired by anonymous pamphlets of Russian and German origin which were freely circulated in the country with the object of rousing public opinion against England. One of these pamphlets, which was sent privately to the business houses of Vienna, invited them to bind themselves to boycott British exports if England should persist in depriving the Boers of their independence.

The relations between Austria-Hungary and the Vatican were considerably strained throughout the year. Since the triumph of the Hungarian Liberals on the question of civil marriage (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1894, p. 281) the Vatican had taken a prominent part in Austrian internal politics, throwing all the weight of the great influence it exercised through the Church on the side of the reactionist parties in the State. The Archbishop of Serajevo even went so far as to advocate a union of Croatia with Bosnia, and for this he received a sharp reprimand from the Government, notwithstanding which he was immediately afterwards received with great honours by the Pope, the object of the proposal having been that by establishing a union of the southern Slavs their Churches might also be united under the supremacy of Rome. It was also owing in a great degree to the machinations of the Clericals of Austria, in combination with the Ultramontanes of France and the anti-Semites in both countries, that so strong a feeling against England was displayed on the arrival in Europe of Mr. Kruger, as it had been against Captain Dreyfus in the previous year. Some of the Austrian papers, however, honourably distinguished themselves from their Clerical colleagues in this respect. Thus the *Vaterland*, a Clerical organ which had at first warmly espoused the Boer cause, said that "it is with deep mortification that President Kruger must contemplate the melancholy turn which events have taken. There was a time when the Boers were privately encouraged to resist the demands of Great Britain, and when satisfaction was felt everywhere at the difficulties encountered by proud Albion in those regions where she had reckoned upon a speedy victory. But British arms and British statecraft had succeeded in turning the tables, whereas Mr. Kruger was meeting with nothing but cool sympathy."

Another paper, the *Journal of Science and Political Economy*, published an article in which the writer added Krugerism to the long list of the confusions of form with substance furnished by universal history down to our own times. He ridiculed the enthusiasm displayed in Western and Central Europe for

what was described as the Boer war of liberty, and the fall of a corrupt and cruel peasant oligarchy thoroughly opposed to progress, and he expressed his surprise that the ex-President of the Transvaal, who came to office as a poor man and took his departure as a millionaire from the country which his shortsightedness had driven to ruin, should be celebrated as a hero.

On September 20 the Shah of Persia paid a visit to Vienna, and met with a very hearty reception, being welcomed as a patron and promoter of Western civilisation in his own dominions. The *Official Gazette* dwelt upon the high value placed by the Shah on his good relations with Austria-Hungary, which, it said, were not exclusively of a commercial nature. In the development of communications and in the reorganisation of the Persian Army Austrians had played a prominent part. The reform of the military system in particular had been carried out under the auspices of Austrian instructors, a circumstance which was visible in the external characteristics of the Persian troops. The official organ further stated that his Majesty was desirous of promoting close intercourse between his own country and Europe and of maintaining amicable relations with the Western Powers.

CHAPTER III.

I. RUSSIA.

THE Russian Budget for the year 1900 was accompanied by the usual optimistic report to the Czar. The Minister of Finance, M. Witte, stated in this report that the successful result of the Budgets of the last few years, with excesses of ordinary revenue, showed that at its roots the economical life of Russia was healthy, notwithstanding harvest failures, the great outlay on the Siberian Railway, the unfavourable condition of the money market, and other temporary obstacles. The Minister laid great stress on the extraordinary growth of Russia's industries, which altogether showed the enormous increase of total value from 541,000,000 to 1,816,000,000 roubles during the twenty years ending 1897, while manufactured goods had not only increased in volume, but also in quality. This was due entirely to the beneficent effects of protection. Metallurgical work and mining had, in particular, made great strides. During the twenty-one years from 1877 to 1898 inclusive the output of coal had risen from 1,774,193 tons to 12,032,258 tons; of pig iron from 370,967 tons to 2,161,291 tons; of steel from only 48,387 tons to 1,451,612 tons. There was a great dearth of coal in Russia, the native mines no longer being able to keep pace

with the rapidly growing needs of the metallurgical works and railways. The demand for coal had much increased of late years owing also to the increasing dearness of wood. M. Witte proposed to relieve the situation by a very cautious diminution of the duty on foreign coal, and at the same time to increase the output of iron by giving over to private enterprise the rich Government mines of the Ural, where over 1,612,903 tons of pig iron could be produced annually. There had also been great progress in railway construction and management. Within the last ten years the Government, by means of purchase, had reduced the number of private railway companies from forty-two to nine; the former chronic deficits in railway finance had given place to increasing profits since 1895, and the network of lines in the Russian Empire now covered a total distance of 36,857 miles, exclusive of the branch through Manchuria, of which 297 miles were already open for traffic from Port Arthur to Mukden. The importance of the Siberian Railway had fully justified the enormous cost of construction, amounting altogether to three-quarters of a milliard roubles. Finally, in consequence of the unfavourable condition of the money market, caused in a great measure by the war in South Africa, the gold reserve of the country had diminished during the past twelve months by 24,600,000 roubles.

An Imperial ukase, published on May 19, finally discharged the remainder of the debt of the Imperial Exchequer to the State Bank, to the amount of 50,000,000 roubles, for which paper was still in circulation. This debt had been created by inflation of the paper currency in order to cover the expenses of the Crimean and Turkish wars, and in 1879 it had reached the total of more than a milliard roubles. Its redemption was begun in the eighties, and in 1892, when M. Witte received his appointment of Minister of Finance, it had been reduced to 742,000,000 roubles. During the eight years that since elapsed this debt had been paid off in full, and the Emperor declared that henceforth the exchequer should never again be furnished with funds by the issue of paper notes. The above sum of 50,000,000 roubles had been paid out of the free resources of the State Exchequer, so that the Russian Treasury had available means without resorting to fresh loans.

The policy of Russification continued to be applied in Poland and Finland, though in the former country the governor, Prince Imeritynski, who unfortunately died at the end of the year, had done much to relax the severities of Russian rule and to conciliate the population. In January upwards of fifty persons, members of a secret society for spreading education among the peasantry in the Polish language, were imprisoned at Warsaw. In the Imperial speech at the opening of the Finnish Riksdag, stress was laid on protests made in the diet against the curtailment of its constitutional rights in the matter of the administration of the country, and in the matter of the rights of the inhabitants of Finland to a general

obligation to military service in all parts of the empire (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 307), and the diet was warned that if it repeated such conduct it might be abolished by Imperial decree. To this speech replies were made by the representatives of the nobles, the burghers, and the peasantry, insisting upon the right of the people to self-government, and declaring that the peasantry had agreed to the doubling of military burdens on the condition of the granting of free social institutions. In June an Imperial ukase was published ordering the gradual introduction and use of the Russian language in all the official departments and public offices of Finland, beginning with the Chancery of the Secretary of State and the Finnish Senate. Five years were allowed for minor and provincial officials to prepare to adopt Russian exclusively in their communications with their superiors and the Governor-General. Private individuals, however, were still to be allowed to address Government institutions in the native tongue as freely as they used it in social and domestic life. The Finnish Senate refused to promulgate this ukase on the ground that it was unconstitutional, as out of 2,700,000 inhabitants only 8,000 spoke Russian, and the manifesto, if applied, would transfer the higher administration in Finland to Russian officials. Peremptory orders for the promulgation of the ukase were then sent from St. Petersburg, upon which fourteen out of the twenty-one senators resigned, and the remainder complied with the order, though a minority of them still stood out. Strong remonstrances on the subject of this and other restrictions of Finnish liberties were sent by the diet to the Czar in September, but without result.

A ukase for the partial abolition of banishment to Siberia was issued on July 3. It applied mainly to ordinary criminals, and still permitted the deportation in certain cases of persons charged with political offences.

At the end of the year there were again serious disturbances in the Russian universities. In the university of Kieff about one-half of the students were arrested on account of an application addressed by them to the rector on behalf of some of their comrades who had been expelled, and were committed for trial before a special court of justice created in consequence of the students' strike in 1899 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 301), which sentenced them to serve in the Army as private soldiers. At St. Petersburg, too, nearly 100 students were sentenced to various punishments on account of offences against discipline. There were also some serious anti-Jewish outbreaks in August at Szavle, in Lithuania, and at Odessa, and the situation was so critical that the authorities ordered the Jews to keep their shops shut for the time being and even to barricade them. At Odessa the trouble began with a quarrel between a soldier about to embark for China and a Jewish huckster to whom he had sold various articles of which he wished to dispose before

leaving. His comrades took his part, and the disturbance ended in a regular attack by the troops upon the whole Jewish quarter, the soldiers being quickly reinforced by hundreds of roughs. The rioting continued on the two following days, when numbers of well-dressed youths and tradesmen's employees joined the rioters. The police were fiercely attacked whenever they attempted to make any arrests, many of them being injured by blows from bottles and stones. Finally, however, the vigorous measures taken by the authorities resulted in the restoration of order. Altogether 1,041 arrests were made, and it was officially announced at the Prefecture that all those arrested belonging to Odessa would be punished with three months' imprisonment, while all others would be sent back to their native places.

Count Muravieff, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1897, and to whom the Czar had in a rescript issued for the new year expressed his gratitude for the assistance he had rendered "in developing and increasing the prestige of Russia by his brilliant execution" of the Czar's directions and views "with the object of securing a pacific settlement of the complex problems of external policy," died suddenly on June 21, and was succeeded as minister by Count Lambsdorff, the assistant minister. The late Count Muravieff was a brilliant despatch writer, but he did not possess the statesmanlike qualities of his predecessors, Count Gortchakoff and Prince Lobanoff, and he showed a tendency to underhand intrigue which might have proved dangerous to European peace if it had not been held in check by his Imperial master. He was indolent and superficial, and the mainspring of his policy seemed to be hostility to England.

In February there was a considerable movement of Russian troops in the direction of Afghanistan. A force of about 20,000 men, together with a large siege train and a quantity of rails, was assembled at the fortified position on the Kushk River, the terminus of the branch railway from Merv, and the Russian Chauvinist papers expressed a hope that this implied a design to take advantage of England's difficulties in South Africa by advancing on Herat and acquiring territory in Afghanistan. It afterwards appeared, however, that the real object of this concentration of troops was to increase the influence of Russia in Persia. She had, through the Loan Bank of Persia, become the principal creditor of the Persian Government, and had practically secured a mortgage over the Customs. The arrangement made for this purpose was described as follows by the semi-official press of St. Petersburg:—

"By an arrangement between the two Governments the Russian Imperial Government has permitted the Loan Bank of Persia to take up the loan to be issued by the Persian Government to the amount of 22,500,000 roubles under the designation of the Five per Cent. Persian Gold Loan of the Year 1900. In pursu-

ance of this permission the Board of the Persian Loan Bank has concluded with the representative of the Shah's Government a contract to take over the loan on the following conditions: The payment of interest and the redemption of the loan in the course of seventy-five years are guaranteed by all the Persian Customs receipts, with the exception of the revenues of the Custom-house of Fars and the Custom-houses at the ports of the Persian Gulf. These revenues at present considerably exceed the amount of the payments required for the service of the loan. Should, nevertheless, delay occur in the payments to be made on account of the loan, the Loan Bank of Persia will have the right to exercise a control over the Custom-houses the revenues of which are set apart as guarantee for the loan. The Persian Government undertakes to redeem all its former foreign obligations out of the proceeds of the Five per Cent. Gold Loan, and not to conclude without the consent of the Loan Bank any foreign loan before the amortisation of the Five per Cent. Gold Loan. The Persian Government also leaves it at the discretion of the Loan Bank to place on the market, if it considers this necessary, bonds of the Persian loan to the extent of the balance of the debt owing to the bank, these bonds in such case to enjoy the full guarantee of the Russian Imperial Government."

The exemption of the revenues of the Custom-house of Fars and the Custom-houses at the ports of the Persian Gulf from the stipulation as to the guarantee of the Persian Customs' receipts for this loan showed that Russia abstained from control over the southern portion of the Shah's dominions adjoining the Persian Gulf and Beluchistan, which are the regions where British interests are chiefly concerned, but as regards the rest of Persia the effect of the agreement was to place it virtually under the subjection of Russia, as one of the conditions of the agreement was that Persia should out of the proceeds of the new loan pay off all previous pecuniary obligations, the chief of which was the Anglo-Persian loan of 1892. Russia at the same time obtained concessions for the construction of lines of railway in Persia, one of which from Julfa to Hamadan *vid* Tabriz, with a branch line to Teheran, was begun under the supervision of officers of the general staff with the assistance of Cossacks, and was to be finished in 1903. This route traverses the most important districts for Russia from an economic and strategic point of view. The close understanding between Russia and Persia was still further manifested by the fact that the Shah during his tour in Europe paid his first visit to St. Petersburg in July.

Another important event in connection with Russia's policy in Central Asia was the visit to Russia, in October, of an envoy from the Grand Llama of Tibet, with a letter and presents from the latter to the Czar. This was the first time that the spiritual head of Tibet had ever sent a special mission to any European

sovereign, and it was sent in return to a secret mission despatched with presents to the Grand Llama some time back.

While thus pushing her influence in the far East, Russia did not neglect her interests in the near East. In consequence of the concession which had been granted by the Sultan in the previous year to a German syndicate for the extension of the Anatolian Railway from Konieh to Basra, on the Persian Gulf (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 292), Russia brought pressure to bear upon the Porte with a view to obtaining equivalent advantages for the construction of railways in the northern part of Asia Minor, and in connection with this plan an active propaganda was started to induce the Armenians to adopt the Greek orthodox faith as a means of assimilating the Armenians with Russia. Ultimately an agreement was entered into with the Porte for the construction of a railway from Kars to Erzeroum, combined with the stipulation that Russia should receive the same preferential rights as had been granted to Germany for the construction of any other railways "in the basin of the Black Sea," the concessions for such lines to be granted to Russian subjects only.

The latter half of the year was almost entirely occupied, so far as foreign affairs were concerned, by Russia's military operations in China, but in the meanwhile she secured an important advantage in Korea. On March 30 two agreements were signed by the Russian Minister, M. Pavloff, and the Korean Government. By the first Korea granted to Russia a site for a coal depôt and a naval hospital for the exclusive use of the Pacific squadron at Masampho Harbour, within three miles of the Masampho foreign settlement, the details to be settled by a joint Russian and Korean commission. The second was a reciprocal agreement, Russia undertaking never to seek to rent or acquire any land on Koje-do Island, on the mainland opposite extending to the limits of Masampho Harbour, or on any adjacent island, while Korea agreed not to alienate to any other Power any portion of land in the above places. Russia thus obtained an exclusive settlement for her naval needs, the finest harbour in Korea abreast of Japan, and excluded Japan and any other Powers from acquiring similar advantages, and M. Pavloff informed the Korean Government that Masampho would be the winter headquarters of the Russian fleet. Thus was successfully concluded a negotiation which had several times been on the point of breaking down owing to the opposition of Japan, who strongly objected to the establishment of a Russian naval station on the Korean coast within sight of the Japanese dominions. Russia, on the other hand, insisted that a naval harbour in Korea was absolutely necessary to her in order to complete her line of communications between Vladivostock and the Liao-tong Peninsula, which could otherwise be cut at any moment by Japan; and as a security against exclusive possession being obtained by her of Masampho harbour she added the stipu-

lation that none of the points commanding the harbour were to be held either by herself or any other foreign Power. To this Japan had no alternative but to comply.

Early in June immense efforts were made by Russia, apparently in anticipation of the forthcoming troubles in China, to push on the Manchurian Railway and fortify Port Arthur. Coolies from China were transported into Manchuria at the rate of 4,000 a day, and large quantities of provisions were brought to Port Arthur from China and Australia. Soon after the troops in Siberia and the Amur district were placed on a war footing, thereby raising the force at the disposal of Russia in North-eastern Asia to 100,000 men; but meanwhile the Boxers, assisted by Chinese regular troops, attacked the Russian engineers and railway guards, burnt railway stations, and tore up the line in various places. At the beginning of July the Russian town of Blagovestchensk, on the Amur, was bombarded by the Chinese troops on the opposite bank for eighteen days, though without much effect, and numerous sections of the railway had to be abandoned by the workmen and their Cossack guards pending the arrival of reinforcements. These began to come in by the middle of the month, and the Russians then crossed the river and captured the Chinese town of Aigun and sent rescue parties to the various stations which had been attacked by the Chinese. The Russian troops did not meet with much resistance and inflicted terrible outrages on the Chinese inhabitants, those of Blagovestchensk, amounting to several thousand men, women and children, having been thrust into the river and drowned. The Russian Government, however, loudly proclaimed that these measures were defensive only, and that it had no quarrel with the Government of China. On July 2 the Czar received a telegram through the Chinese legation at St. Petersburg, from the Emperor of China, pleading for intervention on the strength of "more than 200 years' friendship between the two countries." The Czar replied that he was greatly grieved by events in China, and that the complete ignorance of the situation in Peking, and the absence of exact information regarding the fate of the Russian and other foreign missions, and of foreigners generally, rendered it difficult to intervene in China's favour. The Czar finally expressed the hope that the Emperor of China would take the most determined steps to pacify the country and secure the safety of the lives and property of Russians and all other foreigners.

During the months of July and August the Russians vigorously pursued the campaign in Manchuria, and also joined the other Powers in the capture of the Ta-ku forts, the operations at Tientsin, and the expedition for the relief of the embassies at Peking. They further captured the treaty port of Niu-Chwang, destroyed nearly all the adjoining villages, and took possession of the Custom-house there and the Customs' dues. In order to meet the enormous expenses entailed by these

operations the import duties on goods not included among those for which special provision was made by existing commercial treaties were largely increased ; thus the duties on tobacco, fruits, etc., were increased by 50 per cent., on raw coffee by 30 per cent., on oil, firearms, watches, ready-made clothes, etc., by 20 per cent., and on a great variety of other goods by 10 per cent.

On August 14 General Grodekoff, the commander-in-chief of the Russian troops in Manchuria, sent the following telegram to the Minister for War, which was published by the official *Gazette*, with the statement that the Emperor had written on the telegram, "I sincerely thank the troops for their plucky action":—

"Fifty years ago Nevelsky raised the Russian flag at the mouth of the Amur on its left bank, and laid the foundation for our possessions on that great river. Now, after hard fighting, we have taken possession of the right bank, thus consolidating the great enterprise of annexing the whole of the Amur to Russia's dominions, and making of that river an internal waterway, and not a frontier stream, whereby free and unmolested navigation of that artery through one of the vastest regions of the Empire has been secured." This magniloquent bulletin was, however, afterwards explained by the official *Gazette* as simply referring to temporary measures which had been taken "only to frighten the Chinese insurgents."

In September Russia, still posing as the friend of the Chinese Government, suggested to the other Powers that their embassies and troops should leave Peking now that the embassies had been relieved and the Chinese Government had left the capital, and set them the example by ordering the withdrawal of her Minister to Tien-tsin and reducing her force in the Chinese capital, which amounted to 15,000 men. The Russian Government at the same time gave assurances to the Powers that it had no designs of territorial acquisitions in China, and that "as soon as lasting order" should be established in Manchuria, and "indispensable measures" taken for the protection of the railway "constructed in virtue of a special formal agreement" between Russia and China, Russia will recall her troops from that province "provided the action of the other Powers does not place any obstacle in the way of such a measure." As regards Niu-Chwang, "the interests of other foreign Powers, and of international companies at that port, now occupied by Russia, but open to international trade, as also on the railway lines restored by the Russian troops, remained inviolate," although Russian ports and settlements were established on the Chinese bank of the Amur, and formally declared to be Russian territory. Most of the other Powers, however, were not inclined to accept the Russian proposal to evacuate Peking so long as satisfaction was not given for the crimes which had been committed, and guarantees afforded for the future.

The notification to the Powers in October of the Anglo-German Agreement (see p. 304) met with but a cold reception at St. Petersburg. In its reply the Russian Government "virtually" accepted the principle of "the open door," as also that of maintaining undiminished "the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire," and with regard to the clause by which England and Germany reserve to themselves the right of coming to a preliminary understanding as to the eventual steps to be taken for the protection of their interests should any third Power make use of the existing complications to obtain territorial advantages, it simply referred England and Germany to its declarations as to the temporary character of its occupation of Niu-Chwang and Manchuria.

At the beginning of November the total number of Russian troops in China and along the Chinese frontier in Siberia was 3,900 officers and 173,000 men, with 340 guns. Although the Chinese troops in Manchuria had been completely routed and disarmed, the speedy establishment of order in that province was not expected in consequence of the development of brigandage and guerilla warfare by fanatics. A large force was also necessary to protect the line of railway, which extended over 1,300 miles. As regards the railway from Tien-tsin to Shan-hai-Kwan, which belonged to an English company, and before the war had been worked by English officials, but had since been taken over by the Russian troops, Russia first undertook to return it to the allies; but subsequently, on the arrival of Prince Ukhtomsky with a mission from St. Petersburg, she decided to retain it "in the interests of China" until her troops were withdrawn from the country. The protests of the English press against this decision, the permanent British control of the line having been secured both by treaty with China and by the Anglo-Russian protocol (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 318), produced a great deal of angry comment in the semi-official papers of St. Petersburg, and the matter remained unsettled till the close of the year.

With France the relations of Russia remained very cordial, the two Powers going hand in hand in all the delicate negotiations with regard to China, even where French interests had for that purpose to be subordinated to Russian ones. On the investment in September of the French President, M. Loubet, with the order of St. Andrew, the Czar called him his "very dear friend," and laid stress on the value of the accord between the two countries "for the maintenance of the general peace," and in November the Czar sent him a telegram on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of the late President Carnot, in which he referred to the latter's "active co-operation in the great work of the close *rapprochement* in an essentially pacific purpose" of France and Russia. With England and Germany there were constant bickerings in consequence of the appointment of Count Waldersee and the attempted encroachments of

the Russian generals in China on the English rights, but there is no reason to believe that the outpourings of the semi-official Russian papers on these subjects in any way represented the views of the Czar, whose illness detained him at Livadia in the autumn and winter. Dr. Leyds was received by him at Peterhof on August 25, but the reply given to Mr. Kruger when he asked if he could have an audience of the Czar was such that he had to abandon his plan of going to Russia. Considerable importance was attached at St. Petersburg to the appointment in December of a Russian consul at Bombay, shortly after that of one at Prague, both appointments being represented as of great value for the prospects of Russian trade with India and Bohemia respectively.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

Another massacre of Armenians in the district of Sasun was the chief incident in Turkey during the year. The number of victims was variously estimated in the consular reports at from 60 to 400, and the British Vice-consul at Van proceeded to Bitlis to investigate the matter. On his way he was attacked by some Kurds, who appear to have been the chief agents in the massacre. Information having been given to the Turkish authorities that there were some "Armenian revolutionists" in a village called Spaghank, in the Sasun district, the village was surrounded by a strong force of troops under the military commander of Bitlis. The Armenians attempted to defend themselves, but the troops forced their way into the village, and all the inhabitants were then put to the sword and the village burnt to the ground. Some took refuge in a church, upon which the troops surrounded the building with fuel and set light to it, thereby suffocating the people inside, among whom were a priest, a woman, and a child. The Sultan, in consequence of representations made to him by the foreign ambassadors on the subject, dismissed the commandant at Bitlis and ordered a committee to proceed to the spot and punish the persons found guilty of having taken part in the massacre.

In September the Sultan held a jubilee celebration on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, and Admiral Sir John Fisher was appointed a special delegate to present her Majesty's congratulations to him. Waterworks, a university, and a medical college and hospital were to be constructed at Constantinople at the Sultan's expense in commemoration of the occasion, together with a railway to Mecca and a telegraph line to the Hedjaz. The British squadron at Lemnos was illuminated, and the representatives of the other Powers also took part in the celebration. Shortly after the Shah of Persia paid a visit to the Sultan and was received with great honours.

Towards the end of the year some alarm was caused by the condition of Macedonia and Albania. In the former province there were some hundreds of assassinations of Greeks by Bulgarians, and in the latter one Mussulman chief alone was stated to have caused more than 200 Christians to be put to death. One Christian village was burnt, in two others the Turks carried away a number of Christian women, and in a third several persons were murdered because no ransom was paid for them.

In November, Prince George of Greece, whose term of office as High Commissioner of Crete was to expire in the following year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1898, p. 284), proceeded to the chief European courts to negotiate as to his political position and that of the island under his administration for the future, as considerable difficulties had been caused by its remaining nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, although as regards all internal matters it was autonomous. The desire of the great majority of the Cretans was that they should stand in some sort of federal relation to the Greek kingdom, but that they should be wholly independent of that State as regards their internal affairs.

A very warlike feeling was created between Bulgaria and Roumania by the assassination of Professor Michaleano and other Roumanians by men who declared that they were acting under the orders of the Macedonian revolutionary committee at Sofia. The victims were chiefly wealthy merchants of Macedonian origin, who, being naturalised Roumanian citizens, sympathised with the Roumanian movement in Macedonia, but declined to support the Bulgarian movement directed by the Bulgarian revolutionary committee. Strong representations on the subject were made to Bulgaria by the Roumanian Government, supported by those of Germany, Austria and Italy, but the only reply was that the Bulgarian Government was prepared to prosecute the Bulgarian-Macedonians at Sofia on the production of evidence of their complicity in the crime, but that it saw no ground for interference so long as such evidence was not forthcoming. Shortly after, however, a more conciliatory note was sent to Bucharest, stating that the public prosecutor at Sofia had been instructed to open a judicial investigation into the matter. Meanwhile the Bulgarian military authorities fortified Widdin, Nikopol, and Sistova, the chief places on the Danube facing Roumanian territory, and steps were taken to mobilise the Roumanian army. It soon became clear that for Bulgaria to push matters to a war would have been an act of suicide, as Roumania had the support, not only of the Triple Alliance, but also of Turkey, Servia and Greece. In the course of the inquiry the accused not only confessed their guilt, but declared that they had been ordered by the president of the Macedonian committee also to kill the King of Roumania. On the other hand, the Macedonian committee, which had fre-

quently received encouragement and support from the Bulgarian authorities ever since the time of M. Stambouloff, had become so strong as almost to have got beyond the control of the Government.

The trial at Sofia of the members of the Macedonian committee and the other persons implicated had not concluded at the end of the year, though at Bucharest a number of men charged with the assassination of Professor Michaleano and conspiring to assassinate the King were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment with hard labour. In the meanwhile the Bulgarian Cabinet resigned, owing to the refusal of M. Radoslavoff, the Minister of the Interior, to co-operate any further with the other ministers. As M. Radoslavoff had been by far the most powerful member of the late Cabinet, of which he had aspired to be the head, he was called upon by Prince Ferdinand to form a new Ministry, but none of his former colleagues would serve with him, and he was even deserted by a number of his followers. The result was that the late premier, M. Ivantchoff, formed a new Cabinet, of which the strongest member was General Petroff, who succeeded M. Radoslavoff as Minister of the Interior, and that the Sobranje was dissolved in order to obtain an assembly in which M. Radoslavoff's adherents should be less numerous, and an opportunity be given for the expression of public opinion as to the best means of meeting the country's liabilities. The revival of the old Turkish tithe, or payment of a tenth of the agricultural produce in kind, which had been introduced by the late Government for this purpose, had given rise to such gross abuses that in several districts the peasantry had risen in arms against the Government collectors.

In Roumania also the chief difficulty of the Government was finance. The actual deficit amounted to nearly 43,000,000 lei, and a large portion of the outstanding arrears was practically irrecoverable. The harvest, though fair, had disappointed general expectation, and there was a falling off in almost every department of revenue. The proposals of the Government for meeting the above deficit included the sale of the cigarette paper monopoly to the Berlin Disconto-Gesellschaft for 15,000,000 lei, the sale of the petroleum-bearing undersoil in the Western Carpathians for 10,000,000 lei, the disposal of the Government's shares in the National Bank for 13,000,000 lei, and the sale of a portion of the State forests for 5,000,000 lei.

Some sensation was caused in the latter part of the year by the assumption by the Prince of Montenegro of the title of "Royal Highness," and this revived the rumours of the approaching establishment, under Russian patronage, of a southern Slav confederacy under the prince's sceptre. It turned out, however, that the new title had been assumed by the prince at the request of his chief subjects in recognition of the fortieth anniversary of his accession to the Montenegrin

throne. The new title was recognised by all the European Powers. The idea of a South Slavonian confederacy was, however, really broached in the Russian and Servian press, though not in connection with the new title of the Prince of Montenegro, but with that of a projected railway connecting the Black Sea with the Montenegrin port of Scutari, on the Adriatic, and passing through Servia, Albania and Montenegro.

In Servia great rejoicing was produced by the announcement by King Alexander in July of his betrothal to Madame Draga Maschin, a widow who was formerly one of the ladies in waiting to Queen Nathalie, and the chief reason of the general satisfaction was that it was believed this event would remove from the country once for all the baleful influence of the ex-King Milan, who had strongly opposed the match. The announcement was followed by the resignation of the Ministry and the proclamation of a political amnesty, in consequence of which the sentences passed on the accused in the great state trial of the preceding year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899, p. 322) were either remitted altogether or greatly reduced. Ex-King Milan then left the country, first resigning his post of commander-in-chief of the Servian Army. The first sovereign to congratulate King Alexander on his approaching marriage was the Emperor of Russia, and the marriage was solemnised on August 5.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

AMONG the minor States of Europe Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland have continued to give the example of a prudent and cautious policy, of steady industrial and commercial progress, of practical solicitude for the working classes; whilst in their international relations they displayed that combination of dignity and reserve which in different degrees has been an hereditary quality in all three countries. Each one was concerned in the attempt to solve the question of old-age pensions and insurance against workmen's accidents which was perplexing all civilised nations, and whilst the Netherlands with Switzerland had the honour and the advantage of becoming the seat of great international movements in favour of peace, Belgium continued to be the field for various bold and original experiments in the question of political suffrage. In the course of the year 1900 the last-named country abandoned the system of plural voting adopted in 1893 in favour of proportional representation and returned to the *scrutin de liste* which had fallen out of favour elsewhere. Lastly, whilst statesmen were engaged in rallying

public opinion in favour of the working classes, the dynasties of both Belgium and the Netherlands were seeking to perpetuate themselves by alliances with Bavaria and Mecklenburg.

I. BELGIUM.

Throughout the year 1900 Belgium was more than ever the scene of keen struggle between political parties, and both Clericals and Liberals strove their utmost to organise their followers and to inspire them with a sense of their responsibilities. This was especially the case with the Socialists, who by their closer relations with the Internationalists marked a new departure. Hitherto the Belgian Socialists had succeeded where none others had in disciplining the mass of their adherents. Belgium could claim to be the classic ground of the *maisons du peuple*, of workmen's dining rooms, of civic manifestations and theatrical processions. But the time had arrived to pass from theory to practice, and in presence of the formidable organisation of the Clerical Conservative party it was necessary to take action. The leaders of the party did not long hesitate, and by a bold stroke decided to set aside their former tactics and to adopt measures to meet the urgency of the situation. A central committee was formed with the object of founding at the new University of Brussels a Socialist section which should become the International training school of the party. In a word, Belgium aspired to become the home of Socialist doctrines, and at the Paris International Congress the advantages of this idea were fully recognised, and it was decided that the General Council of the International should be fixed at Brussels. At the same time the Belgian Socialist Congress, attended by representatives of the various groups of the workmen's party, met at Brussels (Jan. 13), having elected as their president M. Furnémont, a deputy, and decided to allow to each district full liberty of action. The fruits of this policy were speedily shown, for a week later, at the renewal of the electoral colleges by the Communal Councils, the Socialists carried a number of seats, especially in the south-eastern provinces.

This activity of the more advanced section stimulated the action of the Liberals and the Progressists. The leaders of both parties saw the necessity of laying aside their differences, and the result was the founding of the Liberal Association, which should concentrate the scattered forces of the former parliamentary Left party, and the results of this reunion were splendidly evident in the Chamber itself. In the debate on the Budget of the Minister of Justice (March 16) the Government had much difficulty in giving a satisfactory explanation of the dismissal of the Procureur-Général of the Court of Ghent. Later on, in discussing the electoral irregularities at Alost, neither the President nor the Vice-Presidents would come to the assistance of the Minister of the Interior, but allowed the

debate to show that the majority was disposed neither to upset nor to approve the Government. A few days later (March 20) M. Vandervelde interpellated M. Liebaert on the suppression of the sale of *Le Peuple* in railway stations, and by a large majority the Chamber voted the order of the day pure and simple. M. Pastier, the Socialist deputy for Charleroi, in a maiden speech, next attacked the Government on the ground that a large iron company was selling spirits to its workmen at sixpence per litre. The Minister of Labour undertook to have the matter inquired into, and, if it proved to be the case, promised to introduce at once a bill prohibiting such practices.

At the same time there were signs of disruption in the Catholic party. The more ardent champions of the clergy who grouped themselves round M. Helleputte insisted that a large increase to the stipends of the clergy, almost surreptitiously introduced by the Government into the Budget, was wholly inadequate. The additional demands put forward were equivalent to a fourth of the original Budget, and were impossible for any Ministry, having regard to balancing the accounts of the State, to comply with. The President of the Council, who was also Minister of Finance, M. de Smet de Naeyer, declined to accept the proposal, and in this was supported by M. Schollaert, a former Minister of Justice. The Clericals, however, would listen to no arguments; their one idea was to take advantage of the opportunity of being able whilst in a majority to recompense their most valuable electoral agents. In spite of the protests of the Governments, and at the risk of creating a complicated Ministerial crisis, the matter was pushed to the vote, when some few of the Catholic party who stood by the Ministry, supported by the Liberals and the Socialists, were able to save the Ministry from defeat.

In the Senate a similar dislocation of party ties was shown as the result of the proceedings taken by the Minister of Justice against the deputy M. Demblon, in which the question of parliamentary privilege was involved. The Chamber had refused to authorise a prosecution, but the law officers insisted upon proceeding on the ground that the accused had been arrested *flagrante delicto*. In the course of the debate M. Picard took the line that this distinction was only admissible in the case of a felony and not in that of a misdemeanour, and on this point both Right and Left were so much divided in opinion that no definite decision was pronounced.

On the other hand both parties were unanimous in condemning the foolish attempt of the youth Sipido to assassinate the Prince of Wales at the Northern Railway Station, on his way through Brussels to Copenhagen. The would-be assassin was immediately arrested and brought before a jury, but as he had not reached the age of legal responsibility he could not be subjected to a penal sentence. The Court, however, ordered him to be detained in a House of Correction until he had attained

his majority. In the interval allowed for an appeal to the Court of Cassation, Sipido managed to escape over the French frontier. The carelessness displayed by the Belgian police excited the remonstrances of the British Government and press, and eventually the authorities were induced to bestir themselves. The police were put on the track of the youthful fugitive, and after some months he was arrested in Paris, and formally extradited and conveyed back to Belgium.

Meanwhile all parties in view of the approaching elections were anxious to bring the session to an end, the only object of the Opposition being to discredit the Government by repeated interpellations. Amongst these one dealing with the atrocities committed by the leaders of the Congo expedition was of some importance. The charges were brought forward and eloquently dealt with by M. Vandervelde and M. Lorand, and with some difficulty the Ministry obtained a sort of negative certificate of responsibility. In the Senate there were complaints that no time was allowed for a proper discussion of the Budgets of the several departments, but they were nevertheless passed, and a few days later (7 May) the Chambers were dissolved.

The electoral campaign, in which the representation of minorities was an important feature, was carried on with unwonted peaceableness and good-will, but the outcome of the National Association, upon which so many hopes were founded, was a disappointment to the Liberals. Liberals and Radicals together succeeded, however, in carrying thirty-three seats (May 27), showing a gain of twenty-one upon their former total; but this result fell far below their hopes, whilst the Socialists, who had gained five seats, were their equal in point of numbers. Although the Clerical majority had been considerably reduced, it still numbered eighty-four members, or sixteen in excess of the combined Opposition, and was subjected to better discipline. The chief leaders of the Catholic party were MM. Bernaert, de Sadeleer, de Trooz, Liebaert, de Favereau, van den Brugge and Woeste; of the Liberals, MM. van Ryswijk, Lorand and Crombez, and of the Socialists, MM. Defuisseaux, Furnémont, Vandervelde, Hector Denis and Demblon.

In the provincial elections which followed ten days later (June 3), the utmost calm prevailed, and no change was made in the state of parties. In six out of nine provinces, the two Flanders, Antwerp, Namur, Luxemburg and Limburg, the Catholics remained masters of the situation, with the result that the fifteen Catholic and eleven Liberal or Socialist sitting Senators were again returned (June 17) for the seats falling vacant. The final results of the elections showed that the Senate would consist of fifty-eight Clericals, thirty-seven Liberals and seven Socialists.

The new Parliament assembled (July 4) to formally constitute itself, and, after much delay, M. de Sadeleer, a former Vice-President, was elected (July 18) by 108 to 2 votes Pre-

sident of the Chamber of Representatives in succession to M. Bernaert whose health did not allow him to retain such an onerous post. MM. Schollaert and Heyman, both Catholics, were chosen Vice-Presidents, whilst from the Opposition only two out of the four secretaries were elected, and thereupon the Chamber adjourned.

The recess was marked by numerous trifling incidents. The press took up the cause of the Belgian workmen expelled from the Russian glass-works at Donetz, which had been started with Belgian capital. Whatever the rights of the question may have been, the Russian Government took no steps to protect these unfortunate workmen from the fury of their Russian comrades. The next matter raised was that of Belgian intervention in China, and a corps was organised to co-operate with the allies in chastising the Boxers. The question, however, arose whether a neutral Power, guaranteed by other Powers, had the right to take part in expeditions *manu militari*. It was thought at first that the difficulty might be got over, if the organisation of the expeditionary force were left in the hands of a private committee, into whose hands the King would pay a sum of 3,000,000 francs (120,000*l.*). Objections, however, were taken by Germany, and the Ministry decided (Aug. 23) that there was no ground for recognising officially the Belgian Legion, or consequently for convoking the Chambers, and on the following day General Verstraete announced to the chief officers of the corps that its dissolution was unavoidable.

In the domain of industry, however, Belgium was able to assert her vitality. A great company, under the presidency of M. Bernaert, with MM. Albert de Bary and General Thys, promoter of the Congo Railway, was started at Antwerp, on the site of the works formerly occupied by the Vulcan Society of Stettin, and covering an area of 1,700 acres; and it was anticipated that the impetus thus given to the trade of Antwerp would be felt throughout the country.

The marriage of Prince Albert, the sole surviving heir to the Crown, with Princess Mathilda of Bavaria, was the occasion of brilliant *fêtes* at Brussels (Oct. 6) and of serious disorders at Ghent, which were followed by strikes, the glass-workers of the southern provinces, although barely recovered from the effect of prolonged trade-disputes, being amongst the most prominent in this stoppage of work. Politics as much as pay were mixed up in the dispute. It was determined to revive the old policy of setting class against class, and all the more because at the Paris International Congress it had just been decided that the "*Maison du Peuple*" at Brussels should be made the seat of the international propaganda. For tactical reasons it was decided to adjourn the National Congress, usually held in November, and in its place local conferences and meetings were held in various parts of the country. A counter stroke of policy was made by the Ministry when (Oct. 26) the

King signed the decree under which working-men's old age pensions should be granted. The Socialists at once protested against the measure as ludicrously inadequate, inasmuch as it only proposed to allow sixty-five francs per annum to Belgian workmen aged sixty-five residing in Belgium and deprived of all means of subsistence.

Parliament on its reassembling (Nov. 13) at once took up the matter of Sípido's re-arrest and extradition, and three days were needed to exhaust the flow of eloquence these proceedings produced, but in the end a vote approving the action of the Government was adopted. A still longer time was given to the debate on M. Furnémont's motion on the constitution of the mixed commission charged to examine and report on the military situation of Belgium. M. Woeste meantime organised a sort of referendum of the matter to all the Catholic societies throughout the country for their opinion on the subject, whilst the Opposition in both Senate and Chamber held a full meeting to draw up a programme and to decide upon a joint course of action. The Ministry promptly realised that its maintenance in office depended upon its avoidance of all critical questions. It managed, therefore, to adjourn the discussion of such matters as the licensing of gambling tables and military reforms, and to get a vote of indemnity with regard to the Belgian contingent of 13,300 men demanded by the Minister of War, although in the Senate especially it was subjected to much adverse criticism. The year, therefore, closed with many political and economic problems still unsolved, amongst which that of military service presented the most serious aspect, whilst the high price of coal was disorganising many industries, and the strike of the Antwerp dock labourers threatened the prosperity of that port.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

In Holland, as in Belgium, political parties devoted much attention to self-organisation, and the general tendency of public opinion was towards old age benefit societies and an extension of the franchise. One of the most noteworthy features of the latter was the progress of women's rights among the Conservative party. Consequently it was no surprise when the central committee of the Liberal Union, the most important of the Electoral Associations, in a manifesto address to its provincial sections (Feb. 7) on the eve of the parliamentary session, insisted upon the right of every Dutchman of full age to a vote, and claimed the inclusion of women upon the register. The latter reform, however, was to be subsidiary to the former, which in itself necessitating, as it would, a reform of the Constitution and consequently a dissolution of the Chamber, its immediate adoption was scarcely within the range of probability.

The Socialist party (*Arbeiderspartij*), having organised itself, had been able to secure four seats in the States-General, and

under the leadership of M. Troelstra adopted the system of legal agitation which had proved successful in both France and Belgium. This amongst other causes tended to make the winter session of the Second Chamber unusually interesting. A bill enforcing obligatory instruction (*leer-plicht*), brought forward by the Home Minister, Mynh. Goeman Borgesius, was energetically opposed by Mynh. de Savornin-Lohman, leader of the aristocratic anti-revolutionists, M. Mackay, a former minister, and by Drs. Knijfer and Harte, Catholics, and was warmly defended by the Liberals, M. Kerdijk and M. Helde, and by a prominent Catholic, Dr. Schoepman. The progress of the bill was impeded by a host of amendments, which at one time threatened its existence; but after many laborious sittings the first clause was adopted (March 10) by 52 to 37 votes. The other clauses passed with less difficulty, the Government showing its willingness to accept reasonable amendments. The obstacles, however, had been so great that it was not without misgiving that the Government next invited the Chamber to take up the bill approving the conventions of the Hague Congress. On the part of the Government itself there was no lukewarmness, for it forthwith set apart a building for the use of the High Court of Arbitration, in the hope that by furnishing the means it would create the need. A Radical member, however, suggested (March 30) that the Chamber should adjourn the proposal until after the conclusion of the war in South Africa; but he met with little support, and the Ministerial measure was adopted.

A bill introduced by M. C. Lely, Minister of the Waterstaat, dealing with the question of accidents by workmen, was passed by the Second Chamber with little opposition; but on coming before the First Chamber was somewhat severely dealt with. Whilst recognising the usefulness of the measure the majority were not disposed to accept the financial arrangements by which it was to be made operative. The First Chamber, however, by the Constitution possessing no power to amend bills passed by the Second, after carefully discussing the bill in detail, finally rejected it (June 1) by 29 to 20 votes.

This was the first time since 1890 that the First Chamber had rejected a bill coming from the Lower House, and in this case the refusal was the more serious as the bill (*ongewalennwet*) had been passed by a large majority. It could not, however, be said that the action of the First Chamber had been actuated by party spirit, for whilst the majority was composed of sixteen Liberals, nine Catholics and four Anti-Revolutionists, the minority included sixteen Liberals, three Catholics and one Anti-Revolutionist. The result was in a great measure the fault of the Government. The opponents of State Socialism in the Upper House, M. Bonevaert, M. Faure, M. Rochussen, and notably M. Schimmelpenninck, had urged legal points to which the Minister of Justice, M. Cort van den Linden, had

feebly replied, and the Prime Minister, M. Pierson, had somewhat foolishly insisted that the rejection of the bill would be regarded out of doors as politically significant. The public at once took the cue; meetings were held and speeches made which were intended to influence the Chamber, and the members considering that their self-respect was at stake rejected the bill.

This defeat, although no Ministerial crisis ensued, gave the Government a warning, by which it showed its readiness to profit, and shortly afterwards (June 6) announced its intention of introducing in the Second Chamber an amended bill by which greater freedom would be given to employers for insuring their workmen. At the same time, in order to wipe out the recollection of its rebuff, the Cabinet showed its readiness to accept amendments on the Higher Education Bill, especially such as facilitated the entrance of South African students into the Dutch universities. Another appeal for popular sympathy and support made by the Ministry was shown when the Minister of the Interior, M. Goeman Borgesius proposed a bill to revise certain technical points in the Electoral Act of 1890, which would involve an increase in the number of electors qualified to vote at municipal elections and those on whom fell the election of members to the Second Chamber.

The good-will of the Government for the Liberal party was not, however, extended to the Socialists. These had held (June 24) at Amsterdam an important congress, at which after much discussion the conflicting sections, under their respective leaders, MM. Rot, Helsdingen and Troestra, had agreed upon a common policy, and had finally broken off relations with the Anarchists. The Government, nevertheless, saw fit to prosecute M. Troestra for provoking disturbances, and he was convicted and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. This gave rise to an interpellation in the Second Chamber, which on being changed into a vote of censure was rejected (June 27) by 60 to 13 votes.

In due course the Education Bill (*Leerplicht*) was brought before the Upper Chamber, where it had been somewhat severely criticised in committee. In view possibly of the outcome of the Workmen's Assurance Bill, which had been recently reintroduced by the Government, the First Chamber consented to adopt (July 6) the Education Bill, as presented, and the session closed without further incident.

The calm of the holidays, however, threatened at one time to be disturbed by a serious strike among the Rotterdam dock labourers, but the Government at once showed a firm hand, and warned Mr. Havelock Wilson, the President of the English Dockers' Union, who had come over to urge the strikers to hold out, that on the first outbreak of disorder he would be expelled. The strike was, as a matter of fact, marked by no disturbances and was satisfactorily settled.

In the following month (Sept. 4) the members of the Inter-

national Peace Bureau held their first meeting at the Hague, and solemnly deposited the acts and ratifications of the congress of 1899 in the archives of the office set apart for future proceedings under the treaty.

The new session of Parliament was opened (Sept. 18) by the young Queen Wilhelmina in person, who in her speech from the throne congratulated the States-General that the conventions of the Peace Conference had been ratified by nearly all the contracting parties, and that the Netherlands continued to enjoy friendly relations with the rest of the world. Not a word was said with regard to the Queen's forthcoming marriage, to the notes which had been exchanged with the British Government with reference to ex-President Kruger, or to his reception on board the Dutch ship *Gelderland*.

The business of the autumn session was chiefly devoted to social questions and to the Budget. The Prime Minister, M. Pierson, taking note of the debate on its introduction, had amended the bill on Workmen's Societies, and had adopted suggestions made by MM. de Savornin, de Beaufort and Lohman, which aimed at giving greater freedom of initiative to employers. For these concessions he was bitterly attacked by MM. Kerdijs and Knijper, who reproached the minister with having neither the dignity to resign nor the courage to dissolve the Upper Chamber after the rejection of the previous bill. The Socialists also protested against the new version, but no serious opposition was made and it passed quickly, the Upper Chamber adopting (Nov. 9) the bill as revised by 35 to 8 votes, thus giving to the Netherlands a Workmen's Charter on the lines already accorded to them in France, Germany and Austria.

For the rest of the year public attention was centred upon two matters, the Queen's marriage and Mr. Kruger's visit. Amongst the numerous pretenders to the hand of Queen Wilhelmina, her choice had fallen upon Prince Henry of Mecklenburg, and this having been announced to the Chambers much time was spent in discussing the delicate position in the State to be occupied by the Queen's Consort.

The attitude to be adopted towards ex-President Kruger required no less prudence. Dutch public opinion was distinctly enlisted on the side of the Boer patriarch, and was very excitable upon any points which seemed to arise out of South African troubles. This was shown in the sudden recall of the Dutch Minister at Lisbon, in consequence of the withdrawal of the Portuguese *exequatur* from Mr. Pott, the Dutch Consul-General at Lorenzo Marques. As a matter of course the Count de Seliv, who represented Portugal at the Hague, was granted leave of absence for an indefinite period. The matter was brought forward in the First Chamber by the Comte de Bylandt, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Beaufort, had acted in all respects for the best in the general as well as in the national interest, and by degrees even the enthusiasm created by

the arrival of the refugee president cooled down, and he was allowed to take up his residence at Utrecht, to undergo an ophthalmic operation.

III. SWITZERLAND.

Among the questions submitted to the Federal Assembly in its ordinary session that of public gambling under the apparently innocent form known as *les petits chevaux* occupied a good deal of time. The point raised was whether under the Federal Constitution individual cantons could permit what had been proscribed by the Federal Council, which had done its utmost to suppress gambling within the reach of its authority. A party, known as the "Virtuists," had been organised, who demanded the absolute suppression of all games of chance in public places, and with this object MM. Rossel and Hiltz brought forward (March 20) a motion signed by five members calling upon the Government to frame a law in accordance with their wishes. M. Favon, editor of the *Genevois* and leader of the Radical party, poured out a stream of irony on the authors of the motion. His argument was based upon the idea that human virtue had its limits and that it was more expedient to direct vice into a proper channel than to vainly attempt to extirpate it. This view was supported by M. Steiger, a Councillor of State at Berne, who maintained that in his character of Protestant pastor he had been scandalised and revolted by the spectacle of what took place at Monaco, whilst all that happened at Interlaken was innocent and bucolic. This line of opposition rendered the task of the Government more easy, and the head of the Department of Justice, Dr. Brenner, in summing up the debate, declared that it was impossible in theory to define what constituted a gambling house, and that to tolerate or to interdict places of public resort was a matter of tact and discretion. The motion was then negatived by 73 to 32 votes, but the spokesman of the Virtuists, Professor Rossel, announced his intention of arousing a cry for a *plebiscitum*.

Another question of more pressing importance was that of military expenditure, which in the eyes of certain members had grown to extravagant proportions. The retrenchment party had drawn up five separate resolutions embodying their views, which were entrusted to M. Wullschleger, a Socialist deputy from Bâle, and to Professor Jeanhenry of Neuchâtel. The defence of the Government fell to M. Müller, head of the military department, who maintained that the Chamber had already effected all possible reductions in the vote for the Army, that at the present this vote which was formerly 30 per cent. of the total Federal expenditure was now only 27 per cent., and if the actual amount expended showed an increase this was due to special causes or to the normal augmentation of men under arms and caused by an increased population. These

objections were deemed satisfactory, and all five resolutions were negatived.

The only other question of general interest which occupied the National Assembly during the winter session was a fruitless attempt made by M. Joos to obtain a revision of the monetary laws and to introduce a gold standard.

In the previous year both bodies of the Federal Assembly had passed the Forrer law, which made compulsory the insurance against accidents and illness of all persons engaged in industrial pursuits, of both sexes and of fourteen years of age and upwards, whose wages or salary did not exceed 5,000 francs (200*l.*). This formidable law consisting of 400 clauses had been so popular that the only member of the Federal Assembly who had opposed it paid for his courage by the loss of his seat. There were, however, misgivings in the minds of some thoughtful men as to the real value of the measure. Three journalists, M. Jules Répond in the *Gazette de Lausanne*, M. Micheli in the *Journal de Genève*, and M. Augustin in the *Vaterland* of Lucerne (until he lost his place on it), undertook a campaign with the object of having the bill referred to the popular vote. To obtain this 30,000 signatures were necessary, but in three months no fewer than 127,000 votes were obtained in favour of a *referendum*. The struggle headed by three citizens against the whole Swiss press was an unequal one, but it was carried on without flinching, and when the popular vote was taken (May 20) the bill was rejected by 337,575 to 146,629 votes, so successful had been the appeal to the feeling of individual liberty and freedom of action against the spirit of inquisition and official constraint.

The summer session of the Federal Assembly was occupied by proposals of electoral reform, of proportional representation after the Belgian model, and the important subject of banks of issue. The first-named reform was further complicated by the still bolder suggestion that the members of the Federal Council should also be elected by popular vote, and although both bills were adopted by both Councils on being tested by the *referendum* (Nov. 4) it was rejected by a majority of 73,393 votes, and the direct election to the Councils by 126,000, so strong was the Conservative instinct of the Swiss nation. The question of proportional representation was adjourned.

At the same time the spirit of centralisation which of late had manifested itself on several occasions was further shown by the convention made (Nov. 10) between the Confederation and the Central Railway, by which the former anticipated its right of purchasing the Central system for 75,000,000 francs (750 francs per share) of 4 per cent. Federal Stock. The railways were to be handed over to the Government at the beginning of the year, subject to the ratification of both the shareholders and the Federal Assembly.

Before the year closed the State Council ratified the con-

ventions and declarations of the Hague Congress, with the exception of the article relating to continental warfare which excluded *la levée en masse*, and a few days later the Federal Council nominated as the representatives of Switzerland on the Arbitration Tribunal M. Ch. Lardy, M. C. Hiltz and M. Ernest Rott. In the National Council, M. Monzoni, a deputy from the Canton of Ticino, proposed the following resolution: "The Swiss National Council appeals to the English people and Parliament, and to the other Parliaments of Europe, to submit the Transvaal question to arbitration in conformity to the requirements of international law." The proposal, however, met with no support, and it was dropped by its author without being debated.

IV. SPAIN.

In the course of the year the breach or, if it be preferred, the misunderstanding so long existing between the Spanish people and its Government became greater. From the opening of the Cortes (Jan. 2) the agitated and incoherent parliamentary debates gave evidence that both Houses represented not the nation but only the *coterie* in power. In strong contrast with their proceedings were those of the Congress of Chambers of Commerce, held at Valladolid (Jan. 14), and attended by 400 delegates. After adopting the title of the National Union, in order to show its political character, the congress drew up a list of necessary reforms in the raising of taxes, in provincial and municipal government, and concluding with the following resolution: "Considering that the time has gone by for absolute faith in the public authorities, a permanent committee should be appointed to carry out the decisions arrived at by the Chambers of Commerce, and to direct their action in the affairs of the country."

Such a programme was little short of revolutionary, and since revolutions can seldom be effected without a struggle, and as the Chambers of Commerce had no means of enforcing their views, their protests were without effect, and the broken-down Government machine continued to get along as best it could.

In the Cortes a show was made of discussing the Budget under the watchful eye of Señor Pidal. However, in spite of his precautions, the Opposition managed (Feb. 9) to defeat by 88 to 87 votes a proposal to impose an extra tax of 10 per cent. on the *octroi* duties. Señor Pidal at once brought the sitting to a close in a scene of great disorder. After a few days' adjournment the subject was again brought forward, when the deputies of the Opposition adopted a policy of obstruction, with the only result that the Minister of Finance was forced to withdraw a proposed increase of the duty on spirits. All the other taxes were adopted, and the new Budget maintained the wretched financial policy which had brought Spain to such a ruined condition. It was

neither doctors nor remedies which were wanting, for on the one hand some urged decentralisation, while others demanded the transfer of power to the Chambers of Commerce, and meanwhile the Carlists were making ready to take advantage of the general disorganisation.

Barcelona as usual was the centre of the Federalist agitation, but at the same time Catalonia became the headquarters of a royalist insurrection. The Government, however, was so little alive to what was going on that on the advice of the prefect of Barcelona, Señor Escarbin, no notice was taken of the noisy meetings held in that province. It was supposed that the majority of the Catalan population was far too well advised to think of separation from the rest of Spain, which was the only market for its products.

Meanwhile the Chambers of Commerce were busy in organising a general strike of taxpayers. A circular was addressed (March 26) to all the commercial bodies to organise public meetings as soon as the protests against the Budget and the financial proposals were forwarded to the Government. The Senate by way of parrying the attack passed a law forbidding all work on Sundays and *fête* days, notwithstanding the opposition of the Republican senator, Señor Gonzalez, who denounced the proposal as a Clerical manoeuvre. The Budget nevertheless received the royal assent (April 2), and immediately the principal traders throughout the country ceased to pay their taxes. A Ministerial crisis at once ensued owing to a disagreement between Señor Pidal and Señor Silvela, and a rearrangement of portfolios was attempted, but a fortnight later (April 17) the whole Cabinet resigned, and was reconstituted under Señor Silvela, who took the Presidency of the Council and the Navy. The Marquis d'Aguiar de Campos was given the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis de Villado that of Justice, the Hacienda was left to Señor Villaverde, the War Department to General Azcarraga, and the Home Office to Señor Dato. Señor Garcia was placed at the head of Public Instruction, and with great magnanimity the Public Works were given over to the editor of *El Imparcial*, a journal which had not been sparing in its criticism on the Prime Minister.

This Cabinet, thanks chiefly to the presence of the two marquises, had a distinctly Clerical tinge; but in its programme it promised to bring about administrative decentralisation and to reform public instruction on modern lines. Nevertheless its reception by the public was far from friendly. Señor Paraiso, President of the National Union, summoned a meeting of the committee at Madrid, and a manifesto was issued urging the people to abstain from paying their taxes. The manifesto, originally published in *El Siglo futuro*, was reproduced by other journals, which were promptly seized by the police and the twenty members of the committee were arrested, but soon afterwards provisionally released. The Minister of the In-

terior, whom his agents had made believe that he was very popular in Catalonia, had the imprudence to announce his approaching visit to that province and to the Balearic Isles. On arriving at Barcelona he was hissed at the *liceo*, and at Tarrasa his carriage was stoned and he himself injured, and troops had to be sent for to restore order. A policy of repression followed. Barcelona and Valencia were declared in a state of siege, and ten days' grace was accorded to the refractory taxpayers to settle the claims made on them. The Ministry advised the Queen to refuse to give audience to the representatives of the commercial and industrial committees, and announced in the *Epoca* its intention of having recourse to all constitutional methods to enforce its demands.

It, however, soon transpired that the working classes were by no means disposed to play the game of the Chambers of Commerce or of their employers; and, moreover, it became known that the citizens who were acting this comedy of civism were secretly paying their taxes. At the same time several members of the Cabinet managed to smooth matters in the four provinces by certain concessions in administrative affairs, and the position of the Ministry was sensibly improved. Finally, the Queen-Regent consented to receive (June 19) the delegates of commerce, but these imagining that they were masters of the situation adopted language to which the Queen refused to listen. Once more the order was sent round to close all shops, and the struggle between the Government and the *bourgeoisie* recommenced. At Madrid all constitutional guarantees were suspended; the Minister of the Interior sent for the editors of the various newspapers and forbade them to publish any but official news. The results of this policy surprised even the ministers, for not only were the taxes paid, especially in the provinces, but the Budget estimate was exceeded. At the same time, however, Señor Dato announced his resignation on the ground of ill-health, and the President of the Council temporarily took over the duties of the Home Office. A few days later a more serious attack of illness obliged the Minister of Finance, Señor Villaverde, to withdraw (June 25) from active political life. His place was promptly taken by a Conservative senator, Señor Allen de Salazar, Mayor of Madrid, who was succeeded in that office by the Duke de Santo Mauro just as the Court was leaving for St. Sebastian. Simultaneously Señor Paraiso, to secure a truce between the parties, followed the Ministerial precedent, alleging ill-health as the reason for his withdrawal from the presidency of the National Union.

The assassination of King Humbert and Salsou's attempt on the Shah's life had their effect upon Spanish affairs. The state of siege, which it was intended to raise in Catalonia, was prolonged, and the newspapers were ordered to make no references to either outrage for fear of arousing similar crimes by suggestion. The Court meanwhile was bringing the members

of the royal family into greater prominence. The young King was sent on board the *Giralda* on a coasting voyage round the North of Spain, touching at the chief ports; and steps were taken to bring about the marriage of the Infanta of the Asturias. The choice fell upon the son of the Count of Caserta, head of the Neapolitan Bourbons, who formerly had served as general under Don Carlos. This proposal was received with the utmost hostility by the Spanish people, and gave occasion to Italy to administer a diplomatic rebuke to the Spanish Government, the Italian Envoy protesting against the assumption by Prince Charles of Bourbon of the title of Duke of Calabria. The Spanish Ministry had no alternative but to submit, and the prince's territorial title was dropped in all official documents.

With the return of the Court to Madrid and the general resumption of business the truce of parties came to an end, whilst the death of Marshal Campos (Sept. 21) deprived the Queen-Regent of one of her most trusty counsellors. Señor Paraiso withdrew his resignation as President of the National Union, and Señor Allen de Salazar on attempting to introduce some economics into his Budget was promptly got rid of by his colleagues (Oct. 2), and a few days later the Minister of War found it convenient to exchange his post for that of President of the Senate. As his successor the choice of the Prime Minister fell upon General Linares, whose record in Cuba had been the reverse of brilliant, but even he was ready to take office only on the condition of being allowed a free hand in Army reform. In fact he laid claim to a practical dictatorship, and Señor Silvela weakly consented to his terms (Oct. 17). Three days later the nomination of General Weyler as Governor of Madrid, without consultation with the Ministry, revealed the true situation, and Señor Silvela found himself obliged to resign with all his Cabinet.

After a few days' delay it was announced that the Ministry had been reconstituted under the presidency of General Azcaraga, the only changes being the appointment of Señor Ugarte as Minister of the Interior, Señor Sanchez Tocia, Minister of Public Works, and the recall of Señor Allen de Salazar to the Finances. The portfolio of the Navy was originally allotted to Admiral Mozo, and on his refusal to several other admirals, but without success.

The newly furnished Ministry was scarcely completed before it found itself face to face with a serious Carlist insurrection in Catalonia, which gradually extended over the northern provinces. It owed its rapid extension to the activity of the Clerical orders, which had been especially favoured by the late Ministry, and were at the same time the most active agents of the Duke of Madrid. The rising, however, was premature, and no adequate arrangements had been made for the appearance of an imposing leader. The authorities, moreover, although taken by surprise, were prompt in taking measures to secure order. The consti-

tutional guarantees were once more suspended throughout the northern provinces, and the coasts patrolled by a small fleet, and many prominent Carlists were placed under lock and key. The preparations for a general rising were found to be on a more than ordinarily imposing scale, depôts of arms and regularly constituted arsenals had been organised; stamps had been printed with the effigy of Charles VII., and many other proofs of a wide-spreading plot were discovered. Don Carlos himself from his safe retreat in Venice disavowed his followers, but the bishops who had been carefully nursed, loudly protested against the arrest of priests, even with arms in their hands.

From the noise of camps and the rumours of fighting in the north the more peaceable Spaniards turned with relief to the proceedings of the Ibero-American Congress, which met at Madrid (Nov. 10) in order to discuss the prospects of Spanish industrial development. Señor Moret eloquently urged a closer union of all Latin races in Europe and America, and with this view it was decided to hold at Mexico in the following year a pan-American Congress, at which all the Latin populations of North and South America should be represented.

The Cortes reopened (Nov. 21) without any speech from the throne, and Señor Villaverde was elected President by 203 votes to 86 blanks. The principal subject discussed was the marriage of the Princess of the Asturias, which the Ministry represented merely as a family affair, although at the same time they asked the consent of the Cortes. Under such circumstances it was natural that the Opposition should look upon the matter as one of extreme political importance. A few days later (Dec. 3) Señor Robledo Romero, once again a Republican, denounced the ultra-clerical education given to the young King, who was being trained not to command but to obey. To what extent Spanish deputies and the Spanish people are dupes of their own eloquence it would be impossible to say, but at this time the Opposition pretended to believe that it would be possible on Alfonso XIII. attaining his majority to bring about a reconciliation between the monarchy and the democracy, and Señor Canalejas on this subject made (Dec. 14) a remarkable speech which attracted attention throughout the country.

Ministers, however, were unable to understand the temper of the nation and committed blunder after blunder, which exasperated their opponents, who were quite disposed for an honourable truce. Newspapers were seized merely for publishing hostile articles to the Count de Caserta, who, as was pointed out in the Cortes, was to be now considered inviolable in Spain, although he had fought against her as chief of the staff of the Carlist Army. The formal notification of the intended marriage gave rise to a noisy debate in the Cortes (Dec. 17), but the formal vote was passed in the terms of the Government's resolution, but on the subject of the annual contingent of soldiers the Ministry narrowly escaped, for the bill fixing the

numbers was rejected (Dec. 18) by 117 to 106 votes. At other times such a defeat would have been fatal to the Ministry, but a way of escape was found three days later when the Minister of Marine was authorised to arm, if necessary, some ships of the reserve.

V. PORTUGAL.

The last year of the century may with some truth be described as a year of convalescence for Portugal. It was fraught with none of those catastrophes, physical or economic, which had marked so many of its predecessors, the soil was more than usually grateful to those who cultivated, and the vintage was exceptional in point of quantity and quality.

The session of the Cortes opened (Jan. 2) with the usual optimistic speech from the throne; hopes were expressed that public health would be spared the trials of the previous year, and that the African colonies would escape the contagion of the neighbouring war.

Unfortunately events were too strong for the framers of this wish. Portugal was unable to display absolute neutrality in South Africa, for whilst at Lorenzo Marques the Boers found means of passing munitions and volunteers into the Transvaal, the British Minister at Lisbon, Sir Hugh Macdonell, notified (April 21) to the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs that under the treaty of 1891 the British Government claimed the right of passing troops through Zambesi from Beira. No written reply was given to this notification. In this, as in other matters relating to affairs in South Africa, the Progressist Ministry decided to endorse the views of the King, and to raise no question as to his prerogative. Whether for this cause or on account of its want of general capacity, the Ministry was no longer able to command a majority, and was forced to give place to the Regenadores. By a strange coincidence the statesman who was called upon (June 21) to undertake the direction of affairs at this juncture was Senhor Hintze Ribeiro, who had been forced to resign ten years previously in consequence of the crisis following upon the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of August 20, 1890. The new Cabinet was thus composed: Senhor Hintze Ribeiro, President of the Council; Senhor Anselmo Andrade (formerly a Progressist but grown Conservative with time), Finance; Senhor Campos Henriques, Justice and Public Worship; Senhor Privental Pinto, War; Senhor Texeira Soria, Marine; Senhor Pereira Santos, Public Work; and Senhor João Arroio, Foreign Affairs.

The new Cabinet started unluckily, for the plague again broke out at Oporto, though with far less intensity than in the previous year, and the measures adopted prevented its spreading into the interior. The programme of the new Ministry presented (June 26) to the Chambers, included, amongst other sub-

jects, the development of the colonial possessions, the arranging of treaties of reciprocity with foreign countries, and a scrupulous discharge of engagements with the national creditors. But the programme closed with the intimation that the Chambers would be forthwith dissolved, and the proposals dealt with by a new Cortes.

The elections were preceded by the despatch of a force of 1,200 men to Lorenzo Marques to enforce more strictly the observance of the neutrality of the district by the two belligerents. The King, Dom Carlos, passed the troops in review (Sept. 12) prior to their departure, and exhorted them to watch over the interests of their country. The elections were as usual carried out under the careful supervision of the governors of each province, and Government agents were employed to instruct the electors in the choice of their representatives. The Portuguese, according to their habit, willingly accepted the advice thus given, and Regeneradores replaced Progressistas in the greater number of seats. The only important feature of these elections was that almost for the first time no Republican candidate was elected either at Oporto or Lisbon.

The result was only too satisfactory, for the Cabinet was at once remodelled in a more Conservative form. Senhor Pereira Santos and Senhor Andrade were replaced respectively (Dec. 1) by Senhor Marcel Vargas and Senhor Fernando Matosso, and the Ministry could at least be regarded as being more homogeneous by the changes.

The year closed amid effusive congratulations exchanged between England and Portugal. An English fleet visited Lisbon, and its stay was marked by splendid official *fêtes*, of which the students of the university of Coimbra marked their disapproval by sending a message of sympathy to Mr. Kruger at the Hague.

VI. DENMARK.

Danish politics did not present a pleasing spectacle during the year 1900. The absence of a mutually accepted basis, upon which elementary political laws and principles depend, greatly aggravated the situation, and resulted in conflict and confusion. Factors, intended to co-operate and to aid each other, were constantly pulling in opposite directions. The Conservatives or the Government party continued to lose ground, being no longer the unanimous party which was their boast in former years. On the other hand, the Moderate Left, the Reform or more Radical Left, and the Social Democrats, of whom the Moderate section is held in almost still greater derision by the Reform party than are the Conservatives themselves, formed an all powerful majority in the Lower House. But even in the Upper House, formerly the accepted stronghold of the Government, disaffection began to show itself. Under these circum-

stances, the actual work done by the legislature was necessarily small and without much significance.

Quite early in the year M. J. C. Christensen, the leader of the Reform party, published a political statement, in which he, in the first instance, pointed out that there was a distinct conflict between his party and the Hörring Government, arising out of the manner in which the Government had helped themselves to 500,000 kr. for some military purpose, which had appeared in the balance sheet, although the item had been rejected by the Second Chamber and not passed by the Upper House. M. Christensen said, in conclusion, that the Reform party did not intend to give way in its conflict with the Ministry, whatever course the Ministry might adopt. It was the Government and not the Reform party that had raised the conflict, but the Reform party intended to bring it to such a conclusion that a repetition was not likely to occur.

On January 8 the Financial Committee of the Folkething presented its report. With the exception of one Social Democrat the members of the committee were fairly agreed about the Civil Services Budget, but with reference to the Army and Navy Budgets great reductions were, as usual, recommended by the Left forming a majority of the committee. The Folkething not having finished the discussion of the Budget till towards the end of March, it did not come before the Landsthing (March 22) until about a week before the close of the financial year. On this occasion M. Hörring, the Premier, made a statement in the Upper House to the effect that his Ministry was desirous of relinquishing office at the end of the session on account of the Folkething having refused to pass the bill imposing increased taxation on the production of corn brandy. The Ministry, consequently, deeming it impossible to pass the important and complex taxation bills in their entirety, had notified to the King their desire to resign. The House would also readily understand, he concluded, that his impending retirement was bound to influence his attitude towards the Budget; and the Landsthing, under the circumstances, found it expedient to accept the Ways and Means Bill as amended in the Folkething, without endeavouring to restore the military votes, and in this form it was passed by the Upper House (March 30).

These taxation bills, in reality the pivot upon which Danish politics had for some years turned, have a protracted and troublesome history. They were originally introduced by the Reetz-Thott Ministry, and had again been laid before the House by M. Hörring. On October 20, 1899, they were introduced into the Landsthing, two of them as passed by the Folkething in the previous session—the Tariff Bill, on similar lines to the previous Government's proposal, and the Corn Brandy Taxation Bill with somewhat reduced duties. A Landsthing committee could not agree upon its report, and the bills were shortly before Christmas,

1899, forwarded to the Folkething, where several committees were appointed. It is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed analysis of the divergencies between the two Houses with regard to the four bills, which have but very scanty prospects of being passed. The committees of the Lower House reframed the two bills in accordance with previously expressed views of that House, and with regard to the Tariff Bill they accepted the measure as previously passed by the First Chamber. The Corn Brandy Taxation Bill, which had always been a most unpopular measure amongst the Radicals, was obstructed by an order of the day (March 8), and the three other taxation bills were returned to the Landsting, where they experienced a similar fate towards the end of the month.

The Folkething (March 28) next decided to appoint a Parliamentary Committee to consider the reform of taxation, on which all the sections of the House were represented. At its first meeting (April 4) M. Christensen, the leader of the Reform party, was elected chairman.

Ordinary legislative work was naturally much hampered by the existing state of things. Still some useful bills were passed, more especially in connection with railway and harbour construction and extension, on which measures both Houses worked diligently towards the close of the session. Amongst such were bills for the establishment of steam ferry connection between Denmark and Germany, the building of a goods station at Aarhus; the extension of several important terminus stations, and the construction of some new railways, involving a considerable expenditure. Measures were also passed for the building of a fishery harbour at Gilleleil and for extending the Copenhagen harbour. Another important bill passed was the one authorising the amalgamation with Copenhagen of several rural districts. An Inspection of Food Bill was also passed, besides a number of smaller measures, altogether forty-three out of a total of 114 introduced, and shortly afterwards (April 25) the session of the Rigsdag was brought to a close.

Rumour had for some time been busy with the resignation of the Hörring Ministry and with its probable successors. Although there hardly was any doubt about the aged King not being inclined to accept any other than a pronounced Conservative Ministry, the possibility of the Opposition being allowed to form a Government was widely discussed, and it was even asserted in some places that such a step had actually been considered in high quarters. When at last (April 27) the resignation of the Hörring Ministry was announced and the list of the new Cabinet published, the latter was received with disappointment on both sides. The members of the new Government were as follows: M. Sehested, Premier and Foreign Minister; M. Goos, Home Secretary and Minister for Iceland; Baron Inul of Ryssensteen, Minister for Public Works (which Ministry had been formed the same day, its department having

previously belonged to the Ministry for the Interior); M. Friis, Minister for Agriculture; Colonel Schnack retained his office from the Hørring Ministry as War Minister; as did M. Bramsen as Minister for the Interior; Professor Scharling, Minister of Finance; Commander Middelboe, Naval Minister; and Dean Bjerre, Church Minister. The new Cabinet comprised nine ministers, whereas that of M. Hørring had only numbered six.

Some political meetings were held during the recess, at one of which M. Scavenius, a prominent Conservative politician, and for many years member of the Estrup Ministry, pointed out that liberty and power were not synonymous, and that the Constitution gave to the King the absolute power of government, though giving the nation a part in the legislative work; whilst at a meeting of the Opposition, M. Alberti, a leading member of the Reform party, urged the nation to show more unity and concord. Two supplementary elections to the Upper House (Sept. 19) gave an uncertain note,—a candidate of the Opposition was elected at Randers (formerly the division of M. Estrup, the ex-Premier), and a Conservative was returned for Horsens by a majority of three votes. The latter, however, was understood not to be a very staunch follower of the Government.

The Folkething's Parliamentary Taxation Committee, which had been sitting during the recess, completed their report a few days before the Rigsdag reassembled (Oct. 1). The Committee had to a great extent confined their labours to a renewed consideration of the oft-discussed bills, and had not attempted to deal with the question on a new and more comprehensive basis.

In the Rigsdag the Finance Minister at once introduced the Budget for 1901-2, showing receipts 73,662,224 kr., and expenditure 72,678,601 kr. Three days later M. Alberti introduced the Taxation Bills, as framed by the Parliamentary Committee. Under the circumstances the Folkething did not think it necessary to subject them to renewed consideration in committee, but passed them at the third reading, and they were then forwarded to the Upper House. The Finance Minister and the Minister for the Interior (Nov. 14) then introduced into the Landsting the Government Taxation Bills, which after a discussion extending over some three weeks were sent to a committee, the consideration of the Folkething's Taxation Bills being subsequently referred to the same committee. M. Scharling in a lengthy and very able speech had pointed out that the Government were willing to negotiate, but nothing of what took place in the committee had transpired before the end of the year.

In the Folkething the Prime Minister made a speech (Nov. 14) professedly in response to wishes expressed that the Government should publish a programme. But this, M. Sehested said, they were not prepared to do; they were not prepared to

tie their own hands by stating beforehand their position with regard to this question or that. The Government looked upon it as their duty to try and advance such reforms as they might consider beneficial for the whole country by an amicable and business-like discussion. But when the leader of the Reform party had advised the Government not to meddle with legislative work, but to leave that to them, *i.e.* the Rigsdag, he could only say that it was not the intention of the Government to follow that advice. In this connection he referred to the Government taxation proposals, then in course of preparation.

In the meantime the Lower House had been discussing the Budget at great length, taking notice of a number of minor details, such as in most other countries would be left entirely to the executive. It was ultimately referred to a committee, which was expected to complete its work early in the new year. As appeared from a speech by the Finance Minister the state of the exchequer was not too flourishing as far as actual money in hand was concerned, which was partly caused by the debt of the West Indian Colonies to the Danish State. Otherwise the balance sheet was entirely satisfactory.

The Sehested Ministry gathered little strength in the House or out of it, and even amongst their own nearest supporters there was much, more or less latent, dissatisfaction. The most striking illustration to this state of affairs was furnished by eight—the most prominent—members of the Conservative party in the Landsting in an open letter (Nov. 23) resigning their membership of that party, and forming a separate section. Count Frije, Count Ahlefeldt-Laurvigsen and Baron Reedtz-Thott (formerly Premier), the largest landed proprietors in Denmark, and M. Steffensen, formerly one of the head corner-stones of Conservatism, were amongst those signing the paper. Their reason for this unusual step was the Government's decision to bring in their own taxation bills in opposition to the bills passed almost unanimously by the Folkething. They stated that they were desirous of seeing the taxation question satisfactorily and speedily settled, and the only way they could suggest for doing this was to adopt as a basis the bills as framed by the other House, which were in harmony with the views and the wishes of the majority of the nation. This step placed the Government in a difficult position, inasmuch as their majority in the Landsting had, at least in some matters, been reduced to one or two votes, whilst they were a most insignificant minority in the Lower House.

VII. SWEDEN.

One of the first days in what was for Sweden the first year of a new century the Foreign Minister, M. Lagerheim, who had only recently come into office, stated his view (which was

doubtless that of the Government) on the Union question, which by having passed from a stage of bitter and futile strife into a phase where compromise and conciliation might be looked upon as possibilities, had become more than ever the predominating question in Swedish and Norwegian politics. M. Lagerheim stated that he had had throughout his life the feeling that the Union was equally necessary for both Sweden and Norway. They must keep together, and the disagreement between the two countries was not so important as people in the heat of the moment were apt to assume. A fundamental condition, however, for strengthening the Union was that both countries should show the greatest possible consideration for each other. He therefore regretted the alteration Norway had made in her flag, a step which he did not think would have been taken had Norway known the effect it had had in Sweden and elsewhere. He thought that it was essential that the two countries should have in common everything which bore upon their relations with foreign Powers and Governments, and any alterations in the existing Union required the consent of both countries. This was taken to indicate that M. Lagerheim was opposed to Norway's demand for a separate Foreign Minister, separate diplomatic representation and separate consuls. Norway so far had not succeeded in convincing Sweden that these steps were useful, desirable or necessary. He looked upon the appointment of a separate Foreign Minister for Norway and a separate Norwegian diplomatic representation as synonymous with the dissolution of the Union. M. Lagerheim's statement was of considerable political interest, giving as it were the key note of the Swedish Government's views.

The Swedish Riksdag having met (Jan. 17) M. Johansson opened the debates in the Second Chamber by expressing a hope that the discord between Sweden and Norway might be removed. The King had appointed Count Gustaf Sparre President and M. Lundeberg Vice-President in the First Chamber, and Count Robert de la Gardie President and M. Swartling Vice-President of the Second Chamber. The Riksdag had only been assembled for a week when the Norwegian flag question was brought before the First Chamber by M. Ljnnberg, who stated that the Swedish nation felt itself insulted by the action on the part of Norway, and that the ingratitude of the latter country was so much the greater because Sweden had conferred upon it many boons, as in the case of the building of the Opoten Railway. The speaker severely criticised the position taken up by the Swedish Government on the flag question, and expressed his surprise that they were so careful about the Norwegian Constitution, but showed so little care for that of Sweden, which had been violated for the benefit of its co-partner. On being called to order he replied that if members were not allowed to criticise the doings of the Government they might as well stay at home. This was not the only instance of a somewhat excessive bitterness of

feeling against Norway and things Norwegian in the House, but these manifestations were happily few and unpremeditated.

In this connection should be mentioned the decision of the Constitutional Committee (one of the five permanent committees) to take action against the Ministers Boström (Premier), Lagerheim (Foreign Minister) and Wikblod for having appointed M. von Ditten, a Norwegian, Cabinet Secretary in the Foreign Department. According to the Swedish Constitution only Swedes can be appointed to Swedish offices, and the office in question was distinctly Swedish. But the Constitution, it was argued, was older than the Union with Norway, and in practice it had proved impossible to do without Norwegians in the Foreign Department, which had to deal with Norwegian affairs. It also transpired that in numerous instances Norwegians had held offices under the Foreign Department, and the question was apparently raised more as a demonstration than because it was thought likely to terminate in proceedings being taken against the Government. M. Boström, in his reply, admitted that the appointment was not in harmony with the letter of the Constitution, but that it, on the other hand, had developed into a constitutional practice. Both Chambers decided to let the matter rest as it stood, the Second Chamber at the same time expressing disapproval of the step taken by the Constitutional Committee.

The most noteworthy feature of the Riksdag of 1900 was the new departure in connection with the army and national defences. For years the legislation had paid scant attention and voted stingy grants to the military budget, and the nation itself was apparently as indifferent as the Chambers. As a result of this state of things many sweeping reforms were imperative, and the Government at last decided to take up the matter seriously. On the whole their efforts met with sufficient support to enable them to carry some of their most important proposals (April 19). The Chambers voted together on various points—thus a vote for rifle ammunition was passed by 184 votes against 178, a large sum for garrison guns by 192 to 172, a grant to volunteer rifle corps by 216 to 148, and an additional vote for the navy by 190 to 173 votes. The following day the Second Chamber, by 114 votes to 101, passed a vote expressing its disapproval of the Constitutional Committee for having sided with the President of the Chamber in his having allowed the proposal for the Boden fortifications to be submitted to the joint vote of the two Chambers without amendment, contrary to the wishes of the majority of the Chamber. With this expression of disapproval the House at the same time decided to place this resolution of the Constitutional Committee *ad acta*, the minority also voting for this, but not for the disapproval clause. The vote in question was finally granted (May 7), on a joint vote of the two Chambers, by 212 (125 in the Upper House and 87 in the Lower House) against 149 (14 in the Upper

House and 135 in the Lower House). The Government had thus carried its proposals, and it may be mentioned in this connection that the minority voted a similar amount for fortifications.

A complete re-organisation of the Swedish Army is, however, impending, and has been the subject of a special committee, which completed its report before the close of the year. The main features of the new proposal were as follows: the aggregate time of service amounted to 865 days, of which about two-thirds formed the regular and continuous training time, the other third being applied to subsequent shorter terms of drill. It was proposed that the new system should be introduced in the course of twelve years, divided into two periods of six years each, during the first half of which the training time was to be 197 days, whereas the latter half was to be regulated in accordance with the demands of the situation. The ordinary expenses entailed by the introduction of the new system were estimated at rather more than 45,000,000 kr. annually, or more than 20,000,000 kr. in excess of the expenditure incurred under the existing system. This reform, based upon universal compulsory service, would in time do away with the present old-fashioned and altogether inadequate system.

Although the Liberals rallied at the beginning of the session and certainly showed more organisation and a better front than for some years past, they were not in a position to materially influence the course of legislation, although aided by a number of rural representatives, they managed to carry one or two points of doubtful merit in connection with the business of the House. The Liberals themselves were, however, apparently well pleased, more probably at the consolidation of the party, than at the actual outcome of their labours. The Conservatives, too, hailed with some satisfaction the formation of a more compact Opposition, but one session was hardly sufficient to bring the latter into full working order, nor was their principal measure, the von Friesen suffrage proposal, well adapted for its purpose of serving as the leading item on the programme of the new party. The Opposition did not act with much consistency on this question of suffrage, inasmuch as they, at the outset, were inclined to view with hostility the proposal that the Second Chamber should request the Government to have the question of an extended suffrage for that Chamber investigated, and to subsequently introduce a bill, whilst later on they took some credit to themselves that this step had been taken. It was carried (May 8) by 119 votes against 97. Very much the same thing happened in connection with the reform of the municipal suffrage, which, to begin with, was denounced as absolutely unsatisfactory. Subsequently, however, the Opposition accepted with good grace, as at least a welcome step in the right direction, the reform brought about by a compromise between the two Chambers. The maximum of any

one individual was limited to 5,000 votes, and the relative maximum to one-tenth of the aggregate number of votes of the municipality. In the first instance the First Chamber had held out for a maximum not less than one-fifth, whilst the Lower House would only allow of a maximum of 1,000 votes for any one individual. The First Chamber only reluctantly accepted the new order of things (by 62 votes against 60), because it directly affected the manner in which its own members were elected. The Upper House is elected by the Landsting, and by representatives for towns with more than 25,000 inhabitants, and the suffrage for the Landsting is the same as the municipal suffrage. Hitherto a single individual had been able to have a larger number of votes than the aggregate of all the other members of the corporation.

Although the tariff question was allowed to fall somewhat into the background several attempts were made to bring about alterations. The protectionists, however, without any trouble held their position, and various bills introduced by their opponents were defeated. Among these was a bill for the erection of "free dépôts," a kind of large bonded warehouses, and proposals to do away with or reduce the duty on maize, bacon, super-phosphate, etc. The tariff is in Sweden a ball, which the two sides of the House between them manage to keep always rolling—a state of affairs which is apt to produce not a little uncertainty—in addition to which the different parts of the country vary so greatly as regards natural conditions and resources that it is a difficult problem satisfying the many often conflicting interests. Still the gulf between protectionists and free traders (if one can rightly call them so) is not so wide as in former years, when the tariff was a most potent political lever. As a matter of fact the appointment of Counsellor of State, M. Husberg, actually gave the free traders the majority in the protectionist Swedish Cabinet.

A fair number of useful bills were passed, amongst these may be mentioned the act dealing with the work of women and children in factories; the alteration brought about in the conditions of the National Bank's issue of bank notes; alterations in the system of seamen's pensions; in the law affecting guardians; the introduction of more stringent regulations regarding illicit public-houses, etc. A vast amount of preparatory work was also referred to various committees, of which no less than sixteen were at work. Several reports were completed and others made known in part. Among the subjects under consideration were taxation, malt liquor regulations and taxation, the pay and pensioning of clergymen, the military and naval questions already mentioned, etc.

On the close of the session of the Riksdag (May 15) the President of the Second Chamber, Count de la Gardie, deviating from the ordinary routine, again referred to the difference existing between him and the majority of the Chamber in connection

with his having referred the Boden fortification grant to joint voting contrary to the wishes of the Chamber. He maintained that he had only been guided by a desire to uphold the constitution, and to protect the interests of the Second Chamber. In reply the Chamber gave expression to its esteem for the President.

A new department for Agriculture having been formed, M. Odelberg was appointed (March 31) Minister for Agriculture. The rumours that M. Boström, the Premier, intended to resign his office which he had filled so admirably for upwards of ten years, proved correct, M. Boström resigning (Sept. 12). Admiral F. V. von Otter was the same day appointed Premier in his place, and the Conservatives at least were well pleased with the King's choice. That no change in the Government's politics was contemplated was quite understood at the time.

On account of less satisfactory health, King Oscar, in the course of the autumn, as on a previous occasion, temporarily relinquished the Government, the Crown Prince being appointed Regent, but after some time of rest it was his Majesty's intention to again take over the Government.

VIII. NORWAY.

The year 1900 was a red-letter year in the political history of Norway, inasmuch as in its course came into operation universal suffrage, according to which every man who had completed his twenty-fifth year had a vote for the Storting. The general election was naturally the great event of the year, although it did not in reality bring about any great alteration in parliamentary representation, but like many other coming events it had cast its shadow before it and materially influenced the preceding session.

The Storting, after the Christmas recess, re-assembled early in the new year, and was not prorogued until the beginning of July, having then beaten the record for long sessions by ten days, having lasted seven months and twenty-seven days. The introduction of autumnal sessions, or rather of the Storting assembling in the autumn, had thus had the opposite effect of the one anticipated, it being generally expected that the new arrangement would tend to distinctly shorten the sittings.

The legislative outcome of the session was not proportionate to its long duration. Considerable attention was, however, given to the military votes, and the Storting passed (Feb. 17) the Army Budget with 12,042,000 kr., a small grant to volunteer rifles being allowed to stand over. The Council of State the same day passed a proposal to the Storting to take steps with regard to Volunteers entering the Army, and the organisation of a Volunteer Reserve, embracing in times of peace men from eighteen to fifty years. The Odelsting, after a long discussion,

passed (Feb. 19) by 46 votes to 34 a proposal by the minority of the Military Committee, according to which a number of men for the Navy should be called up every spring, and serve for not less than six months. The Government introduced a bill (March 17) for the reorganisation of the Norwegian Navy, comprising a scheme for the building of new ships, spread over a series of years. It was also proposed to establish four naval districts, the chiefs of which should be responsible for the efficiency of both the men and the material.

The ill-feeling against the Government, to which not only the Conservatives, but at times also members of the Left gave unmistakable expression, also found its way into the Storting, more especially on the occasion of the debate on the purchase of some property, which the Government had bought the previous year at a time when the Storting was sitting. The Government was blamed with having acted too independently, and with having made a bad bargain. The debate came on (March 27) and extended over three days, M. Steen, the Prime Minister, stating that the Government would of course accept the decision of the Storting. The minister explained that he had in the meantime offered to take over the property on his own account, but if the House saw fit to send the matter to the Odelsting, the Government would in such a step see a sign that they had not the confidence of the House, and they would then act accordingly. The purchase was finally passed by 63 votes against 51. Two subsidiary proposals, which the Government had stated they would consider as votes of want of confidence, were negatived by 81 against 43, and 65 against 45 respectively.

Another matter which actually did bring on a ministerial crisis, albeit of only short duration, was the bill dealing with consular dues, which the Crown Prince-Regent had refused to sanction. The Odelsting, by 49 votes to 34, negatived (May 21) the proposal of the minority of the committee (that the bill should not be accepted), the thirty-four voting against comprising the Conservative and the Moderate members, but subsequently the proposal of the committee was passed in a slightly modified form by 49 votes against 35, and was afterwards sent to, and in due course passed by, the Lagthing. In a Council of State (May 26) the Norwegian Government begged that the bill, as it was passed by both the Odelsting and the Lagthing of the Storting, might receive the royal consent. The Crown Prince-Regent replied that the King had refused his sanction to a similar proposal in the year 1894, and that the Storting in the year 1897 had not passed it by the requisite majority. In view, moreover, that owners of vessels from all parts of the country had petitioned against this bill becoming law, the Crown Prince decreed that he for the time being did not find it expedient to sanction the bill, and it was therefore referred back to the Odelsting. The Government the same day informed the

President of the Storthing that they intended to resign office on account of the Crown Prince having refused to sanction the bill. The President thereupon decided to lay a proposal before the Storthing asking the Government not to withhold their signatures from the refusal of sanction on the part of the Crown Prince. The Government upon this consented to remain in office in the meantime, and a heated debate in the Storthing (June 5) ensued on the causes of the refusal of its sanction and on the duty of councillors of state to affix their names to resolutions by the King or the Regent, which were contrary to their advice. Finally the Storthing unanimously resolved that the document containing the record of the doings in the Council of State in connection with the refusal of royal consent to the Consular Dues Bill should be added to the records of the House.

The following day the Storthing voted the Budget. The receipts amounted to a little over 100,000,000 kr., of which 14,000,000 kr. were raised by loan. The Customs revenue amounted to 35,000,000 kr. It having been stated that the Exchequer had cash in hand amounting to close upon 27,000,000 kr. the sum of 1,000,000 kr. was unanimously voted towards the Invalid and Old-age Pension Fund. Important grants were voted for railway construction, notwithstanding the apprehensions expressed in certain quarters that the railway Budget was getting too large. At one of the last meetings of the Storthing the matter of a normal working day of nine and eight hours respectively in state establishments and workshops was disposed of, contrary to the proposal of the Social Committee, an eight hours day in state workshops being negatived by 74 votes against 33. Within a few days of the prorogation (June 6) the Commission for Seamen's Insurance handed in its report, and a committee was appointed to frame a bill for insurance against sickness and to revise the Accidental Insurance Act.

The Left party held an "All-Norway" Congress early in February, at which the programme of the previous meeting, with the exception of one or two points, was unanimously carried. The second day was devoted to the consideration of the question of a cartel with the Socialists at the forthcoming general election. The Left Labourers' Union had decided to form an alliance with their Socialist brethren, and at the meeting there was a minority in favour of forming an unconditional cartel with the Socialists, but it was ultimately decided that the Left should not enter into an alliance with the Social Democrats, reference being made to a resolution on the same subject passed in 1894. The meeting, however, expressed the hope that their electioneering programme would ensure the usual co-operation between the party and the Labourers' Union. The following month the Conservative party held their meeting, at which the following programme for the general election was agreed upon: "The Conservative party sees in the union with Sweden a material condition of the peace and neutrality which Norway has enjoyed since 1814."

They desired, therefore, to work for "a speedy solution of the Unionist conflict on the basis of full equality for Norway and Sweden, a constitutional joint Foreign Minister—Norwegian or Swedish—with constitutional responsibility for both countries; for reforms in the Consular Service according to practical requirements, without any interruption of the necessary joint diplomatic representation. The Conservative party, looking upon the protection of personal liberty and the private right of property against socialistic attacks as a main duty, was prepared to support measures for steady progress, such as an adequate solution of the questions of insurance against disablement; of workmen's legislation favouring the maintenance of the liberty of labour; for reforms in the administration of civil law; for measures to improve agriculture, and for a rational and economical financial administration."

Immediately after the close of the session M. Stang, for many years the Conservative leader and formerly Premier, announced his intention of retiring from public life, a step which called forth numerous expressions of esteem and sympathy from both sides. M. Hagerup became the Conservative leader in his place.

The approaching general election called forth no small amount of hostile criticism of the Steen Government, even from certain fractions of its own party, and it was charged with no longer being in touch with the more recent developments within the party, with cliquiness and unwillingness to give way or make room for younger and, it was urged, abler men. This complaint was not without cause, and the Government would probably have benefited its position had the oft-rumoured reconstruction really taken place. But M. Steen did not see fit to relinquish his Premiership nor to surround himself with younger men. The financial policy of the Government was also severely criticised; it was denounced as unsound and extravagant, both the ordinary and the extraordinary expenses having vastly increased. Since 1892 there had been extraordinary expenditure amounting to 117,000,000 kr., out of which 105,000,000 kr. had been covered by state loans. In consequence the Norwegian national debt had grown from 74,748,000 kr. in 1871 and 116,000,000 kr. in 1891 to 231,000,000 kr. in 1900. The Conservatives could with some satisfaction refer to criticisms and warnings made by some of their leading men, which had since been justified by the effects of the policy pursued by their opponents.

A general election in Norway is a complicated and protracted operation, extending over several weeks. It was watched with keen interest from all sides, and amongst its most interesting features may be mentioned the apparently small influence of the socialistic vote, and the return of Christiania to the old Conservative colours. There had been a considerable amount of confusion in the ranks of the Opposition, diverging views and lack of consistency, coupled with the bitter feeling which had

sprung up between the Left and the Social Democrats. The cartel between the Left and a group of "democratic" labourers had come to naught, and the Social Democrats lost no time in securing the alliance of these disaffected labourers. For the first time there was at a Christiania Storthing's election a separate labourers' party, with an independent programme and candidates, although it was a foregone conclusion that its chances were entirely hopeless this time. The natural result of the serious mistakes committed by the Left had in this connection procured a decisive victory for the Conservatives, whose list secured about 11,000 votes, whilst the Left only had about 8,600, and the labourers 4,700 votes. In 1897 the Left had 8,200 votes, the Conservatives 7,985, and the Socialists 660, but the extended suffrage had more than doubled the number of electors in Christiania; the percentage of votes recorded at the present election was, however, much smaller than in 1897, when no less than 91·7 per cent. of the electors went to the poll. This was by far the most important event of the election; it was naturally hailed with jubilation by the Conservative party, who had keenly felt the loss of the capital at the previous election, and their opponents admitted that it was a serious blow.

The general election did not, however, materially alter the position within the Storthing, although about half of the members were new men, the relative strength of the parties being 77 of the Left, against 37 Conservatives and Moderates. After some more or less preliminary meetings, M. Berner having been elected President with 104 votes out of a total of 107, the Crown Prince-Regent in person formally opened the Storthing (Oct. 24). In his speech from the throne reference was made to numerous events, and to the position of the various industries of the country, and the introduction of various bills was announced, but no mention was made of the relations between Norway and Sweden. The eldest son of the Crown Prince the same day took the oath to the King and the Constitution before the Storthing. The Budget for the next financial year showed a revenue of 93,000,000 kr., and an expenditure of 91,400,000 kr., including 7,000,000 kr. for railway construction.

There had been from time to time rumours of important alterations within the Ministry, but it was not till the beginning of November that some changes were made, and they were not calculated to materially strengthen the Steen Government, M. Steen himself, in spite of repeated rumours to the contrary, retaining office. The following new appointments, however, were made (Nov. 3): M. Konow, Minister for Agriculture; Colonel Stang, War Minister; Commander Sparre, member of the Council of State in Stockholm, and M. Aarstad, Minister of Finance.

The new Storthing seemed to assume a less hostile position towards the Conservatives, and it may also be mentioned as a sign of better feeling that the popularity of the Crown Prince had apparently become very much greater.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA.

I. INDIA, ETC.

Afghanistan.—Rumours of contemplated aggression by Russia continued throughout the year, and were the source of much annoyance to the Ameer Abdurrahman. He complained that the British Government took no interest in his distresses, and that whenever he had proposed some check upon Russian aggressions the Government of India had made no response except the suggestion that Afghanistan might consent to the construction of railways and telegraphs within her territories. From the Afghan point of view he declared that such concession would be impossible and only a step to ruin.

For several years the Ameer has given much attention to increasing the efficiency of his Army, and his regulars, backed by the tribes on the frontier, would be formidable against any invader of his territory. The Ameer has never departed from a purely defensive attitude, and under his treaty with England if an unprovoked attack were made upon him he could claim British help.

It was announced that a cholera epidemic broke out at Djebal Abad and at Kabul in June and continued to the beginning of August, causing in Kabul the death of nearly 5,000 persons. After the departure of Sir Salter Pyne the Government workshops went on with their regular work under Afghan management.

The Ameer Abdurrahman published his autobiography in November, in which he complained that English policy in Afghan affairs had been inconstant and vacillating, and he urged the importance of direct diplomatic relations with Great Britain. He considered that England ought to give Afghanistan more of her confidence and more of her moral and material support, allowing him to annex all the territory of the independent Pathan tribes and to form a triple alliance with the neighbouring Mahomedan States, Persia and Turkey. Also that Afghanistan ought to secure an outlet to the ocean and have a port for her own steamers at which to load and unload.

He thought that the policy of Afghanistan towards her two strong neighbours—England and Russia—should be friendly towards the one least aggressive, and hostile to the Power wishing to pass through her country or interfere with her independence.

Trade with India was injured by the fiscal policy of the Ameer. Besides creating State monopolies with regard to several articles, he forbade the export of horses to India and the import of salt therefrom. Only sixty-two camel loads left Peshawar last year against 2,285 during the previous year.

In September the Mahsud Waziris resumed their petty raids on the frontier. On the night of October 23 a band of them attacked the military post of Nasran, killing two men and robbing the magazine. Lieutenant Hennessey started in pursuit, but his force was not sufficient to capture them and they escaped to the ravines. A wounded Mahsud lying prone fired at Lieutenant Hennessey at a distance of five yards with fatal effect. The raiders lost one killed and five wounded.

A successful operation was carried out against the Madda Khels in the Tochi Pass in October by a small column. Four Pathan towers were blown up by the troops, who met with no opposition. This action was due to the refusal of the Khels to surrender certain ringleaders implicated in the Maizar outrage of 1897.

On November 8 the Commissioner of Derajat, Mr. Merk, met some 500 Mahsud Waziris and announced to them the terms of the Government. Payment of a fine of one lakh was demanded, one half to be paid by November 25, otherwise the whole tribe would be blockaded from December 1. Dreading a blockade much more than a punitive expedition the Mahsuds agreed to pay the fine and promised not to raid. The Mullah Powindah, their fanatical leader, was personally assisting in the collection of the fine in December.

Burmah.—Early in February an attack was made on the British section of the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission near the Salween River by the Was tribe. Major Kiddle, of the Army Medical Corps, and Mr. Sutherland, political officer, were killed, and the British consul at Szu-mao was wounded.

Another attack was made on the camp of the commission at midnight on February 17, which was repulsed. A force of British and Chinese soldiers afterwards exacted reparation for the murder of the English officers. The Burmo-Chinese boundary had been settled in May as far as longitude 99° 15', and further settlement was proceeding.

A new chief court and a court of appeal within the province of Lower Burmah was established this year, and in April Mr. F. S. Copleston, Judicial Commissioner of Lower Burmah, was appointed civilian Chief Judge.

The value of private imports into Burmah for the year closing March 31, excluding treasure, was 1,081 lakhs, compared with 1,176 lakhs in the preceding year. Exports were 1,831 lakhs against 1,646 lakhs for the preceding year. The total trade was valued at about 10,280,000*l.* Of exports rice was the most important, and formed last year over 76 per cent. of the total exports, being 1,084,000 tons.

The report of the opium administration of Burmah was issued in December. It appeared that wholesale smuggling was unchecked, and that during the year a ton and a half of smuggled opium was seized at Mandalay alone, this being a very small part of the total smuggled from China and the Shan

States. In this report the failure of the Government's policy was frankly confessed.

On December 13 the highest railway bridge in the world, the Gokteik viaduct in the Shan Hills, was formally handed over to the Burmah Railways Company by the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the constructors.

Bengal.—The Government allowed a committee of inquiry in October to examine the question whether the sugar cane could be profitably cultivated in Behar. Indigo cultivation has languished of late and some of the planters have suggested that it might be more profitable to grow indigo and sugar cane in alternate years or sugar cane altogether as suitable land is available.

Since the opening of the Pasteur Institute at Kasauli more than one hundred patients bitten by mad dogs have been cared for, and not one death has occurred. Native opinion was not in favour of the Institute owing to a mistaken idea that cruel operations were practised upon living dumb animals, and memorials protesting against State aid were sent to the Government. Among others, Bishop Welldon of Calcutta, who visited Kasauli, was convinced that the medical process in the operations of the Institute was characterised by the most thoughtful and scrupulous humanity.

Plague numbered many victims in Bengal in the early months of the year. During one week in March there were 4,725 deaths in the province from this malady, including about 750 in Calcutta and more than 2,000 in Patna.

Cholera broke out among the native troops in Calcutta in October after the excessive rains which caused the serious floods at the end of September.

Bombay.—Cholera, famine and plague caused great mortality and distress in Bombay City and in the Presidency during the greater part of the year.

In the Bombay Legislative Council, August 24, Mr. Monteith, when presenting the Budget, said :—

“For several years now we have been accustomed to poverty, but such dire, grinding destitution as now overwhelms us has seldom befallen a well-ordered Government. There is only one all-important question before us—how to keep our unfortunate fellow-subjects alive, and how to help them to regain their former condition of prosperity. In performing this duty, nay, even in maintaining the ordinary administration, we are at present wholly dependent on the liberality of the Imperial Government.”

North-West Provinces.—Plague riots broke out at Cawnpore in April, and as the police were unable to quiet the disturbances the troops were called out. The mob destroyed the segregation camp for plague patients, and killed five policemen. Ten rioters were killed by the soldiers, who were forced to fire upon the mob. The riots were said to have been caused by the action

of certain natives, who, for blackmailing purposes, pretended to be doctors and sanitary inspectors. These impostors would visit the sick and threaten to have them removed to some place where the Government would do away with them, unless money was paid. Compulsory removal of patients to hospitals was abolished, and when the plague regulations were not so rigidly enforced, the rioting ceased.

It was found out after the outbreak that it had been carefully planned. Nine of the rioters were sentenced to transportation for life, and seven were executed on December 15.

Madras.—By the overflow of the Godavery River in August many people were drowned and much damage was done to the crops. Railways were washed away, and much property was destroyed by the floods.

Lord Amthill was chosen in September to succeed Sir Arthur Havelock as Governor of Madras at the expiration of his term of service.

Famine.—The prediction made at the close of the preceding year that an extensive famine would prevail throughout India was unfortunately fully realised. In January the winter crops continued to suffer from the scarcity of rain, and as great numbers of persons were then already being employed on relief works and the number was increasing, the Lord Mayor of London on February 16 opened a Mansion House Fund for the relief of the sufferers. A great meeting was held at Calcutta on the same day, at which the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, presided, who described the famine as being of unparalleled magnitude. At the beginning of March there were 4,252,000 in receipt of relief; Bombay and the Central Provinces contributing the largest number of applicants. The numbers on relief works continued to increase, and in the following month the extent and severity of the distress was still greater. Offers of relief were made by the people of every quarter of the globe. The Maharajah of Jaipoor made a donation of fifteen lakhs towards the famine fund on condition that the sum should be invested through trustees, and that the interest should be available for sufferers from famine in India now and in the future. Indian famine funds were opened by the Mayors of Melbourne and Brisbane in Australia. Offers of relief came from Mauritius, Ceylon, the United States and Germany. Canada showed marked sympathy, and local committees were formed in all parts of the Dominion in order to raise subscriptions. The United States Navy reserved a vessel to carry food stuffs collected in the United States. A mass meeting was held in New York on April 29, when \$1,650 was contributed, and an Indian Famine Committee appointed. Lord Curzon sent to the Lord Mayor of London on May 23 an account of the urgent state of affairs, in which he stated that the present famine was greater in its intensity over the areas afflicted than any previously recorded visitation, since more persons were suffering, and

because the loss of crops and cattle, especially in the central and western parts of India, was immeasurably greater. The number of persons in receipt of actual relief from the Government in May exceeded 5,500,000, and the Government was supporting 15 per cent. of the entire population. Early in May the German Emperor sent to the Viceroy a sympathetic telegram informing him that Berlin had raised a sum of over half a million marks to be forwarded to Calcutta. Contributions came in May from the King of Siam (5,000 rupees), and from the New Zealand Government of 5,000*l*. The Sultan of Turkey also ordered the opening of a subscription fund. For a time in May the state of things somewhat improved in Madras and Mysore in consequence of recent rains, but in other affected districts distress was increasing. In Bombay the cholera was very prevalent, which broke up many famine relief camps, and accounted for decrease in the number of those employed on relief works. The monsoon came at last, and by the middle of July excellent rain had fallen in the North-West Provinces and parts of Central India, in the Central Provinces, in the Punjab and other suffering regions, causing a vast improvement and immense relief. Government advances were freely made for the purchase of plough bullocks, seed and subsistence, while poorer cultivators received gifts from famine funds. Although on August 7 there were 6,356,000 or more persons in receipt of relief throughout the country, the favourable conditions continued. Between September 20 and 26 the rainfall in Calcutta amounted to 38½ inches, causing a flood which rose to 4 ft. 3 in. in height. A number of persons were killed and injured by the falling of many hundreds of houses and huts, and others lost their lives by drowning.

The famine fund of the Lord Mayor of London on November 14 amounted to 386,700*l*. Early in that month famine stress was gradually yielding, and the number in receipt of relief had fallen to 1,077,000, but rain was yet much needed in parts of the Bombay Presidency, in Baroda, and in the Nizam's dominions. At the end of November the persons receiving relief numbered 420,000, and at the close of the year the Viceroy gave the number as under 250,000, and of these 187,000 were in the Bombay Presidency. India was grateful for the sympathy extended to her in the distress of famine and plague, not only by Great Britain, but by her colonies and by the leading nations of the world.

Viceroy.—Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Curzon, visited Assam, the great tea garden of India, in March, where they had a very hospitable reception. It was the first time on record that a Viceroy had visited the province. On March 28 the Viceregal party left Calcutta on a tour to the North-western frontier. At Quetta a durbar of chiefs and sirdars was held by the Viceroy in April. He warned the chiefs to live at peace among themselves, and desired them to unite

with the British for the defence of their country, to become loyal feudatories of the great Queen, and to realise that their religion, traditions, and independence were safe with the British.

On October 22 Lord Curzon left Simla for an extended autumn tour with his party, visiting Kurachee on the 27th. Replying to an address of welcome there from the Municipality, Lord Curzon referred to the suffering of Kurachee from plague and famine in recent years, and regretted that the Government of India, in grappling with the most serious famine of the century, found it impossible to grant more than the two lakhs of rupees already given them. On November 6 the Viceroy held a great durbar at Rajkot, and addressed the assembled chiefs of Kathiawar. He praised the loyalty of the Indian princes and peoples in freely offering their troops, their resources and their swords for the service of the Queen both in Africa and in Asia, and he thanked the chiefs of India for their noble devotion. Next a visit was paid to Surat, and thence the party went to Bombay. On November 9 the Viceroy continued his journey to Bijapur and Goa. He arrived at Goa on November 15, and was received by the Governor-General of the Portuguese territories most hospitably. On November 18 Lord Curzon arrived at Cochin, in Travancore, and met with an enthusiastic reception from the Rajah and the people. He visited the capital Trivandrum, and Tinnevely, arriving at Trichinopoly on November 27. Thence to Mysore, where he was welcomed by the Maharajah, the British Resident and all the chief officials on November 30. After visiting the Kolar Goldfields, the Viceroy, with Lady Curzon, arrived at Madras, and returned to Calcutta by the railway on December 17. During their eight weeks' tour the Viceregal party went completely around India, accomplishing a journey of nearly 6,000 miles by land and sea.

The successes that attended the British arms in South Africa gave great satisfaction in all parts of the country. The relief of Ladysmith and the capture of Cronje's army, followed by the taking of Pretoria, were as welcome to the people of India as to others living under the British flag.

There was general rejoicing in all parts of India when news came of the relief of Mafeking in May, and the celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday was made an occasion for the most fervent demonstrations of loyalty by the whole native population.

Army.—Sir William Lockhart, the Commander-in-Chief, was seriously ill in February. His condition improved later, but in March his illness had a fatal result. He was succeeded provisionally by General Sir Arthur P. Palmer, K.C.B.

Much progress was made in the rearmament of the native Army and Volunteers with the '303 magazine rifle, and the manufacture of lyddite in India was provided for. Horses superseded the use of elephants and bullocks in drawing heavy

artillery. The mountain batteries were being rearmed with breechloaders firing smokeless powder, and important improvements in transport and ambulance services were being introduced.

The military command of the entire North-West Frontier was put under the administrative control of Major-General Egerton in March.

All the important native chiefs in India offered assistance to Great Britain in the Transvaal war, and many of them offered their personal services as well. The Indian Princes came forward in the most loyal way and offered contingents from their Imperial service troops.

In the native States there are over sixty-five millions of people who are not British subjects or under British legal jurisdiction, and this population amounts to nearly one-sixth of the whole population of India.

Legislation.—A mining bill which sought to impose restrictions on labour in coal mines and in other mining industries met with such strong opposition from the mercantile community that further action was postponed in March. A speech was quoted in the Legislative Council that was delivered by Lord Lansdowne in 1894 when Viceroy, against following rules applicable in Great Britain as to the employment of labour in mines, factories and tea plantations in India, which had much effect.

Consideration of a bill giving copyright to foreign press messages was postponed on March 16.

In October the Punjab Land Alienation Bill was debated in the Legislative Council. The measure provided that permanent alienation of lands affected by the bill would no longer be allowed except between members of the agricultural tribes, and it limited temporary alienations and leases to a term of twenty years. The object of the bill was to protect the small landowners against dispossession through evictions or forced sales.

Financial.—Mr. Dawkins, the financial member of the Legislative Council of India, presented his Budget statement on March 21. He remarked that the volume of trade of 1898-9, which had been regarded as of abnormal magnitude, had in spite of various unfavourable conditions been exceeded by that of the financial year now closing. The accounts for 1898-9 closed with a surplus of 2,641,000*l.* The surplus for 1899-1900, notwithstanding a famine expenditure of 2,055,000*l.*, amounted to 2,553,000*l.* It was then estimated that for the next year there would be a surplus of 160,000*l.*, allowing a famine expenditure of 3,335,000*l.* and an increase of 746,000*l.* in the military estimates. During the past financial year India had met all famine and railway construction expense without borrowing, and had passed a standard through ordinary trade operations without further indebtedness. By the revised statement for 1899-1900 by the Secretary of State for India July 26,

there was a surplus of 2,864,000*l.*, in spite of famine expenses, which amounted to 2,631,000*l.* For the current year the statement in the original Budget of 160,000*l.* surplus was first reduced to 50,000*l.*, and afterwards on account of famine expenditure a deficit of 826,000*l.* was anticipated. Arrangements were made in order to provide for famine expenditure for the immediate issue of 3,000,000*l.* India stock, being part of an unexpended balance of a loan of 10,000,000*l.* secured a few years ago. The Indian Government had expended within two years upwards of 13,000,000*l.* in connection with the famine.

The Secretary of State purchased silver in June to the value of 500,000*l.* sterling for coinage into rupees for circulation in India.

The introduction of the imperial penny postage with corresponding reduction of inland postage, which began in the preceding year, had caused no serious loss to the revenue. In January the net financial surplus on the year's working exceeded 22 lakhs as compared with 12½ lakhs in 1897.

Trade.—The foreign commerce of Calcutta exceeded that of Bombay. In 1899-1900 the imports of Calcutta amounted to 23,511,000*l.* and the exports to 33,317,000*l.* There were larger imports of cotton goods and bullion at this port, and the exports were largely increased by heavier shipments of hides, jute, tea and opium. More than two-thirds of the trade of Calcutta was with Europe. With America it was increasing very rapidly, and in 1899-1900 was 5,582,000*l.*, compared with 3,628,000*l.* in 1896-7. In the same three years the trade with Australia doubled. In 1899-1900 cotton goods were imported to the amount of 10,485,000*l.*—44 per cent. and over of the total imports. Three-fourths of the 45,441,000 gallons of mineral oil came from Russia, and about 60 per cent. of the 372,330 tons of salt imported came from the United Kingdom.

The Indian coffee trade with France was threatened with extinction owing to the new French duty on colonial products. The 10,000,000 lb. of Indian coffee exported annually to France would in future have levied on it twice the duty on Brazilian coffee.

Tea production showed no falling off. In 1899 the quantity produced was 186,500,000 lb., about 23,500,000 lb. more than in 1898. Comparatively little tea is consumed in India, and the United Kingdom consumes about 97 per cent. of the average production. The great plantations in Assam average about 1,266 acres in extent, while in Bengal the average is only 727 acres. In the Kangra Valley of the Punjab the natives grow their excellent tea on plantations of only a few acres.

II. CHINA.

Clearly to unfold the immediate cause of the uprising of China against the European Powers would require a more

intimate knowledge of Chinese politics than is accessible. The immediate result of the campaign undertaken by Japan in 1895 against China was to reveal the real ambition of Japan and the presumed weakness of the Chinese Empire. Russia and the Western Powers imagined that the break up of China was imminent, and that if Japan was to be thwarted in the ambitious designs attributed to her it could only be achieved by the direct intervention of Europe. The policy of the "open door" for the commerce of all nations with the vast population of China—the policy of Great Britain and in a lesser degree of the United States—was abandoned and the policy of spheres of influence, inaugurated by Germany, was forced upon the Cabinets of Europe. The cession of Shantung to Germany induced Russia to put forward her claim for Port Arthur, which in turn obliged Great Britain to act in like manner towards Wei-hai-wei. France followed suit by pressing for further concessions in the south, and Italy, not to be left behind, insisted upon having a coaling station and a harbour under her influence. The conviction that a partition of the Chinese Empire among the States of Europe was intended was further strengthened by the debates and discussions which took place in the European Parliaments and press. Naturally the Chinese took alarm and their Conservative party aware of the general if not universal hatred of foreigners felt by their countrymen, took advantage of the opportunity to come forward as champions of an anti-foreign movement. It would seem that the Dowager-Empress, when she seized upon the supreme power, either put herself at the head of this movement or determined to use it for her own ends. With this object she gave her support to Prince Tuan, a prince of the Manchu Imperial house, and connived at his preparations for war, if she did not actively assist in them. Large quantities of arms were imported. Chinese troops drilled by Europeans were assembled in districts far removed from commercial centres, and were suddenly called up to Peking. Circulars were sent to the provincial Viceroy of an approaching massacre of foreigners, and a general attack upon the legations at Peking was apparently designed, not with the idea of murdering the Ministers, but of holding them as hostages until Europe consented to treat China in Prince Tuan's words "as a sealed book." In order to seize them together they were invited in a body to the Tsung-li-Yamen, but all save the German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, suspected a plot and refused to attend.

News came from Sir Claude Macdonald on January 4 that the Rev. S. M. Brooks, an English missionary, had been murdered by a band of anti-foreign rebels near Fei-Cheng, in the Shantung province. The English, French, German and American Ministers at Peking entered "strong representations," and the Emperor and Empress-Dowager deplored the outrage and expressed profound regret, ordering the disgrace and deposition of all the officials of that region until they should arrest the

guilty parties. On the surface this solicitude seemed genuine; but as time went on the outrages and murders became more frequent. The disturbances in Shantung and the adjoining province, Chihli, could be traced to one Yu Hsien, who from the humble post of prefect in South-west Shantung rose to be governor of the province in March, 1899. Four years before he had organised a secret and anti-foreign society, giving it the name of I-Ho-Chuan, or "The Righteous Harmony Fists." The name "Boxers" was given in the first instance by the missionaries or by the newspapers. The idea underlying the name was that the members of the society would unite to uphold the cause of righteousness if necessary by force. The members of this organisation went through a training of weird incantations, by which they came to believe that they were invulnerable by bullet or sword. Their headquarters were in Taoist and Buddhist temples, and their object in life to drive the hated foreigner and his religion out of China. After the murder of Mr. Brooks a new Governor of Shantung was appointed, Yüan-Shih-Kai, who was ordered by the Peking Government to suppress the Boxers, but not to employ force in doing so. This was all that came from the protests of Sir Claude Macdonald and of the representatives of Germany, the United States, Italy and France, who were received by the Tsung-li-Yamén on March 5. On April 16 the *Official Gazette* had published a memorial from the Viceroy of Chihli, embodying an Imperial decree denouncing by name the "Fist of Righteous Harmony" and the "Big Sword" societies, otherwise called "Boxers." But the movement became too formidable for the Peking Government to suppress or even to control, if that had been their desire. The Empress-Dowager secretly encouraged the Boxers, while pretending to resist them, and when they reached Peking early in May they took up their headquarters at the palace of Prince Chuang, and had a powerful patron in Prince Tuan, the father of the recently chosen "Heir Apparent." For on January 24 the *Peking Gazette* published an Imperial decree written by the Emperor, in which he declared that he suffered from ill health, that affairs of state were causing him great perplexity, and that he had not the strength to perform in person the great sacrifices at the altar of heaven and in the temples of the spirits, that it was impossible that he could have a son to inherit the throne, and therefore he had implored her Sacred Majesty (the Empress-Dowager) to select a worthy member from among the near branches of the Imperial family who should found a line of posterity for the Emperor Mu Tsung Yi (T'ung Chih), to whom the throne should revert hereafter, and that after repeated entreaties her Majesty had deigned to grant her consent that P'u Chün, son of Tsai Yi, Prince Tuan, should be adopted as the son of the late Emperor Mu Tsung Yi (T'ung Chih), that he had received her Majesty's decree with unspeakable joy, and in reverent obedience to her gracious in-

struction had appointed P'u Chün, son of Tsai Yi, as Prince Imperial, to carry on the dynastic succession.

The artful way in which the Empress-Dowager diverted the movement directed against the ruling dynasty, and the corrupt misconduct of the mandarins is disclosed in the following proclamation issued by the Boxers:—

“The Chinese Empire has ever been celebrated for its sacred teachings, which expound the decrees of Heaven, and inculcate the duties of mankind. The civilising influence of these principles spread in the days gone by like an ornament over river and hill. But all this has been changed, and in a way that can be explained. For the past five or six generations bad officials have been in power, bureaus have been opened for the sale of offices, and only those who had money to purchase their position have been allowed to hold any place in the Government.

“The examination of scholars has become useless, and members of the Hanlin College and high-class graduates remain in obscurity at home. An official position can only be obtained at the price of so much silver. The Emperor covets the riches of his Ministers, while these again extort from the lower ranks of the mandarinates.

“The lower mandarins in turn, by the necessity of their positions, must extort from the people. The whole population is sunk in wretchedness, and all the officials live on the spoil extracted from honest people. The condition of the Yamêns is unspeakable. In every market and in every guild no business can be done unless bribes are first given. The officials must be bribed and all manner of exactions are made. The ignorant and helpless people stand alone. The officials are full of cunning, and all their acts offend the three principles of virtue. Having cast aside all the natural principles of right and wrong, they pursue their unbridled course, unchecked by rule or reason.

“They are all alike; ill-gotten wealth is their one object. Right has disappeared from the world. There is naught but quarrelling and extortion on all hands. Law suits are innumerable. In the Yamêns it is useless to have a clear case—unless you bribe you will lose the day. There is none to whom the aggrieved can appeal.

“The simple multitudes are killed with oppression, and their cry goes up to heaven itself and is heard by God. Although spiritual beings and sages have been sent down to teach right principles, to issue good books, and instruct the multitude, few alas! have heeded. Who is there that understands? The evil go on their course rejoicing, while the spiritual powers are conscious that their teaching has been in vain.

“Now in anger the heavenly powers are sending down multitudes of spirits to descend on to the earth to search the hearts of all, both high and low.

“The Emperor himself, the chief offender, has had his succession cut off and is childless. The whole administration, both

civil and military, is in an indescribable condition. Widows and orphan children cry in vain while the official closes his eyes to their misery.

"Greater calamities still have overtaken the empire. Foreign devils have come with their doctrine of Christianity. Converts of the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths have become numerous. These Churches are devoid of human principles and full of cunning. They have attracted the greedy and avaricious as converts to an unlimited degree. They practise oppression and corruption until even the good officials have become covetous of foreign wealth, and have become the foreigners' servants.

"Telegraphs and railways have been established; foreign cannon and rifle manufactured; railway engines and electric lamps the foreign devils delight in. Though they ride in sedan chairs unbefitting their rank, China still regards them as barbarians of whom Heaven disapproves; and it is for their destruction that Spirits and Genii are now sent down on earth. The first of these powers is the Red Lantern, the symbol of the I-ho-chuan, the 'United Fist.' By means of this the foreigner shall be exterminated; their houses shall be burnt and the temples restored. Foreign goods and property of every description shall be destroyed. The foreigner shall be extirpated, for the purpose of Heaven is determined and a clean sweep shall be made. All this shall be accomplished within three years, and the wicked cannot escape the net of destruction."

The outrages of the Boxers became more frequent and more serious. There was famine in the land, the price of grain had risen, and the people were filled with resentment against the foreigners who, they were told, had brought all these evils upon the country. It was declared that the foreigners were poisoning the wells. Nothing was left undone to stir up hatred against them. The native Christians were first attacked. Many were murdered, and their property was burnt or pillaged. On May 20 the diplomatic corps in Peking formally demanded that the Chinese Government should suppress the Boxers. Edicts were issued, but with the intention of promising without performing. Meanwhile leading men connected with the dynasty openly sympathised with the movement, among them Prince Tuan, the father of the heir-apparent; Duke Lan, his younger brother; Hsu Tung, tutor of the Crown Prince; Kang Yi, Chao-Shu-Chiao, and Li-Peng-Heng, the cashiered Governor of Shantung. On May 29 the legations decided at a meeting to send for a force of marine guards, but when they arrived they were but 340 in number, and they were inefficiently armed. In 1898 the arrival of such a force restored tranquillity. At this time such a meagre defence was quite inadequate.

At Yung-Ching, on June 2, Messrs. Norman and Robinson, missionaries, were cruelly murdered, and there were many others who suffered a like fate through the complicity of the Chinese

Government with the Boxer rising. The American mission buildings at Tung-Chau near Peking were looted and burned, and seventy-five native Christians were massacred, many of them being burned alive. These were but a few of the appalling murders committed by the fanatical Boxers. The Roman Catholic missions were especially marked for attack and their missionaries suffered most severely in several provinces.

On June 17 the Taku forts fired on the ships of the allied squadron, but after six hours' engagement the forts were silenced and captured. British, German, French, Russian and Japanese warships took part in the engagement.

A force of 2,500 men, representing all nationalities, under Admiral Seymour, left Tien-tsin on June 10 for the relief of Peking, and as Tien-tsin was in danger of being taken by a Chinese force that laid siege to it, reinforcements were sent from Taku. These arrived at Tien-tsin on June 23.

Admiral Seymour was checked at Lang-fang, about half-way to Peking, by the Imperial Army of General Tung-fuh-siang. Finding the railway onward entirely destroyed, and because his forces were short of provisions and he was hampered with wounded from fighting the hordes of Boxers that opposed him on June 13 and 14, he was forced to withdraw on Tien-tsin. A relieving force was sent up from the coast, and on June 26 he reached Tien-tsin. The place had been heavily bombarded and had a narrow escape from capture by the Chinese.

Meanwhile in Peking serious events were taking place. On June 11 M. Sugiyama, the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, was brutally murdered, unarmed and alone, by the soldiers of General Tung. A lying decree was published, attributing this crime to the action of the mob outside the city. Railway shops, locomotives and rolling stock at Feng-tai Junction were destroyed and all telegraphic lines were cut. A deputation from the Tsung-li-Yamén, headed by Chi Hsiu, called upon the British Minister on the 12th with protestations of friendship for England, and assured him that all the trouble was over and that China regarded it as her solemn duty to protect her guests, the foreign legations. The very next day the Boxers began the work of destruction of property owned by foreigners. All foreign-owned houses in the city were destroyed, including the property of all the missions—two large Roman Catholic cathedrals, the Imperial Chinese Bank, the Electric Light Works, the Mint, the Russo-Chinese Bank, the Austrian, Italian, Belgian and Dutch Legations, the Imperial Maritime Custom House and the new Post Office, together with many private dwellings. The railway to Tien-tsin was entirely destroyed and even the very telegraph poles were sawed off close to the ground. The summer residences of the British Legation outside the city were wrecked, and the foreign cemetery monuments broken down. Graves were dug into and bodies were taken out and burned. In the North Cathedral about 2,000 Christian refugees who had

fled from the massacres in the country took shelter, where they were bravely and successfully defended by Monsignor Favier with forty marines for two months before relief came. Thousands of native Christians were slain in their homes amid scenes of most horrible atrocity, and Prince Tuan with his brother Duke Lan and Chao-Shu-Chiao rode around "in their carts to gloat over the spectacle." All through the nights of the 13th and 14th the massacre continued. On the 16th rescue parties were sent out by several of the legations, which succeeded in saving several hundreds of the women and children who had hidden away and so escaped death, and more than 1,200 were taken for safety to the palace grounds of Prince Su, near the British Legation. On the same day the Boxers set fire to a foreign drug store in the native city. The flames spread to the booksellers' street and burned up all the principal shops in Peking, with their merchandise of gold, silver, silks and furs, manuscripts, books and curios. On the 19th the foreign ministers were informed by the Tsung-li-Yamèn that the allied fleets had captured the Taku forts on the 17th, and as this was equivalent to a declaration of war they must all leave Peking for Tien-tsin within twenty-four hours or otherwise protection could not be guaranteed to them. The diplomatic body decided to accept the ultimatum, but informed the Yamèn that it was practically impossible to depart in twenty-four hours with such a numerous convoy of women and children, and asked to be received by Prince Ching and Prince Tuan at the Tsung-li-Yamèn on the following day to arrange for their departure with suitable escort. No reply came from the Yamèn, and on the morning of the 20th the diplomatic body met at the French Legation, and it was proposed but not seconded that all the Ministers should go to the Yamèn together. The German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, proceeding to the Yamèn with Mr. Cordes, his secretary of the legation, was murdered by a Manchu official in full uniform, wearing a mandarin's button and feather in his hat, who fired a rifle at the Minister, killing him instantly. The secretary was shot at and wounded, but escaped as by a miracle.

The siege of the legations began at 4 P.M. on the afternoon of June 20. Meanwhile the diplomatic corps had received a reply to their request that some of the members of the Tsung-li-Yamèn should accompany them on their way to Tien-tsin. It stated that the country between Peking and Tien-tsin was infested by brigands and it would not be safe for the ministers to depart, therefore they must remain in Peking. The whole strength of the legation guards when the siege commenced was 18 officers and 389 men, American, Austrian, British, French, German, Italian, Japanese and Russian. Most of them were marines and bluejackets.

The Austrian Legation and the American Mission buildings were early abandoned. The group of buildings and enclosures that formed the British Legation was soon crowded with almost the whole foreign community. All the foreign

Ministers with their families, the missionaries, the Customs staff, including many women and children, were gathered within the high walls of the British Embassy. Here for nearly eight weeks the besieged made a most heroic defence, and warded off all attacks of the fanatical Boxers and the Chinese soldiers of Prince Tung. Every artifice of treachery and deceit was employed to destroy the brave defenders of the legation. Krupp guns were brought up, the adjoining buildings were fired, and supplies for the half-starved garrison were cut off. In their fury the Chinese soldiers set fire to the Han-lin Imperial Library, the centre of Chinese learning, and nearly all its priceless manuscripts and books were destroyed. The Dutch Legation was burned on the 22nd, but the French and German Legations long held out, although hard pressed. On July 14 a communication signed "Prince Ching and others" was sent to the British Minister, which asserted that the reinforcements of foreign troops had long ago been turned back by the Boxers, and it requested the ministers to go under their protection to reside at the Tsung-li-Yamèn temporarily till arrangements could be made for their return home. This kind invitation was declined, and it was pointed out that no attacks had been made on the Chinese, but that the lives and property of foreigners were only being protected by the besieged against the attacks of Chinese Government troops. For a while after July 17 the organised attacks ceased, the Krupp guns were silent, and only sniping continued. Fearing treachery there was no relaxation of vigilance on the part of the besieged. Sand bags were piled upon the walls, and every weak point strengthened. The Chinese, too, went on building barricades, and were getting nearer to the defended positions. No provisions were allowed to reach the defenders of the legation. All these were on reduced rations, and the sufferings of the native Christians, nearly 3,000 in number, were very great. Many of their children and aged died from want of proper food. Within the besieged area of the British Legation there were 191 men, 147 women, 76 children, a garrison of 400 men, 2,750 refugees, about 400 native servants and some seventy more civilians in the adjoining defences. To provide all these with food for a two months' siege was a task of the greatest difficulty. The Tsung-li-Yamèn sent in derision a present of 1,000 lb. of flour and some vegetables, but fearing poison no one dared to eat the flour. No sellers of fruit and ice were allowed by the Chinese to come in.

While Peking was in the midst of this reign of anarchy and terror no authentic news reached the outside world. For many days it was believed that the legations had been destroyed, and that all the Ministers and every European in Peking had been murdered. Meanwhile an army of relief was on the way from the coast. On July 6 Lord Salisbury had telegraphed to Mr. Whitehead at Tokio that Japan was the only Power that could act with any hope of success for the urgent purpose of saving the

legations, and that Great Britain would furnish any financial assistance necessary, in addition to her forces already on the spot. Russia, jealous of Japan, was dilatory, and Germany hung back till sure of the maintenance of the accord existing among the Powers. All this caused delay. The expedition set out from Tien-tsin on August 4, headed by British and American troops, under Generals Gaselee and Chaffee. The Japanese division was commanded by General Yamaguchi, with General Fukushima as chief of staff. According to the British official figures there were 10,000 Japanese with fifty-four guns, 4,000 Russians with sixteen guns; British, 3,000 men with twelve guns; Americans, 2,000 men with six guns; French, 800 men with twelve small guns; Germans, 200 men; Austrians and Italians, 100 men; total, 20,100 men. The German general, Count Waldersee, was appointed on August 7 commander-in-chief of the international troops in the province of Chihli. On their way they were opposed by Chinese forces armed with artillery, and fighting behind entrenchments. The losses of the Japanese in the several engagements that took place were severe—in one fight sixty Japanese were killed and 140 wounded, while four British were killed and twenty-one wounded. At Yang-tsun on the 6th another battle was fought, in which the heaviest losses were sustained by the Americans—the 14th Regiment losing sixty-five killed and wounded, and the 9th Regiment nine men. British losses were less than fifty. The troops suffered greatly from the heat. The combined forces took Tung-chau on the 12th. Peking was but thirteen miles distant, and the advance was made from there in four separate parallel columns. The Japanese were stopped in their intention of blowing up the eastern gate by Chinese sharpshooters on the city wall, or they would have entered Peking first. The British column had therefore the good fortune to enter on the south side through the Tung-pien gate ahead of them. General Gaselee reached the legation about 2.45 P.M. on August 13, General Chaffee about two hours later, and the Russians and Japanese brigade shortly after eight o'clock, all having entered through the Tung-pien-Men.

For two days before the relief came the Chinese kept up a furious bombardment and fusillade, and there were many casualties. Up to the last attempts were made to induce the besieged to come out, and on August 4 a decree was issued appointing Yung Lu to conduct the foreign Ministers to Tien-tsin safely, "in order once more to show the tenderness of the Throne for the men from afar." On the morning of the 14th the Empress-Dowager and the Imperial Court fled by the west gate of the city to the interior in the direction of Si-ngan-fu, the capital of Shansi. Surrender of the Imperial city was made to the Japanese on the 26th, and a detachment of the allied forces marched through, it was said to vindicate the honour of the civilised world. A column under the command of Sir A. Gaselee, consisting of 4,000, Germans, British, Italians, and French, left Peking on October 12 for Pao-ting-fu. This

movement had the effect only of increasing the difficulty of maintaining the Manchu dynasty on the throne. No fighting took place, and small French detachments had already taken possession of the city, forestalling the expedition. An Imperial edict on October 13 appointed Prince Ching with full powers to negotiate peace in conjunction with Li Hung Chang who had been made Viceroy of Chihli in July. Formal proposals were addressed by them in a Circular Note to the foreign Ministers, in which China admitted her liability to pay an indemnity, and was ready to reaffirm or modify the old commercial treaties, while asking that the Tsung-li-Yamên might be restored, the foreign troops withdrawn, and military operations by the foreign Powers might cease.

Throughout the trouble the Yang-tsze Viceroys endeavoured to preserve the peace in their provinces, and the British Government lent the Viceroy of Wuchang 500,000 taels (75,000*l.*) to pay provincial soldiers. British troops were landed at Shanghai in August to protect foreign interests wherever threatened.

The Russian Government on August 28 proposed an immediate evacuation of Peking and return to Tien-tsin. Lord Salisbury, however, considered that the time for withdrawal of the British forces had not arrived, while the Japanese Government urged that everything possible should be done to induce the speedy return of the Emperor and the Court to Peking.

The Chinese having attacked Russian settlements on the Amoor, Russian troops had repeated engagements with them in Manchuria, and signally defeated them. They captured Kirin in September with its arsenal, and at Mukden they despoiled the palace of its great collection of ancient manuscript copies of Greek and Roman classics. Accusations of cruelty and massacre of inoffending Chinese were made against the Russian troops in these Manchurian operations.

Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Minister, was in command during the siege of the Legations at Peking, and left Peking on October 20 to take the head of the Legation in Japan, vacant by the appointment of Sir Ernest Satow to succeed him as Minister in China. On the same day the Peace Commission first met, when the Chinese Commissioners proposed to pay an indemnity of 46,000,000*l.* in sixty instalments, and meanwhile to place the customs revenue under the control of the Powers.

The Concert of the Powers at the end of the year had not fully succeeded in fixing the terms to be imposed upon China. The chief difficulties came from the insistence of some of the Powers on extreme measures of punishment for the guilty officials, and the removal of the Emperor and Empress-Dowager from the domination of General Tung-fuh-siang was very necessary before the proposed execution of death sentences could be enforced.

A Joint Note on December 19 from the Powers gave China the conditions of peace as follows :—

(1) An Imperial Prince to convey to Berlin regret for the murder of Baron von Ketteler.

(2) Severest punishment for their crimes to be inflicted on Princes Tuan and Chuang, Duke Lan, Chao-Shu-Chaio, Yang-yi, Ying-hien and others.

(3) Reparation to Japan for the murder of M. Sugiyama.

(4) Expiatory monuments to be erected in foreign cemeteries where tombs have been desecrated.

(5) Importation of arms and *materiel* to be prohibited.

(6) Equitable indemnities to be paid to States, societies and individuals.

(7) Permanent legation guards to be maintained.

(8) Taku forts, and those between Peking and the sea to be razed.

(9) Military occupation of points to ensure safety of communications between Peking and the sea.

(10) Viceroys to be held responsible for anti-foreign outbreaks or violation of treaties.

(11) Revision of commercial treaties.

(12) The Tsung-li-Yamèn to be reformed, and the Court ceremonial for the reception of foreign ministers to be modified.

III. HONG-KONG.

Bubonic plague was prevalent in Hong-Kong during the summer. In one week in June there were sixty-three cases and fifty-seven deaths from this malady, but on September 13 there were reported only five deaths from this cause.

A band of rebels attacked the town of Sai-wan not far from the border of the new territory, and detachments of Indian troops left Hong-Kong on October 6 to protect the frontier of Kaulung against invasion by armed refugees, whether Imperialists or rebels.

Great destruction of property was caused by a typhoon on November 10. The gunboat *Sandpiper* was sunk, and the Admiralty dredger *Canton River* was capsized in the storm. Many houses in course of erection in the colony were destroyed, and a number of seafaring men were drowned.

The new territory around Hong-Kong was divided into districts and sub-districts, and admirable police arrangements were giving quiet and protection to the Chinese population hitherto subject to attacks from bands of armed robbers and pirates. Steps were taken to suppress the Triad Society which was promoting disturbance. The territory was found to be very malarious, and the police suffered severely from fever. Improved communications had already led to an increase in traffic, and new industries it was expected would be started to develop the extended colony.

IV. KOREA.

Negotiations for the acquisition by Russia of an exclusive settlement at Masampho, the finest harbour of Korea, were

pending in March, and agreements were signed, but Japan had sufficient influence with the Korean Government to cause them to repudiate the contract. Russia, it was said, wished to apply the amount of her pending claims against Korea towards the price of the concession. Russia, desiring to exclude Japan from acquiring similar advantages, asked Korea to engage not to cede the island of Ko-je-do to any foreign country. Russia gave notice that she intended to make Masampho the winter harbour for her war ships.

The Korean Government declined to grant gold mining concessions to an American syndicate in May, although agreeing to fulfil its promise to engage French mining experts to explore the mining region. French engineers also secured the contract for the construction of the Seoul-Wiju Railway which was about to be commenced.

Two former Korean officials who had held Cabinet rank in Seoul, and who had taken refuge in Japan, one for being implicated in a plot against the Emperor in favour of the Prince Imperial, and the other for complicity in the murder of the Queen of Korea in 1896, trusting to promises given by the Government that their punishment would be light if they returned to Korea, were put to cruel torture, and finally strangled to death. The Japanese Minister asked for audience to protest, but was refused by the Emperor, who said he preferred not to see the Japanese Minister till the affair was disposed of—a procedure contrary to international usage. The Japanese regarded one of the victims as a high-minded patriot, and a great sensation was caused in Japan by the barbarous conduct of the Korean Government.

V. JAPAN.

It was a quiet, uneventful year in Japan. Public opinion was somewhat disturbed by the condition of Chinese affairs, and the deepest interest was felt by Japanese statesmen in respect to the complications that might arise through the action or inaction of the Western Powers. Japan was not in favour of the partition of the Chinese Empire, and her leading statesmen hoped that China would be at peace with the outside world, and that the Emperor Kuang-Hsu would be enabled to carry out his reforms, thus aiding Japanese development in trade and industrial pursuits. There was, it was true, a strong military sentiment in the country, but this was subordinate to the desire to excel in commerce.

Japan watched with a jealous eye the encroachments of Russia in Korean affairs, but kept the peace with her formidable rival.

Financial questions were discussed by leading men in public speeches in the summer. Count Malsakata, the Finance Minister, addressing a group of provincial bankers, considered the payment of the China war indemnity and its expenditure

in Japan as the chief reason for the rapid rise in the price of commodities and the price of labour. He was opposed to any resort to foreign loans to relieve the pressure in the money market which he deemed would intensify the trouble. He thought that the people should learn economy, for they had fallen into luxurious habits since the war with China. The leaders of the Liberal party, on the other hand, issued a manifesto advocating the idea of a foreign loan to redeem the existing internal debt.

Count Okuma, who was for many years Finance Minister, held the opinion that the country was prosperous, and advised the Government not to meddle with trade or the so-called outflow of gold, but, on the other hand, Count Inonye urged that the heavy balance of trade against Japan was alarming, and that home industries should be fostered to prevent the necessity of buying foreign goods.

In Japan great developments have taken place in recent years in the coal industry, and merchant ships, and even ships of war, can now obtain practically all the coal they require from Japanese sources. The main coalfields are in Kynshu in the south of Japan, and in the Hokkaido or Northern Island.

The Crown Prince of Japan was married on May 10 to the Princess Sadako, the daughter of a noble family.

At the end of September the Cabinet tendered their resignation, and the Emperor summoned the Marquis Ito to form a new Ministry. M. Kaats Takaaki, formerly the Japanese Minister to Great Britain, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was in favour of following the policy of a combined action of the Powers in Chinese matters. The late Premier, Marquis Yamagata, it was said, resigned so that Marquis Ito might be placed at the head of the Government on account of his superior qualifications for dealing with Chinese questions requiring the highest diplomatic skill.

The views of the Emperor of Japan regarding the Chinese situation were expressed in his answer to the apology of the Chinese Emperor for the murder of Sugiyama Akira, the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation at Peking by Chinese soldiers on June 11, which was as follows:—

“It is with satisfaction that we have received your Majesty’s telegram in which your Majesty expresses regret for the event whereby Sugiyama Akira, the Chancellor of the Imperial Legation, came to his death in consequence of cruel and barbarous acts committed on him by your Majesty’s soldiers. Your Majesty also announced that in order to testify your sense of such regret your Majesty has commanded the Vice-President of the Board of Ceremonies to perform religious ceremonies for the deceased and to present 5,000 taels for funeral expenses, and has, moreover, ordered the secretary of your Majesty’s legation in Tokio to perform the ceremony of libation on the arrival of the coffin of the deceased in this country. Your Majesty adds

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it is your Majesty's earnest wish that we should endeavour to induce the Powers concerned to speedily conclude peace, so that the safety of your Majesty's Empire may be assured and many benefits secured. As to the restoration of peace, not only your Majesty but we ourselves earnestly desire it, and if your Majesty is really anxious for peace we should strongly recommend your Majesty to issue the edict formally announcing the discontinuance in office of all bigoted and conservative persons and appointing at once in their place as Ministers those persons who are able and highly respected both at home and abroad, thus organising an entirely new Government. Finally, if your Majesty will speedily return to Peking instead of proceeding to Shen-si, thus composing the apprehensions of your Majesty's subjects, and by these measures afford practical evidence of regret for having given offence to friendly Powers, we do not see any reason why the Powers should not agree to the conclusion of peace, and we earnestly desire that our sincere suggestion may meet with acceptance at the hands of your Majesty."

Japanese troops took an important part in the capture of Peking in August, and the amount paid out by the Treasury on account of the campaign was about 1,300,000*l*. The total expenditure for the army in China it was estimated would be almost 20,000,000 yen, or 2,000,000*l*. sterling. The money expended was taken from a reserve fund of 50,000,000 yen, set aside from the Chinese war indemnity for naval maintenance and other purposes, and it was a problem what should be done to replace the fund.

In December General Kodama, Governor of Formosa, was appointed Minister of War in the place of General Katsura, who resigned.

The Imperial Diet met in December, and bills were introduced imposing additional taxation.

VI. SIAM.

Siam was making steady progress, and there were many new openings for the investment of capital which were being taken up by Danes and Germans. British interests were not advancing because little effort was made to further them, although hitherto they had been predominant. Nearly the entire British shipping interest at Bangkok was transferred to German control in 1899.

Public works were being carried out in the interior. A very large sum was devoted to this purpose, and roads, bridges and better public buildings were in process of construction by the Government.

The railway from Bangkok to Korat was formally opened on December 21 by the King himself. The line was begun ten years ago, and is the pioneer railway of the Siamese Government system.

CHAPTER VI.

AFRICA.

I. EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

THE year 1900 in Egypt was singularly and fortunately barren of events. The relations of the Khedive with his English advisers became friendlier and stronger. The old irritating friction between the British officials and the native and foreign interests showed once more signs of diminution. Lord Cromer, on whom the well-earned honour of a seat in the Privy Council was conferred at the beginning of the year, was once again able to report encouragingly on the progress of the country. The policy of saving wherever it was possible, while at the same time generously helping schemes of irrigation which may increase the productiveness of the land, was again adopted in the Budget for the year. The revenue returns amply justified the cautious estimate of between ten and eleven millions adopted in the previous year, and the income from the administration of justice, from the cotton crops, and from the land assessment, all bore witness to good management and to wise finance. The financial progress of the country was still, of course, to some extent arrested by the inevitable action of the *Caisse de la Dette*, which laid hands, as usual, on the surpluses secured. Until that system is modified or abolished, Egypt can never enjoy the full advantage of the prosperity she gains. But owing to the purchases of Egyptian stock by the *Caisse*, the total amount of Egyptian indebtedness in 1900 stood no higher than 95,500,000*l.*, and there was no floating debt; while the *Caisse*, of course, continued to increase the substantial accumulations arising from the economies arranged in previous years.

In judicial matters the record of the year, though devoid of any special significance, was satisfactory enough to those who were content in so difficult a matter to expect only very gradual results. The efforts made to keep down costs in the native courts, the beginnings of reform in the religious tribunals, and the increased jurisdiction in petty matters of the village chiefs, tended again to encourage the advocates of progress, though the development of European ideals of equity and justice must under such conditions be infinitely slow. More interesting, perhaps, was the development of Lord Cromer's plan for lightening the heavy burden of debt borne by the fellahen, who, like the peasant cultivators in other Oriental countries, are crippled by the sums they have to borrow, and by the exorbitant interest which the usurers ask. The Government, through the Egyptian Bank, determined to try the experiment of lending small sums of money to the peasants in the spring, which they agreed to repay in the autumn, and of

charging the borrowers only a small and reasonable rate of interest on the loan. The scheme, begun in a tentative fashion, continued to work satisfactorily during the year, and experience showed that it was likely to be accepted as a valuable boon by the cultivators of the soil.

A year so peaceful gave special opportunities for the advance of the sciences of peace. The failure of the Nile flood in 1899 hastened forward the work on the great dam at Assouan. And the Egyptologists pushed forward their researches with an activity hardly ever seen before. Professor Maspero became once again the Director of the Department of Antiquities. Professor Flinders Petrie's excavations among the tombs of the kings produced some very important results; and the drinking bowls and furniture of the kings of the first dynasty, discovered during the summer at Abydos, tended to show that the great period of the pyramid-builders was the third cycle of civilisation and art in Egypt. The new system adopted by the explorers of offering baksheesh as rewards for results proved to be a great improvement on the old methods of dealing with their workmen.

In the Soudan, in place of war and victories, the record of the year was one of development and peace. The good understanding arrived at with Abyssinia—where the Emperor Menelik has recently committed himself to schemes for the introduction of railways, and of modern journalism—was the most satisfactory feature of external policy. Internally the vast country began to revive slowly, but it must be long before it can be expected to pay. Lord Cromer, visiting Khartoum in December, addressed the notables and sheikhs in a speech of which the most important part was its insistence, first and foremost, on the necessity of keeping down taxation. Communications and other developments must wait, he wisely argued, till the people of the country could better afford to pay for them. The number of European administrators must be strictly limited, but a few carefully chosen civilians might be mingled with the military element, and one of the first of these civilians should be an hydraulic engineer. Patience, economy and unostentatious progress must be, as they have been in Egypt, the watchwords of the new rulers of the Soudan.

II. SOUTH AFRICA.

Cape Colony.—At the beginning of the year recruiting for the war was active at the Cape. The people there were liberal towards the sufferers by the war, and the Good Hope Society laboured actively in affiliation with the Red Cross Society for the sick and wounded. Boer prisoners arrived in January, and a camp was prepared for them at Simonstown; but as they made frequent attempts to escape and were sometimes successful, it was determined when Cronje and his army were

captured that they should be sent to St. Helena. Cronje sailed for the "lone, barren isle" on April 3 with 1,000 other prisoners. The Boer prisoners there were well cared for and were satisfied with their treatment.

After the withdrawal of the Free State commandos in March, the rebel movement, which at one time threatened to be serious in the northern and eastern parts of Cape Colony, subsided. Many rebels, in accordance with Sir A. Milner's proclamation, surrendered their arms and returned home.

Loyalists, both English and Dutch, had suffered terrible hardships and loss from the Boer commandants and from their disloyal neighbours. Public meetings were held at the end of March throughout Cape Colony, urging the annexation of the Boer Republics. Mr. Rose Innes at a meeting of his constituents at Claremont on March 30 moved a resolution advocating the incorporation of the Republics under the British flag, preliminary to the fullest measure of self-government possible on colonial lines finally. Republican sympathisers also held meetings in March here and there, but they were not largely attended. The Dutch Afrikaners were remaining "on the fence," waiting for what the future might have in store for them.

The extreme partisans of the Republics held a so-called People's Congress at Graaf Reinet and passed violent resolutions against annexation, but neither Mr. Schreiner nor Mr. Solomon regarded this agitation with favour.

There were rumours in April of existing dissensions in the Cabinet. Mr. Sauer and Dr. Te Water were said to favour independence for the Boers, while Mr. Merriman remained neutral. Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Solomon favoured annexation. The Ministerial crisis came on June 8, when Mr. Schreiner assembled the Bond members to discuss whether the Bond would support him and Mr. Solomon in their loyal endeavours to fulfil their duty to the Crown. The Bond majority in the Assembly had been reduced to four owing to charges of treason brought against several members. Mr. Schreiner found it impossible to continue longer in office on account of the bitter opposition in his own Cabinet of Messrs. Sauer, Merriman and Te Water against his very moderate policy. Moreover, he had less than a dozen supporters who remained faithful to him in Parliament, and he would not take any steps to defeat the intrigues of the Bond party. On June 13 Sir A. Milner therefore sent for Sir Gordon Sprigg, the leader of the Opposition. None of the three parties, the Progressives, the Schreiner party or the Bond party could form a Ministry alone, and at first there was some thought of a coalition Government under the leadership of the Hon. J. Rose Innes, the most moderate of statesmen and a man of the highest political integrity. Then an attempt to form a Cabinet including Mr. Innes and also Mr. Solomon, the late Attorney-General, with Mr. Schreiner's support, was very nearly brought about. At last a moderate but purely

Progressive Ministry was formed, with Sir J. Gordon Sprigg Premier, Mr. Rose Innes Attorney-General, Mr. T. L. Graham Colonial Secretary, Dr. Smartt Minister of Public Works, Sir Pieter Faure Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. J. Frost Minister without portfolio, Mr. Solomon and Mr. Schreiner giving their co-operation and support to the Cabinet.

Parliament was opened on July 20 by Sir A. Milner. The Government had a majority of six. Mr. Merriman introduced a resolution in favour of the abolition of martial law. Mr. Rose Innes said that martial law had already been repealed in three districts and would be entirely repealed when the safety of the State permitted. Mr. Rose Innes, Attorney-General, on August 1 moved the second reading of the Treason Bill to create special commissions to try the ringleaders of the rebellion and to disfranchise the rank and file for five years. He deprecated a policy of vengeance. Mr. Merriman considered that the bill would keep alive the fatal unrest in South Africa. The debate was resumed on August 17 in the House of Assembly, and on the 20th Mr. Graaf condemned the Imperial policy and Mr. Molteno attempted to justify the conduct of the rebels. The debate concluded on August 22. Sir Gordon Sprigg said that the Cape Government was solely responsible for the bill and that it had not been dictated by the Imperial Government. The second reading was carried in the Assembly by 48 votes to 38, and in the Legislative Council by 13 votes to 7. An amendment to the bill was accepted by the House, which allowed appeal to the Supreme Court in cases in which the prisoners were not convicted by a unanimous judgment. Amendments to limit the punishment of rebels to two years' disfranchisement and ringleaders to five years' were negatived. The bill was reported for third reading on September 21 and passed. The special tribunal at Cape Town, constituted under the act on October 31, admitted forty alleged rebels to bail in the sum of 2,000*l.* personal security and two sureties of 500*l.* each. They were to reside on their farms, and they came from Barkly East and Aliwal North principally. Mr. Schroeder, a member of the Assembly, was released on bail on November 10 and required to live in Cape Town. Nine accused persons were sentenced by the Treason Court on December 17 to different terms of imprisonment and to pay fines of 500*l.* each.

Mr. Rhodes presided at the opening of the South African League at Cape Town on October 10. He said that there would have been no fighting between Great Britain and the Boers but for Krugerism. He suggested three points for the programme of the League: supremacy of the flag, equal rights, and no ill-feeling towards the Dutch.

It was suspected in November that De Wet intended a raid into Cape Colony in search of supplies and recruits. For some time a feeling of anxiety had pervaded the loyal population respecting the growing estrangement between the British and

Dutch in the Colony, helped by the Dutch press and clergy and by the prisoners of war who had been allowed to return to their homes on parole. The loyal press was urgent in its demand for a proclamation of martial law. Open sedition existed in important Dutch centres.

The Bond leaders, Messrs. Merriman and Sauer, in speeches at Stellenbosch on December 1, denounced British methods of conducting the war, but counselled Afrikaners not to do anything that could lead to the loss of the last shred of liberty—their rights in the Cape Parliament. Mr. Sauer said that the Dutch were loyal, but that the Governor, Sir A. Milner, had become an extreme political partisan.

Great preparations were made for the Afrikaner Congress which met at Worcester on December 6. Resolutions were carried by acclamation demanding (1) the termination of the war, "raging with untold misery and horror," devastating the country and exterminating the white nationality; (2) retention by the Republics of their independence. The congress expressed grave disapproval of the attitude of the Governor, Sir A. Milner, with regard to the right of the people in the colony to settle and manage their own affairs. Mr. Cronwright Schreiner violently denounced British conduct of the war, and said that the Afrikaners would never consent to the loss of independence of the Republics. In opposition to this movement the Government took every lawful means to quell sedition. Sir A. Milner received a deputation from the Worcester Congress on December 11, asked them what good could be done by such resolutions, and told them that there was not the remotest chance of a reversal of the policy of annexation declared by the Imperial Government. He declared that the war had been one of the most humane wars ever waged, and that it was not morally justifiable to continue resistance involving loss of lives and property when the object of resistance could not possibly be obtained.

Mr. Herholdt, ex-Minister of Agriculture, resigned his seat in the Legislative Council on December 18, because the majority of the Bond disapproved of his support of Mr. Schreiner. Martial law was proclaimed on December 20, owing to the Boer invasion of December 19, in twelve additional districts of Cape Colony, and all persons were warned against joining the Boer forces.

Natal.—The Natal Parliament met on May 3, and in his speech at the opening session Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, the Governor, said that he confidently hoped for an era of prosperity in Natal on the restoration of peace under the supremacy of the Queen. Owing to decrease of revenue and increase of expenditure due to the war, it had been found necessary to apply to the Imperial Government for temporary financial aid, and it had been willingly and promptly rendered.

Mr. Arbuckle, the Treasurer, on May 9, presented the Budget,

which showed a deficiency owing to the war of 478,000*l.* The Customs revenue had increased 100,000*l.*, but from this a rebate of 37,000*l.* to the military authorities had to be deducted.

III. THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The year opened gloomily for the British. The reverses of the war, however, only seemed to urge the British nation to renewed effort. On January 1 the first draft of the City Imperial Volunteers was enrolled in London—a force composed of men in civil life, able, brave and fit, who had served in various Volunteer Regiments. The second and third detachments followed at the end of the month, and embarked for the Cape at Southampton.

There had been a skirmish on December 30 of last year with the Boers near Dordrecht. Captain Montmorency, with 120 Colonial Mounted Infantry, made a reconnaissance north of the town. He found the Boers in superior force and retired, but about forty of his men were cut off owing to their refusal to leave a wounded officer. These were afterwards rescued by Captain Goldsbury, who arrived on the scene the next morning with 115 Cape Mounted Rifles. The little detachment had gallantly held out against 800 Boers through the night, killing and wounding some thirty of the enemy, with small loss to themselves.

On December 31, 1899, General French left Rensberg, taking with him five squadrons, the 2nd Berkshire, and eighty mounted infantry, and made a detour in the direction of Colesberg. On the morning of January 1 he silenced the enemy's artillery on the right flank, and made a demonstration with cavalry and guns to the north of Colesberg, shelling the enemy's strong position until sunset. To avoid being cut off the Boers retired in a westerly direction. An untoward accident happened to a provision train of twenty-six trucks, which ran down an incline with great speed from Rensberg Station towards Colesberg Junction, and was wrecked. The Boers began to loot the provisions, and an attempt made to recover them by a company of the Suffolk Regiment, with some natives, was unsuccessful, as the enemy poured on them a hot artillery fire. On the 3rd the Boers were almost surrounded, but were keeping the British out of the town.

On January 1 Lieut.-Colonel Pilcher defeated a commando at Sunnyside, north-west of Belmont, near the border of the Free State, with a composite force of Canadians, Australians, and troops from England. The conduct of the Colonials in this action excited unbounded admiration. They were completely successful, and forty Boers were taken prisoners. Colonel Pilcher's force afterwards occupied Douglas temporarily and the Colonials were received with great enthusiasm by the

inhabitants. On the 2nd the little British garrison that had held out so long at Kuruman, on the border, surrendered.

On the 3rd a force of Boers of about 2,000 attacked a party of 250 Cape Mounted Police near Molteno. General Gatacre advanced from Sterkstroom with artillery and infantry, and after some artillery firing from both sides the Boers hurriedly retreated to the east. On the 4th General French was attacked by about 1,000 Boers on his left flank. Their object was to reopen communication with the bridge on the Colesberg Road, but after a stubborn fight they were repulsed. On the night of the 5th four companies of the 1st Suffolk Regiment commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Watson left camp, intending to attack the Boers at dawn. The colonel was at once struck by a bullet, and orders for retirement were given, it was said, by the Boers themselves. Three companies acted on the signal, but the rest held out till overpowered by numbers. Over 100 were taken prisoners, including seven officers. The colonel, four officers and twenty-three men were killed, and twenty more men were wounded.

After the battle of Colenso it was quiet in the vicinity of Ladysmith for about three weeks. But as British reinforcements were coming forward in great numbers, the Boer Commander-in-chief on January 6 determined to make a desperate attack on Caesar's Camp, directly south of Ladysmith. Sir George White was very hard pressed, but after seventeen hours' fighting the persistent assault was repelled with very heavy loss to the enemy. At Wagon Hill Colonel Ian Hamilton held the entrenchments. Three times the Boers captured parts of these defences, and three times they were driven off—finally, at dusk, with a bayonet charge of the Devonshire Regiment. This attack of the Boers exhibited them in a new light. Not only did they show wonderful skill, but remarkable courage.

General French made reconnaissance around the enemy's left flank on January 10, but was unable to turn it, and General Methuen sent cavalry to reconnoitre from Modder River on the 9th. This force advanced twenty-five miles into the Orange Free State, meeting with little opposition.

Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener arrived at Cape Town on January 10, and General Buller sent news on the 11th that he had occupied the south bank of the Tugela, at Potgieter's Drift, had seized the ferry boat, that the river was in flood, and that the Boers were strongly entrenched about four and a half miles to the northward. Sir Charles Warren, with 11,000 men, marched from Estcourt to Frere, and on the 18th, having crossed the Tugela at Trichard's Drift, seized two hills on the north bank, while General Lyttleton made a crossing at Potgieter's Drift, about five miles to the eastward. Lord Dundonald's force of cavalry advanced from Potgieter's Drift eight miles to Acton Homes, and surprised a small force of the enemy, taking some prisoners. General Clery made judicious use of his

artillery, and captured ridge after ridge for about three miles. Meantime General Lyttleton made a reconnaissance in force to relieve the pressure on General Warren, who had been engaged all day on the 21st where the ground was very difficult, and all the time uphill. General Warren unfortunately gave up the flank movement in favour of a frontal attack. He said that, "with the three and a half days' provisions allowed, it was impossible to advance by the left road" by Acton Homes. He could not move up his artillery, and therefore determined to attack Spion Kop, which was seized on the night of the 23rd, but was found "very difficult to hold, as its perimeter was too large, and water in this dry season was found very deficient." Major-General Woodgate, who was in command at the top of the hill, being mortally wounded, the officer who succeeded him decided, on the night of the 24th-25th, to abandon the position, and did so before daylight of the 25th. It appeared that Warren had sent General Coke first to take the hill, but afterwards receiving by heliograph a despatch from General Buller that he would lose the hill unless he put "some hard fighting man in command like Thornycroft," ordered the latter to command without informing Coke of the arrangement. Warren asked Coke to give his view of the situation. That officer replied that unless the artillery could silence the enemy's guns the men at the summit of the hill could not stand another day's shelling. Later, when Warren sent artillery and engineers to Spion Kop, they met Thornycroft coming down, who, knowing nothing of the determination of Warren to send up artillery, after bravely holding out for twenty-four hours, ordered retirement from an untenable position. The whole army retired to the south side of the Tugela, crossing the river under the lead of General Buller, unmolested by the enemy.

On February 5 another attempt to advance was made. Again hopes were high in Ladysmith as Buller's guns were heard at work. The condition of the troops in the beleaguered town was good. There was plenty of food, and no sickness among the horses, and Sir George White was inspiring confidence by his energy and skill in keeping the Boers at bay.

While the 11th Brigade made a feint attack towards Brakfontein Ridge, naval guns opened a heavy fire upon Vaal Krantz from Zwart Kop. General Lyttleton's brigade, with Hart and Hillyard's supporting, crossed the river on a pontoon bridge, which the engineers constructed in half an hour, and captured Vaal Krantz at the point of the bayonet. The troops bivouacked on the ground, but the next day it was discovered that the place was untenable. The Boers had heavy guns on Spion Kop and Doornkop where the naval battery could not reach them, and again General Buller found that he was attempting to pierce the enemy's centre instead of turning his flank. No progress could be made, and on February 7 the troops were again withdrawn to the south bank of the Tugela.

The effective fighting force in Natal on January 31 was 34,830 men and twenty guns, with 1,100 Royal Engineers and 1,472 Army Service and other Departmental Corps. In Cape Colony there were 51,900 men and 150 guns, with 2,000 Royal Engineers, 4,278 Army Service and other Departmental Corps, and 2,118 sick.

Lord Roberts on his arrival took no steps to render active assistance to General Sir Redvers Buller, because he seemed to have at his disposal a sufficient force for the relief of Ladysmith, and after being reinforced by the Fifth Division he informed Lord Roberts that he had troops enough. Lord Roberts first gave attention to the development and organisation of the Colonial forces. He arranged for one mounted corps to be raised by Colonel Brabant, promoted to be Brigadier-General, and it was intended to place a body of Colonial mounted troops, about 3,000 strong, under General Brabant's command on Lieutenant-General Gatacre's right flank for the object of guarding the eastern part of Cape Colony and pushing back the enemy from the neighbourhood of Stormberg, with head-quarters at Dordrecht. Two other regiments, named "Roberts'" and "Kitchener's Horse," were formed chiefly from men coming to South Africa from various parts of the world. Yet there were none too many troops, for the frontier of the Cape Colony was weakly held, and the Colonists bordering the Orange Free State were many of them of doubtful loyalty.

It was determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. The two railroads leading from the Cape to the Orange Free State were in the hands of the Boers at points where they crossed the Orange River, and while railways were essential for conveying stores and supplies from the base, a transport service needed to be organised in addition. What was known as the regimental system had been adopted, namely, to provide each unit with sufficient transport for its ammunition, baggage and two or three days' supplies—a system unsuitable for extensive operations where no food or scarcely any forage can be had. A properly organised Transport Department was absolutely necessary, and it was provided for as the first thing to be done.

On February 9 Lord Roberts arrived at the Modder River. He had collected a large force to the north of the Orange River railway station with the view of its joining the troops under Lord Methuen's command, to proceed in the first instance to relieve Kimberley. Including cavalry and mounted infantry, the column numbered 35,000 men, with about 100 guns. He was obliged to postpone the reinforcement of Lieutenant-General Gatacre's force, though it was barely sufficient to control a civil population containing many disturbing elements. General French with his cavalry was quietly withdrawn from Colesberg and the Sixth and Seventh Divisions were massed with the Ninth in order to turn the left of the Boer army under Cronje covering Kimberley.

The Highland Brigade at Modder River, under General Hector Macdonald, had made a reconnaissance to Koodoosberg Drift just before the arrival of Lord Roberts, but returned to camp on February 10 without further pursuit of the enemy by cavalry. General French advanced rapidly and on February 12 seized Dekiel's Drift on the Riet River, which he crossed, followed closely by the Sixth and Seventh Divisions. On the next day he crossed the Modder River at Klip Drift while the infantry wheeled around Magersfontein, and on the 15th French's cavalry, after a rapid march in a blinding dust storm, entered Kimberley and raised the siege. The garrison and people in the town had suffered from want of food, but under Colonel Kekewich had gallantly defended the place. A part of the Boers withdrew northward with their heavy guns. Jacobsdal was captured on the 14th by the British and temporarily occupied by the mounted infantry of General Kelly-Kenny's Sixth Division without opposition. On the 16th all the troops under General Kelly-Kenny, except those occupying outposts, were so disposed as to enable a large force of mounted infantry to follow General French, and about 6 A.M. they saw in the distance, passing from west to east, a very large convoy. It was General Cronje retreating from Magersfontein, and orders were given to attack and harass him. The movement to follow General French was abandoned and all efforts were brought to bear on the convoy. All day General Kelly-Kenny's force was engaged in attacking Cronje's rearguard. A part of General French's cavalry division held the hills on the north. The Highland Brigade made a forced march from Jacobsdal along the south bank of the Modder. General Knox's brigade held the enemy in front. Colonel Stephenson's brigade pushed on to the enemy's left flank over and along the river banks. Lieutenant-General Colville's division moved one brigade on the left and the other on the right of the river, and at nightfall on the 18th Cronje, holding on to his entrenchments in the bed of the river at Paardeberg, was completely hemmed in on all sides. The artillery had kept up a strong fire all day, destroying the Boers' laager and blowing up his magazines. It was a desperate battle, and the British lost over 1,100 men in killed and wounded, with terrific loss to the Boers. Major-General Lord Kitchener, chief of the staff, was present all the time. Lord Roberts arrived on the 19th and forbade the renewal of the attack by artillery. Generals De Wet and Botha, attempting to relieve Cronje, who had asked for an armistice which Lord Roberts refused, were beaten back. For eight days the Boer leader kept up the hopeless struggle, but at last, after the Canadians had advanced their trenches close to Cronje's position, he surrendered with his whole army of 4,069 men with six guns on the morning of February 27, the anniversary of Majuba. The Boer prisoners, with Cronje, were sent to Cape Town and from thence to St. Helena.

An unfortunate loss of a convoy on the Riet River just before the battle of Paardeberg caused great hardship to the British troops.

The attempt of the Boers to reinforce Cronje from their army near Ladysmith was unsuccessful, but it weakened them enough to encourage Buller to make a fourth advance. Moreover, this was a part of Lord Roberts' plan. On February 14 General Buller moved with his entire force, excepting General Hart's brigade, into the hilly country east of Colenso, on the south bank of the Tugela, driving the Boers from Hussar Hill. On the 18th he took Monte Cristo Hill, and the next day Hlangwane Hill, which commanded Colenso. On the 21st a bridge 98 yards long was thrown across the Tugela where the infantry crossed the following day. The enemy had abandoned Colenso, but still held the ridges overlooking Fort Wylie, about three miles beyond. On the 22nd the 11th Brigade, supported by the Second Division, took possession of the hills which covered the railway bridge over Onderbrook Spruit and commanded the country between that and Langerwachte Spruit. The fighting was very severe. A long-backed hill, running north and south, was taken, but could not be held on account of the terrific enfilading and reverse fire of the Boers behind their entrenchments and sangars. "The men had to lie crouched on the hill sides, sheltered by hastily piled-up stones, with an active, keen-sighted enemy within 150 yards of one flank and 500 yards of the other. During the day the front line could scarcely move, for any one who exposed himself was shot. They were under constant fire, both rifle and artillery, both night and day, and they were three times heavily attacked; but for five days and nights they unflinchingly maintained this position. It was wonderful," writes General Buller in his report to Field-Marshal Roberts.

On the afternoon of the 23rd General Hart advanced with the 5th Brigade and two battalions of the 4th Brigade to attack the position east of Langerwachte Spruit. The attack was delivered with the utmost gallantry, but the men failed to reach the top of the hill. A position was gained, however, at the foot of the hill which ensured ultimate success, a position which divided the enemy, and forced him to make a long detour to strengthen his forces to the east of the British from those on Grobelan's Kloof and the Ladysmith Road. The rugged crests of the south bank of the Tugela were searched between Hlangwane and Monte Cristo for a roadway, and a Kaffir path was found leading to the river exactly at the back of General Hart's position. Road making was begun on both sides of the river, the river was bridged, and Barton's brigade crossed on the 26th, making a flank attack on the 27th (the day of Cronje's surrender) to turn the enemy's left. Every mile of the advance to Ladysmith was stubbornly contested. Pieter's Hill and Railway Hill were captured. The frontal advance was assigned

to Lord Dundonald, with the Colonial troops, who on the 28th rode into Ladysmith without serious opposition. The Boers had retreated, carrying away their heavy guns. Thus was accomplished the relief of Ladysmith after a siege lasting 118 days, just in time to prevent the surrender of the place through starvation. The garrison had lost 247 men in fighting, and 636 men had been wounded in the siege, while 600 had died from disease. General Buller lost in his final attempt nearly 2,000 men.

Sir George White had defended an open, exposed position for four months against an enemy well provided with the best artillery, and during the last days of the siege had to suffer from disease and the dread of famine. Rejoicings were universal throughout the British Empire at the relief of Ladysmith.

Sir Redvers Buller entered Ladysmith on March 1. One part of the Boer army slipped away to the north and another to the west, to enter the Free State by the Drakensberg passes.

"During the period from January 6 to March 1," wrote Sir G. White, "our struggle became one against disease and starvation even more than against the enemy. Our worst foes in this respect was enteric fever and dysentery, the former especially committing great ravages among the young soldiers of the garrison. Our deaths by disease from November 2, 1899, to February 28, 1900, amounted to twelve officers and 529 non-commissioned officers and men. The officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps, the Army Nursing Sisters, the many ladies who voluntarily offered their services as nurses, and the hospital staffs of all ranks, maintained throughout the siege a brave and protracted struggle against sickness under almost every possible disadvantage, their numbers being most inadequate for the work to be done, and the supplies of drugs and of suitable food for invalids being entirely insufficient for so many patients for so long a period. Even more important was the regulation and augmentation of the food supplies, as will be realised from the simple statement that 21,000 mouths had to be fed for 120 days; and the admirable manner in which all arrangements were made and carried out under the able and untiring superintendence of Colonel E. W. D. Ward, C.B., my A.A.G., will be evident from the fact that at the date of the relief we still possessed resources capable of maintaining this great number on reduced rations for another thirty days."

Sir G. White concluded by expressing his deep sense of the gallantry and patient endurance of hardships displayed by all ranks of all corps under his command. He paid special tribute to the Naval Brigade furnished by H.M.S. *Powerful*, under Captain Hedworth Lambton; to the cavalry, who served as infantry after their horses became useless; and to the artillery and the engineers for their skill, ingenuity, and resource; and the Natal Volunteers, especially the Imperial Light Horse. "The work of the infantry," he added, "exposed day and night

to all weathers on our lines of defence, almost continually under fire, and living latterly on a ration consisting of little more than a proportion of horse flesh, with $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per man of inferior and scarcely eatable mealie bread, has been of the most severe and trying nature, and has been carried out without a murmur, and with the most cheerful steadfastness."

In spite of the grave loss of the great convoy of provisions on the Riet River, Lord Roberts determined to press on to Bloemfontein without long delay; yet as the cavalry and artillery horses were so exhausted by their rapid march to Kimberley and back, and so weakened by the scarcity of forage, he found it absolutely necessary to give them a week's rest. The Boers entrenched themselves along a kopje front of ten and a half miles east of Oosfontein, at Poplar Grove, and on March 6 and 7 an attack was made upon them, but they succeeded in retreating. Had the horses been able to move, Lord Roberts undoubtedly would have intercepted their line of retreat and captured their guns, waggons and supplies, and probably also the Presidents of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, who were present during the engagement, together with a large number of prisoners. On the 10th at Driefontein there was a sharp engagement, but an outflanking movement became a frontal attack, and the Boers retreated eastwards. In this fight the Welsh regiment distinguished itself. Lord Roberts reported to the War Office that in this battle "a flagrant breach of the recognised usages of war was the cause of most of the casualties in the infantry. The enemy held up their hands and hoisted a white flag in sign of surrender, but when our troops approached they were fired on at close quarters by a number of Boers posted under cover in rear of their front line, and had to retire until reinforced, when the position was carried at the point of the bayonet. The holding up of their hands on the part of the Boers was observed by me and by several officers of my staff through telescopes, and it, as well as the persistent use by the enemy of flat-nosed expanding bullets, has been brought to the notice of the Presidents of the Orange Free State and South African Republic in a telegram sent to the War Office, with a request that its contents might be communicated to the neutral Powers."

General French moved on rapidly with his cavalry, and secured two hills commanding the Bloemfontein railway station on March 12, and the next day Lord Roberts, with the cavalry division, entered the capital of the Free State after an exhausting series of marches, and hoisted the Union Jack with appropriate ceremony.

Meanwhile, in Cape Colony General Clements, who had succeeded General French at Colesberg, had been forced to retire to Rensberg in February, and afterwards to Arundel, overpowered by numbers. By the advance of Lord Roberts to Bloemfontein he was enabled to move forward, for the enemy

were between two fires, and were compelled to retreat or be captured. General Brabant, with his Colonial mounted troops, drove the Boers from Dordrecht towards the Orange River, and advanced to Aliwal North, while General Clements, at Norval's Pont, and General Gatacre, at Bethulie, crossed the river on March 15, and the next day joined their forces with 2,000 of the Guards Brigade under General Pole-Carew, that had been sent by rail from Bloemfontein to reinforce them. In Griqualand West, the districts of Prieska, Britstown and Carnarvon were in a state of rebellion. The New Zealand Mounted Infantry took an active part in suppressing it, with Lord Kitchener, who left the main army in February to collect reinforcements and punish the rebels.

After the death of General Joubert the supreme command of the Boers devolved upon General Louis Botha. British detachments were going about the country collecting arms in accordance with a proclamation of Lord Roberts that any Boer who gave up his rifle and took an oath not to bear arms against the British could return to his farm. Many of the Free State burghers took this course, but many of them gave up inferior rifles, burying their Mausers for future use. Many also broke their oaths and returned to their commandos. The forces of the Boers under Grobler and Olivier made their escape to the north along the eastern border of the Free State. The British horses were not equal to the task of pursuing them, and the War Department had not provided any fresh mounts in time.

There was an engagement on March 29 at Karee siding, twenty miles north of Bloemfontein, on the line to Kroonstad. A double flank movement was not well carried out, and the enemy succeeded in retreating to Brandfort.

On March 30 a large hostile force of Boers having collected near Thabanchu, the cavalry outpost there, under Colonel Broadwood, withdrew towards Bloemfontein.

During its retirement to the waterworks, twenty-one miles east of Bloemfontein, the Boers rapidly followed it up, and, by means of a cunningly laid ambush near Sannah's Post, having during the night concealed themselves in a dry watercourse called Koorn Spruit, succeeded in capturing seven 12-pounder guns, with the entire *personnel* of a Horse Artillery battery and many other prisoners (about 350 men), besides inflicting heavy loss on the troops engaged, and seizing a convoy which accompanied them. This is precisely what occurred: The fugitives and the leading waggons pressed on so rapidly that they outstripped the scouts of the advance guard, and they had entered the watercourse and had been permitted by the Boers to cross to the other side of the Koorn Spruit before the Mounted Infantry had been able to get in front of the column and take its proper place. Encouraged by this success, the Boer commanders moved southward and came in contact with a weak detachment which had been sent to Dewetsdorp by

Lieutenant-General Sir W. Gatacre, and was being withdrawn by Lord Roberts' orders. The enemy surrounded the detachment, and, before assistance could arrive, it had surrendered to superior numbers, and the officers and men composing it had been removed, as prisoners of war, to Kroonstad. A patrol of four men sent forward to Boesman's Kop on the Bloemfontein Road were cut off from the main army in the night, and neglected to warn their comrades of the ambush by firing their rifles or by any other means. This was the probable cause of the disaster. Lord Roberts absolved Brigadier-General Broadwood from all blame, and also Lieutenant-Colonel Pilcher, who was escorting the convoy from Thaba N'chu to Sannah's Post.

Another disaster occurred (April 4) at Reddersberg, where a detachment of Irish Rifles and of Mounted Infantry were surprised, and over 400 were taken prisoners. General Gatacre at Springfontein was ordered to relieve them, but he arrived on the scene an hour and a half after the surrender. It was plain that the Boers had recovered from the depression induced by Cronje's defeat and were taking the offensive. They invested Wepener with an army of 8,000 or more, but the place was bravely defended by a Colonial force under Colonels Dalgetty and Maxwell, until relieved late in April by the converging columns of Brabant and Hart, of Rundle with the Eighth, and Pole-Carew with the Eleventh Division. On April 25 General Chermiside, who had succeeded General Gatacre in command of the Third Division, took possession of Dewetsdorp, the Boers retreating to Thaba N'chu under Botha's lead. On the 27th General French joined General Ian Hamilton, and on the 30th Ian Hamilton went northward to Houtnek, which he captured by a combined flanking and frontal assault the next day. From there he went on to Jacobsrust where he gave his command a rest for twenty-four hours.

Without waiting for a complete clearance of the Boers around Thaba N'chu, Lord Roberts pressed on to Kroonstad, and after several engagements the town was entered on May 12 without opposition. Kroonstad had been made by President Steyn the capital of the Free State after the taking of Bloemfontein. Now Steyn withdrew to Heilbron and made that his new capital. Moreover, the advance northward was not confined to the army headed for Pretoria, but extended further west with a view to the relief of Mafeking. Lord Roberts early in May had asked Colonel Baden-Powell to hold out to the 18th. The Boers on the 12th made a desperate attempt to take the town, knowing that relief was near at hand. Commandant Eloff, with 250 men, mostly foreigners, entered the native quarter along the Malopo Valley, and set the huts on fire. At the same time an attack was made on the eastern front. The British closed in from the western posts, and the Boers who had come in and were trying to hold a fort they had taken, were the next day compelled to surrender. Some 108

Boers, including Commandant Eloff, were taken prisoners. Mafeking was relieved by a force under Colonel Mahon, consisting of 460 men of the Kimberley Mounted Infantry, 440 men of the Imperial Light Horse, and about 100 men of Barton's Brigade. They had four guns, two Vickers-Maxims, and transport for a flying column. Starting from near Barkly West, on May 5, they met with opposition on the 13th at Kraipan Siding. On the 15th they joined the small force of Colonel Plumer, reinforced by Canadians and Queenslanders that had come down from the north to meet them. Colonel Plumer had repeatedly been thwarted in his attempts to raise the siege, but now the combined columns, after a sharp fight nine miles from Mafeking of five hours' duration, entered the town on the 17th, relieving the famished defenders under the redoubtable Baden-Powell, who was soon promoted to be a major-general.

Lord Roberts summed up what had been done at Mafeking as follows:—

"1. A force of 8,000 Boers and ten guns was contained at the first outbreak of war, and preventing from either combining with the Tuli column, and invading Rhodesia, or joining the forces against Kimberley. Cronje's commando was thus held here for a month.

"2. From 2,000 to 3,000 Boers and eight guns (including a 94-pounder) were kept employed here for over six months.

"3. The enemy expended considerably over 100 tons of ammunition, and lost over 1,000 men killed and wounded, and had four guns disabled and one captured.

"4. Large stores of food and forage, and general stocks were prevented from falling into the enemy's hands.

"5. Valuable railway plant, including eighteen locomotives, rolling stock, shops, coal, etc., were saved.

"6. Refuge was given to a large number of British from the Transvaal.

"7. Most of the local neighbouring tribes, and all those of the Protectorate and South Matabeleland, remained loyal, which they could not have continued to do had Mafeking fallen and they been at the mercy of the Boers.

"8. Loss of prestige to Cronje's force, who had apparently expected to take possession at once on first arrival, and had had a proclamation printed annexing the district to the South African Republic.

"9. Eloff and 108 Boers and foreigners made prisoners of war."

During the same period the small force under Colonel Plumer, in spite of small numbers, a difficult country, and a trying climate, succeeded—

"1. In holding and sending back the enemy in their attempt to invade Rhodesia, *vis à vis* Tuli.

"2. In holding the Bulawayo Railway for some 200 miles south of the Rhodesian border.

"3. In giving direct support and protection to the natives in Khama and Linchwe's domains, and Bathoen's and the Protectorate generally when threatened by the enemy.

"4. In pushing down and repairing the railway in the face of the enemy to within forty miles of Mafeking, and there establishing a place of security for our natives escaping from Mafeking, and collecting supplies ready to effect our relief in Mafeking on arrival of reinforcements."

Lord Roberts halted at Kroonstad for some days for the repair of the railway on which he was dependent for supplies. His object was to push forward with the utmost rapidity, while providing, as far as his resources would admit, for the safety of the main line of communication, by occupying strategical points to the east of the railway at Winburg, Senekal, Lindley, and Heilbron, and taking the risk of interference with his line of communication, he desired to strike the enemy's capital before they had time to recover from defeats already sustained. General Ian Hamilton entered Heilbron on May 22, and Lord Roberts on the following day found that the Boers had withdrawn from their position on the Rhenoster. The advance guard of Lord Roberts' army crossed the Vaal River unopposed on May 24 near Parys, General Rundle's division occupying Senekal the same day. Immediately after the Field Marshal entered the Transvaal (May 28) the annexation of the Orange Free State was proclaimed at Bloemfontein by the Military Governor, General Pretymann, when Lord Roberts' proclamation was read annexing to the Queen's dominions the State, henceforth to be known as the Orange River Colony. The Irish Imperial Yeomanry was attacked about this time between Kroonstad and Lindley by Christian De Wet, and 460 men were captured. Lord Roberts gives the story of the disaster as follows:—

"On May 29 I had received information that the Highland Brigade was being hard pressed by the enemy at Roodepoort, eighteen miles south of Heilbron. The Irish Battalion of Imperial Yeomanry had been ordered to proceed from Ventersburg Road Station to join this brigade at Lindley. It had, however, failed to reach that place before the Highlanders left for Heilbron, and Lieut.-General Sir H. Colville, in command of the troops, had started without it. This was very unfortunate, as Colville was much in need of mounted troops. On this news reaching me I directed Lord Methuen to despatch Douglas's brigade from Kroonstad to Colville's assistance. This order had scarcely been issued when I heard from Lieut.-General Rundle, at Senekal, that the Irish Yeomanry, which had arrived at Lindley only a few hours after the departure of the Highland Brigade, had found that place in the hands of the enemy. Lieut.-Colonel Spragge, who commanded the Yeomanry, accordingly halted three miles west of the town, and sent messengers to Colville and Rundle apprising them of his

dangerous position, which was aggravated by his having only one day's provisions in hand. Spragge was at first opposed by only a small force, but on his defenceless position becoming known to the Boers, their numbers rapidly increased. General Rundle could not go to Spragge's relief, as he had been called upon to support Brigadier-General Brabant in the direction of Hammonia, nor could he leave Senekal until the arrival of Major-General Clements, who, with a portion of his brigade, was proceeding to that place from Winburg. Under the impression, however, that he might indirectly relieve the hostile pressure on Lieut.-Colonel Spragge's detachment, General Rundle, with a force of six companies of Yeomanry, two field batteries, Major-General Campbell's brigade and the 2nd Battalion Royal West Kent Regiment, moved out four miles on the Bethlehem Road and encountered the enemy, who were in considerable strength at Kuring Kraus. After an engagement, which had no decisive result, General Rundle fell back on Senekal, his casualties amounting to 30 killed and 150 wounded.

"General Colville, with the head-quarters of the Ninth Division and the Highland Brigade, reached Heilbron on May 29. During the latter part of the march the brigade was but slightly troubled by the enemy, the greater part of whom had turned their attention to the Imperial Yeomanry.

"On this day Lord Methuen left Kroonstad in obedience to my instructions to assist the Highland Brigade. On the third march out he received a message from Lieut.-Colonel Spragge, dated May 29, reporting that he was heavily pressed by the enemy, and was short of food and ammunition, but hoped that he would be able to hold out until June 2. This message Lord Methuen repeated to me by telegraph, and I at once ordered him to push on to Lieut.-Colonel Spragge's assistance, and on June 1, half an hour after the receipt of my reply, he started off with his mounted troops, Imperial Yeomanry, a field battery, one section of pom-poms, and reached Lindley at ten o'clock the following morning, having covered forty-four miles in twenty-five hours. Unfortunately he was too late, as Lieut.-Colonel Spragge had found it necessary to surrender two days before."

Without being seriously opposed Lord Roberts entered Johannesburg on May 31. President Kruger left Pretoria the day before for Waterval Boven, and a short time after withdrew to Machadodorp, on the border of the Portuguese territory, and near his port of departure for Holland. There was some risk in advancing at once to Pretoria, but Lord Roberts was anxious to set free the British prisoners of war at Waterval, and therefore pressed onward to the capital. General Louis Botha did not attempt to defend it, although there was some fighting at Six Mile Spruit, but withdrew with his guns and the remnants of his army. On the 5th the British flag was hoisted at Pretoria on the Government buildings. A large number of the

British prisoners, about 4,000 of all ranks, were released without delay, but the Boers succeeded in removing to Nooitgedacht, about 150 miles eastward from Pretoria, 863 men and 22 officers.

For a long time there had been inactivity in Natal. The soldiers of General Sir R. Buller, after their arduous struggles to relieve Ladysmith had been crowned with success, needed rest, but by May 15 General Buller's forces were again in motion. After a turning movement had driven the Boers from the Biggersberg, Dundee and Glencoe were occupied, and advancing through Botha's Pass, they compelled the Boers early in June to evacuate Laing's Nek and Majuba, completely clearing Natal of the enemy. On June 22 they entered Standerton, and early in July the railway from Durban in Natal to Pretoria was opened up, giving another line of through communication with the coast. Meanwhile General Hunter had advanced from Fourteen Streams with his division to Vryberg, and thence went onward to Johannesburg.

It caused some surprise to the British that no defence was attempted by the Boers at Johannesburg and Pretoria commensurate with their preparations. Their plans of defence did not require them to stand a siege. The great guns at Pretoria had been taken away long before for use at Ladysmith and other points, yet the Boers might have held out until Pretoria was in ruins. They wished to save their cities from bombardment, and the gold mines at Johannesburg from destruction, and they had high hopes that foreign intervention would soon turn the scale in their favour. Their deputation to the United States Government was politely received by President McKinley, and they had much sympathy in their tour through the country, but that was all. Moreover, President Kruger was soon to depart for Europe, with abundance of gold, on the Dutch man-of-war *Gelderland*, sent by the Queen of Holland. Would he not induce France or Germany or Russia to take up arms in behalf of the Republics? So the Boers hoped, and although their capital was taken, they expected much from the guerilla warfare they were about to wage.

On June 7 De Wet, with 2,000 Boers and six guns, came suddenly upon the Derbyshire battalion at Roodeval Station, in the Orange River Colony, that was guarding the stores of ammunition and supplies, and after a severe fight, in which many were killed and wounded, captured nearly the entire force of 700 men, destroyed the stores and cut off all communication with Pretoria for a time.

Steps were taken to strengthen all the posts as much as possible against these raids, but the superior mobility of the Boers gave them a great advantage. Yet they were not always successful. On July 21 Generals Hunter and Rundle by a combined movement surrounded a Boer force of some 6,000 near Fouriesburg, south of Bethlehem, under Prinsloo and

Christian De Wet. Prinsloo surrendered with 4,000 men on July 31, and they were sent as prisoners to Ceylon. General Olivier with a small force broke away and escaped, but was afterwards captured in a fight on August 24 by General Bruce Hamilton near Winburg. De Wet with 2,000 men pierced through the British cordon, although closely pursued by cavalry. Till the end of the year De Wet continued his raids, and all attempts to seize him were futile. In this guerilla development of the war the difficulties are thus explained by Lord Roberts :—

“Though the inhabitants of the Lichtenburg, Potchefstroom and Rustenburg districts seemed at first disposed to submit quietly to the British authorities, a large proportion of them subsequently joined General Delarey's commando and assisted him in attacking the garrisons which were posted at the principal towns and in intercepting convoys of supplies. It consequently became necessary either to withdraw or reinforce these garrisons, as well as organise flying columns for the pursuit of the enemy. The vast area of the country in which the operations are being conducted has also to be remembered. The troops have had to march long distances, and though existing railways have been utilised to the fullest extent, the limited capacity of single lines—especially of that between Pretoria and Bloemfontein—coupled with the scarcity of rolling stock, has rendered it difficult to move and concentrate rapidly according to the European standard of what should be possible in war. To deal with the organised forces of the enemy was a comparatively easy matter; but in South Africa the problem has been complicated, and the settlement of the country retarded, by the determination of some of the Boer leaders to pursue a guerilla warfare after their troops had been defeated in the field. Owing to the non-compliance of the Boers with the recognised custom of war which compels combatants to wear a distinctive uniform, they have found it easy to pose as peaceful agriculturists one day and to take part in active hostilities on the next. Their leaders have also usually found means, by threats or by persuasions, to induce them to disregard their oath of neutrality, although this was voluntarily taken by men who at the time professed themselves anxious to submit to the British Government. To their honour be it said, a few of the burghers have suffered imprisonment or loss of property sooner than thus break their faith, but their number was not sufficient to enable them to exercise any influence on the general situation. Recent events have convinced me that the permanent tranquillity of the Orange River Colony and Transvaal is dependent on the complete disarmament of the inhabitants; and though the extent of country to be visited, and the ease with which guns, rifles and ammunition can be hidden, will render the task a difficult one, its accomplishment is only a matter of time and patience.

“The magnitude of the task which her Majesty's Imperial troops have been called on to perform will perhaps be better

realised if I give the actual number of miles of the several lines of communication, each one of which has had to be carefully guarded, and compare with the well-known countries of Europe the enormous extent of the theatre of war, from one end of which to the other troops have had to be frequently moved. The areas included in the theatre of war are as follow:—

	Square Miles.
Cape Colony	277,151
Orange River Colony	48,326
Transvaal	113,640
Natal	18,913
Total	458,030
Rhodesia	750,000

“And the distance troops have had to travel are:—

BY LAND.	Miles.
Cape Town to Pretoria	1,040
Pretoria to Komati Poort	260
Cape Town to Kimberley	647
Kimberley to Mafeking	223
Mafeking to Pretoria	160
Mafeking to Beira	1,135
Durban to Pretoria	511

“From these tables it will be seen that, after having been brought by sea 6,000 miles and more from their base in the United Kingdom, the Army in South Africa had to be distributed over an area of greater extent than France (204,146 square miles) and Germany (211,168 square miles) put together; and if we include that part of Rhodesia with which we had to do, larger than the combined areas of France, Germany and Austria (261,649 square miles). And it should be remembered that over these great distances we were dependent on single lines of railway for the food supply, guns, ammunition, horses, transport animals, and hospital equipment, in fact, all the requirements of an Army in the field, and that along these lines bridges and culverts had been destroyed in many places, and rails were being constantly torn up. The service which the South African Force has performed is, I venture to think, unique in the annals of war, inasmuch as it has been absolutely incessant for a whole year, in some cases more than a year. There has been no rest, no days off to recruit, no going into winter quarters as in other campaigns which have extended over a long period. In illustration of this I may mention that Lord Methuen's column marched 1,036 miles between May 14 and September 2, covering, on one occasion, 125 miles in 115 hours. The 2nd Cavalry Brigade (Broadwood's) marched 1,200 miles between April 29 and August 28. The City Imperial Volunteers marched on seventy-five days, between April 16 and August 23, the total distance traversed being 1,018 miles, and the average length of march $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Brigade of Guards at the commencement of the war formed part of Methuen's force destined for the relief of Kimberley. In February it joined the head-quarters of the

Army, and took part in the march to Bloemfontein and Pretoria. In September it was at Komati Poort, and now, in November, 1900, it is guarding the drifts over the Orange River, close to where it was a year previously, having meanwhile marched from the most western part of the Orange River Colony to the most eastern part of the Transvaal.

"The Imperial Light Horse, the Border Regiment, the Royal Irish Fusiliers, the Connaught Rangers, and the brigade division of Artillery attached to Hart's command, after taking part in all Sir Redvers Buller's battles on the Tugela and the relief of Ladysmith, were brought round to Kimberley to aid in the relief of Mafeking. Since then they have been over the greater part of the Transvaal, and part of them (the Connaught Rangers) are now on the Orange River engaged in frustrating the Boers in their attempt to invade Cape Colony. These instances, out of many which might be brought forward, show how severely the troops have been taxed, and how admirably they have responded to the call made upon them. Nor has their discipline or their conduct when engaged with the enemy, been less praiseworthy than their feats of marching. The Army in South Africa has included many branches of her Majesty's Service; the contingent furnished by the Royal Navy, the Regular Forces, with the Volunteer companies of the Infantry battalions, the Militia, the Imperial Yeomanry, the City of London Imperial Volunteers, and the Colonial corps raised in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, South Africa, India and Ceylon. No finer force than that which I have had the honour and privilege to command has ever taken the field under the British flag, and I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to record my acknowledgments to her Majesty's soldiers of all ranks, whether drawn from the United Kingdom or from the great Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire, whose exertions and fighting qualities have enabled me to bring this long and arduous campaign to what, I hope, will ere long prove a successful conclusion."

On August 6 Lord Kitchener was with Lord Methuen in pursuit of De Wet near Ventersdorp, but the wily Boer succeeded in escaping north near Rustenburg. He demanded the surrender of General Baden-Powell at Commando Nek on the 17th, but finding the British garrison too strong to capture went on his devious way. A garrison of Rhodesians and Bushmen at Eland's River under Colonel Hore were besieged by Delarey early in August, but was relieved by General Kitchener (not Lord Kitchener) on the 16th.

A plot to kidnap Lord Roberts at Pretoria was discovered on August 9. There were about fifteen conspirators, and their plan was to seize and murder the British officers in their own residences after firing the houses, and hurry off Lord Roberts to the nearest Boer commando. A Lieutenant Cordua, of the Staats Artillery, was the ringleader, and he was afterwards

tried by court martial and sentenced to death. Lord Roberts and General Buller joined hands at Belfast on August 25, and Buller advanced to Helvetia Waterval Ouder, and then to Badfontein across the Crocodile River, after defeating Botha's army at Bergendal,—a very strong position near Dalmanutha among the hills,—in a battle which lasted for two days, where the Boers fought with great tenacity.

On September 1 Lord Roberts issued a proclamation annexing the Transvaal to her Majesty's dominions. Botha had been driven out of the Lydenburg district by General Buller, and General French entered Barberton on the 13th, completely surprising the enemy and capturing railway engines and rolling stock and 100 prisoners. President Kruger withdrew to Lorenzo Marques on the 11th in readiness for his voyage to Europe. Another proclamation was issued by Lord Roberts at Machadodorp calling on the burghers to give up the useless struggle, that the war had degenerated into irregular warfare, and that the desertion of the Boer cause by Mr. Kruger should prove to them the futility of their efforts. Mr. Kruger called this proclamation null and void, and stated that he was going to Europe on a six months' leave only, and that Mr. Schalk Burger, the Vice-President, would take his place during his absence on behalf of the Republics.

On September 19 Lord Roberts telegraphed that out of 3,000 of the enemy who retreated to Komati Poort as the British advanced from Machadodorp about 700 had crossed into Portuguese territory and the rest had deserted in various directions, and that there was nothing left of the Boer army but a few marauding bands.

Generals Pole-Carew and Ian Hamilton were at Komati Poort on September 5 with 9,000 men. The Guards Brigade under Pole-Carew had a march of nineteen miles without water, while thick bush impeded their advance. On Sunday, September 23, a large force of Boers of about 3,000 with General Pienaar and his staff, surrendered arms, ammunition and horses to the Portuguese at the frontier, and they were sent on to Delagoa Bay, ragged and gaunt and glad that their fighting was over.

General Baden-Powell arrived at Pretoria on October 1 to take command of the 12,000 police that were being enrolled to maintain order in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. General Charles Knox was making energetic efforts to capture De Wet in October, and General Hunter on the 30th drove the Boers out of Ventersburg where they were continually attacking the railway.

On October 6 General Buller left his army to return to England.

Lord Roberts was on his way home on December 1, having discharged a task of immense difficulty, and he left Lord Kitchener to deal with the ubiquitous guerillas. Sir A. Milner

succeeded Lord Roberts on his departure as Administrator of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. Lord Roberts spoke of the war as he passed through Natal as practically over, and there and at Cape Town expressed his entire confidence in Lord Kitchener's ability to bring to an early close the guerilla operations of the Boers. But peace was not yet in sight, for there was no decisive military success; De Wet was often on the point of being captured, and Delarey and the other guerilla leaders, but they always escaped. Not only so, but at one place after another in the month of December the mobile forces of the Boers, knowing every inch of the ground, succeeded by suddenly concentrated attacks in inflicting serious reverses upon the British troops. On the Magaliesberg, some fifty miles west of Pretoria, an unexpected combination of a commando under General Beyers with one under General Delarey succeeded on December 13 in surrounding in overwhelming force four companies of the Northumberland Fusiliers and in capturing all that were left of them after a fight in which all their ammunition was exhausted. In the same week Brabant's Horse lost a large number of prisoners, mainly fresh Colonial recruits, to Boer commandoes in the Orange River Colony, and on December 27 Helvetia, in the Eastern Transvaal, which was garrisoned by a force of the Liverpool Regiment was carried by a night attack, and a 4.7 inch gun was captured with 200 prisoners.

In the meantime several commandos invaded Cape Colony from the Orange River. They met with little military success, nor were they joined by many of the Cape Boers, but their presence in the colony naturally excited widespread uneasiness, and the War Office at once arranged to send out at least two more cavalry regiments and another regiment of mounted infantry, in addition to the great force already in South Africa. The British public began to realise that the settlement of South Africa on the basis of unqualified British sovereignty, while undoubtedly it had become necessary in the interests of Imperial security, was likely to entail longer and costlier efforts. Popular feeling in most European countries continued to be favourable to the Boers, yet the action of the German Emperor in refusing to receive ex-President Kruger had killed the last remaining chance of European intervention in their behalf, and whatever disappointments were felt with respect to the speedy clearing up of the South African situation, it was profoundly impressed on the British nation that the war and the Colonial participation in it had developed and consolidated Imperial unity to a very remarkable degree.

IV. EAST AFRICA.

Abyssinia.—The Emperor Menelek was bent on promoting the prosperity of his country, and was deeply interested in the construction of the railway between Jibuti and Harar. British

influence in Abyssinia was much helped by the conferences of the preceding year with the English special mission. The envoys received great attention, and a British syndicate obtained an important concession in the gold mining country soon afterwards.

The Emperor authorised British engineers to inspect the Sobat region and the country adjacent to the White Nile for the contemplated Cape to Cairo Railway, and also to study the exact topography of the unexplored regions around Lake Rudolph.

The question of the frontier between Erythraea and Abyssinia was settled in May. The Emperor agreed to the retention of the Mareb-Belesa-Muna line by Italy, and tacitly sanctioned the Italian possession of a considerable part of the Abyssinian high plateau.

A fight occurred between Christians and Mahomedans on March 19 in the Ogaden country, when the Mahomedans were defeated by the Christian governor of Harar with severe loss.

Zanzibar.—Sir Charles Norton Elliot, K.C.M.G., was appointed her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Zanzibar in November, in succession to Sir Arthur Hardinge who was appointed Minister to Persia.

In the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, although the Sultan's Government was subject to the advice and control of the Consul-General, but a small portion of the slave population had yet received freedom under the decree of 1897, and as regarded the mainland territory no emancipation decree had been issued.

The clove crop for the previous year in Pemba was less than in the year before, and there had been no compensating rise of prices. The Sultan's Government was effective, and European control was proving beneficial.

British East Africa.—The rising of the Ogaden Somalis in Jubaland made necessary a punitive expedition in December, which was despatched from Mombasa under Colonels Ternan and Hatch. The entire force included 400 Bombay Artillery with mountain guns, a detachment of the Camel Corps from Aden, the Jubaland garrison, and the Mombasa reinforcements. It was anticipated that transport through the dense bush would be difficult. The Indian force was sent *viâ* Kismayu. The chief of the Ogaden Somali tribe was Sultan Ahmed ben Murgan. The Ogadens are a warlike and fanatical band, of nomadic habits, armed with spears, swords and knives, and not with firearms, and are Mahomedans.

The imports of the East Africa Protectorate were about 66½ lakhs of rupees, and the exports 18½ lakhs for the year ended March 31. Forty per cent. of the imports were from India and Burmah, 30 per cent. from the United Kingdom, and 10 per cent. from Germany. Increase in the ivory trade was on account of the restoration of order in Uganda, and the cheaper transport afforded by the railway. Rubber export was increasing, but there was no systematic effort to develop it.

Uganda.—Sir H. Johnston, Special Commissioner in the

Protectorate, estimated the total population as rather less than four millions in his report of April 27, and he thought the best way of obtaining revenue would be by moderate taxation of the natives by means of a hut tax. This at 4s. a hut would produce annually about 160,000*l.* He also proposed an elephant shooting licence to increase the revenue and restrict the slaughter of elephants.

The frontiers of the kingdom of Uganda, as distinct from the Protectorate, were marked out. The King in future will have a stated allowance from the Government, and the Prime Minister or Katekero, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer of the King's revenue will be paid salaries. A new native council was to be appointed, and the chiefs seemed favourable to the projected changes.

Disturbances arose in Nandi in September, and troops were despatched to cope with the trouble. On October 13 Dr. Sherlock, of the Uganda Medical Department, was killed and Lieutenant K. Henderson was severely wounded in an engagement of the punitive force under Colonel Evatt with the Wanandi. The rebels were suing for peace in October, and the railway and telegraph were free from their depredations. On October 30 about 480 miles of the railway had been completed and was opened to Naivasha, 400 miles from the coast, and 150 miles from the terminus on the lake in Uganda, and there were two through trains weekly each way.

The American Bridge Company contracted in December to build thirty-four bridges on the Uganda Railway. The work would require more than 8,000 tons of steel, and the value of the order was stated to be not less than 200,000*l.*

German East Africa.—Major-General von Liebert resigned the governorship in December, and was succeeded by Captain Count von Goetzen, the African explorer. The frontier near Lake Kivu, between German East Africa and the Congo Free State, was rectified in favour of Germany, by agreement with the King of the Belgians, in November.

The proposal of the German Imperial Government for a central railway to connect the coast with the Victoria Nyanza, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyassa was not provided for in the German Budget Estimates in March. Yet 20,000 marks were granted for preliminary expenses in the construction of a telegraph line from Dar-es-Salaam to Kilosa, and 72,000 marks for the Usambara Railway.

Captain Johannes led a punitive expedition against the Arusha tribe early in the year, and in March executed three chiefs and a dozen or more of the leading offenders. For a time the natives were quiet, but it was found necessary to start a fresh expedition in July, which surprised the Arushas in their camp and routed them. A permanent military station was established afterwards on the Meru Mountain, with a garrison of forty Askaris under a German officer.

Madagascar.—The condition of the island was not improved under French rule. The Native Races Protection Committee in Paris addressed an appeal to the French Colonial Minister in June entreating him to shorten the forced labour of the Malagasy, to reduce the taxes, and to annul decrees virtually establishing slavery. This appeal declared that the fearful mortality occasioned by forced labour on the roads threatened so to reduce the robust population of the highlands as to debar the colonists from commercial and agricultural enterprises. It was better to go without roads than without a healthy population. The natives, it was asserted, were arrested and imprisoned for months without trial, but prisoners were always utilised as economical labourers.

Mauritius.—Sir Graham Bower reported a very satisfactory state of affairs in the colony during the past year. Revenue was over 9,000,000 rupees, due to the blessings of a good sugar crop, to the imposition of countervailing duties in America, Canada and India on bounty-fed sugar, and to increased taxation. The cultivation of small holdings by the Indian population was steadily increasing. The total imports last year amounted to over 20,000,000 rupees, and the exports to nearly 25,000,000 rupees. Sugar was practically the only export, the value of which last year was more than 23,000,000 rupees. The plague, introduced from Madagascar in January, 1899, spread from Port Louis into the country districts, and, as usual, rats were the chief carriers of the disease. Incidentally the general health of the population had improved, especially in Port Louis, as a result of the sanitary measures taken to fight the plague.

The British Central African Rifles, who were guilty of insubordination and misconduct in December of last year, gave an excuse that the regiment was jeered at and stoned by the half-castes and creoles of La Caverne, till exasperated at last by constant and unprovoked attacks these African soldiers retaliated by turning out and beating their assailants out of their village, and that, unfortunately, a few of the negroes assaulted some of the women of their persecutors in the excitement of their victory.

Portuguese East Africa.—Troops were despatched to the Transvaal border in March. It was alleged that this movement was on account of trouble with a force of natives from the Transvaal, that had made a raid into Gazaland, and that the Governor, unable to cope with the outbreak, needed reinforcements.

The Zambesia Exploring Expedition, under Colonel Arnold, met with success, and the Chief Makombie made his submission. Lieut.-Colonel Arnold, D.S.O., had for some time held an important appointment under the Mozambique Company at Beira, and set out from the coast with the expedition expressly to arrange terms with this powerful chief, who for years gave trouble to the company.

The award of the Delagoa Bay Railway arbitrators at Berne, Switzerland, was communicated to the Swiss Federal Council on March 29. It had been long delayed, and did not give unmixed satisfaction to the claimants when finally published. It ordered Portugal to pay to the United States of America and Great Britain, in addition to 28,000*l.* sterling paid in 1890, the sum of 15,314,000 francs (Swiss currency), together with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum from June 25, 1889, up to the day of payment; 975,000*l.* was the total amount of the award, but the award fell short of the British claims by about a million sterling, and did not give anything towards the additional claim of the American parties interested. The Transvaal Government offered to advance the amount of the award to Portugal, but the offer was declined.

V. WEST AFRICA.

Gambia.—The condition of the colony was satisfactory. The revenue for the past year was the highest ever known, amounting to 46,840*l.* The expenditure was 30,405*l.* Imports amounted to 240,906*l.*, exports to 241,936*l.* Great Britain took only one-ninth of the exports, while half of the imports were from Great Britain. The old system of barter was being supplanted by cash, and a large amount of specie was put in circulation without diminishing imports. A great falling off took place in exports of rubber through the wanton destruction of the rubber plants. There was an existing surplus amounting to 43,490*l.* in the Treasury which was proposed to be spent in public works. Sir G. C. Denton was appointed Administrator in October in succession to Sir R. B. Llewelyn, appointed Governor of the Windward Islands, West Indies.

Sierra Leone.—Sir Charles King-Harman was appointed Governor in succession to Sir F. Cardew in October.

A rising of the Younies in the Ronietta district in April was suppressed by a detachment of the West African Regiment without bloodshed, but in the Protectorate in the Karene district later some men of the frontier police, through the reckless and indiscreet conduct of a local inspector, had a quarrel with the natives, and there was loss of life on both sides. From the report of the Secretary of the Colony it appeared that the revenue for the year past amounted to 168,382*l.*, being twice as great as the revenue for 1890. The expenditure was 145,089*l.* It was thought that the revenue from house tax would grow greatly. The imports amounted to 689,806*l.*, showing a very great increase over previous years. The exports were 336,011*l.* The great increase of imports seemed to be largely due to the replacing of stores destroyed during the native rising and to the formation of the West African Regiment. About three-fourths of the imports were from Great Britain. The chief exports

were palm kernels, kola nuts, and rubber and gum copal. The population of the colony was estimated at 100,000 and that of the Protectorate at 1,000,000. About fifty-seven miles of the railway eastward from Freetown was in operation, with encouraging results. The Protectorate was becoming settled, many of the natives were taking to trade, while the establishment of good order, the circulation of specie instead of barter, and the opening up of the interior by the railway, all stimulated the growth of trade.

Gold Coast Colony.—Sir Frederic Hodgson, Governor of the colony, arrived at Coomassie on March 26 from the coast, and hearing of the golden stool or throne of the Ashantis sent a detachment of police to find it, but the quest failed. The Coomassie natives organised opposition, for which they had long been secretly preparing. They had always cherished the idea that the ex-king Prempeh or his successor would some day return to occupy the stool, the symbol of sovereignty over Ashanti. Every endeavour was made to quiet the agitation, but in vain. On April 25 the Ashantis surrounded the town in great numbers and Coomassie was closely invested.

The fort was garrisoned by about 300 Hausa troops, armed with six seven-pounders and four Maxim guns, and the other occupants of the fort included Governor and Lady Hodgson, with sixteen Europeans, of whom six were missionaries. A serious attack was made on the fort on April 29, which was repulsed with heavy loss to the rebels. Major Morris early in June reinforced the garrison from the north with 700 native troops, and a relief expedition under Colonel Willcocks was soon on its way from Cape Coast Castle. After enduring the siege till June 23, hoping all the time for the relief that never came, the Governor and his wife, with a part of the garrison under command of Major Morris, pushed through the rebel forces, and after suffering great privations arrived at Accra on July 11. The Governor and the whole party had been nearly starved on a diet of plantains. The carriers were too weak from hunger to carry the baggage and so left it behind, and in crossing a swamp near the Ofin River the party were wading shoulder high in water for two hours, finally securing a canoe and a raft by which they saved themselves.

Coomassie was relieved on July 15, after a fight lasting two days, ending in a successful attack on four stockades, where the enemy held a perfectly selected position on high land and completely hidden by almost impenetrable bush. The native Yorubas of the West African Frontier Force proved gallant soldiers, and their bayonet charge absolutely paralysed the enemy. Coomassie presented a terrible scene of desolation to the relieving force. The garrison were delighted when relief came, but many of the native soldiers were too weak to stand upright. British officers thanked God for relief, for a few days more would have seen the last of the defence. Flying

columns were sent out in August to destroy stockades in the neighbourhood of Coomassie, and in October a decisive victory was gained by Colonel Sir J. Willcocks over a large rebel force at Obassa. The golden stool of King Prempeh was seen in October by several Europeans, who described it as very massive, with two heavy gold chains and solid balls the size of oranges, and adorned with two golden symbolical figures. The value was estimated at 20,000*l.* Sixty of the rebel chiefs had been taken prisoners before December closed, and the road between Coomassie and Berekum was cleared of the hostile natives.

Major Matthew Nathan, C.M.G., was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast in succession to Sir F. M. Hodgson in October.

Congo State.—The court at Boma sentenced to ten years penal servitude Moray, the agent of the Mongalla-Antwerp Company, who killed the chief Alibu in Mongalla.

News was received in November of the end of the Batetela mutiny, which for nearly four years had been a cause of much trouble in the districts of the Congo State lying north and west of Lake Tanganyika. An official letter written from Kabambaré on October 12 stated that the two remaining bands of mutineers who were, according to the last intelligence, encamped, the first at Kashingo, north of the River Luama, and the second in the Uvira district, touching the northern part of Tanganyika, had both moved eastwards into German territory and surrendered their rifles to the German authorities.

The exploring expedition under the command of Lieutenant Lemaire had for its original and chief object to explore the province of Katanga, and to examine and report upon its mineral resources and the possibility of developing them. The journey was extended into a general survey of the whole of the southern frontier, practically a *terra incognita*, and the remoteness and inaccessibility of the region traversed explain the six months' silence of the leader of the expedition. During this period M. Lemaire visited the sources of six important streams watering the southern part of Congoland besides the Zambesi. He also explored the upper waters of the Kasai, and proceeded down that river to Lake Dilolo, whence his last letters were dated. The expedition had marched 2,000 miles and laid down the itinerary on scientific principles. Everywhere it had met with an excellent reception, and not a shot had been fired. Three days west of the Lualaba the Belgians met Major Gibbons, and lent him some porters to assist him on his journey *via* Lofoi to Tanganyika and the Nile.

In March there was an armed conflict between the forces of the Congo Free State and German East African troops near Lake Kivu over a frontier dispute.

The convention of 1890 between Belgium and the Congo State regulating their relations for a period of ten years, was about to expire as the year closed.

Nigeria.—Captain Carroll, with 150 men of the West African

Frontier Force, while escorting the telegraph construction staff north-east of Lakoja, was attacked on January 9 by 2,000 Mitchi and Bassa tribesmen. Five men were killed and ten wounded. The natives were utterly routed.

The total revenue of the Niger Coast Protectorate for the year 1898-9 from all sources amounted to 169,567*l.*, of which 160,669*l.* was derived from Custom duties.

The total expenditure was 146,751*l.* The total volume of trade amounted to 1,507,287*l.*, and 96·6 per cent. was carried in British ships.

The observations of the members of the expedition sent out to West Africa to investigate the conditions under which malarial fever occurs and is conveyed to Europeans, confirmed recent discoveries regarding the cause of the malady, and more especially the part played by mosquitoes of the genus *Anopheles* as carriers of the disease from infected to non-infected persons.

VI. CENTRAL AFRICA.

British Central Africa.—A monument was about to be erected this year to the memory of Dr. David Livingstone near the spot where he breathed his last. It is constructed of large blocks of the best concrete, quite as durable as the hardest stone, in the form of an obelisk, twenty feet in height, surmounted by a cross. Over 300 blocks were required for the memorial. Two tablets of bronze on opposite sides of the obelisk bear this inscription: "Erected by his friends to the memory of Dr. David Livingstone, missionary and explorer. He died here, May 4, 1873." Two other tablets on the other faces of the obelisk are inscribed as follows: "This monument occupies the spot where formerly stood the tree at the foot of which Livingstone's heart was buried by his faithful native followers. On the trunk was carved the following inscription, David Livingstone. Died May 4, 1873. Chuma, Sousa, Mniasere, Uchopere."

Sir Henry Stanley with others co-operated with the Royal Geographical Society to mark the spot where, on Lake Bangweulu, the greatest of African explorers died.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA.

I. UNITED STATES.

At the beginning of the year 1900 the state of political parties in the Congress of the United States was as follows: In the Senate, Republicans, 52; Democrats, 27; Populists, 5; Independents, 3; vacancies, 3. In the House of Representa-

tives, Republicans, 185; Democrats, 164; Populists, 6; Independents, 2. William P. Frye, Republican of Maine, was President of the Senate, and David B. Henderson, Republican of Iowa, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The first session of the fifty-sixth Congress ended on June 7, and several important acts were passed and received the approval of President McKinley. Among them was the Gold Standard Act, "to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and to refund the public debt." This measure passed the Senate (March 6) by a party vote of 44 to 26, and was adopted by the House of Representatives (March 13) by a vote of 166 to 120. Ten members who were present abstained from voting, and the President of the United States signed the bill on the following day. This act made the dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, the standard of value, and required the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain at a parity of value with this gold standard all forms of United States money issued or coined. It also provided that United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, should be redeemed in gold coin, and a redemption reserve fund of \$150,000,000 of gold coin and bullion was to be set apart for that purpose only. This act did not affect the legal tender uses of the silver dollar or of other money of the United States, and it was not intended to preclude the accomplishment of international bimetallism wherever conditions should make it expedient for the leading commercial nations to establish the same by concurrent action at a ratio that would secure permanence of relative value between gold and silver.

An act was passed and approved on June 6 providing a civil code for Alaska, making it a judicial district, providing for the appointment of the governor of the territory, and naming Juneau as the capital.

Another important act, approved on April 30, provided a government for the territory of Hawaii. It vested the legislative branch in a Senate of fifteen members to hold office for four years, and a House of Representatives of thirty members to be elected for two years. The governor and secretary were both to be appointed by the President of the United States.

An act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico became law on April 12. It provided for an executive council of eleven. Five of them to be native inhabitants of the island, having legislative powers, and forming one of the two houses constituting the legislature. The other branch of the legislature, composed of thirty-five members, was to be called the House of Delegates, and was to be elected biennially in seven districts. San Juan was designated the seat of government. Some important bills failed to pass in both Houses. Such were the Nicaragua Canal Bill and the Anti-

Trust Bill, both of which passed in the House of Representatives. More than 12,000 bills were brought forward during the session of 137 days duration in the two Houses, and some 280 public acts became law.

The Porto Rico Tariff Bill, approved by the President on April 12, passed in the House of Representatives by a majority of eleven votes. The President in his message at the opening of the session had declared that it was the duty of Congress to abolish all tariffs between Porto Rico and the United States, but afterwards he used all his influence in urging the House to impose a tariff for two years. First, since otherwise Congress would be acting as if the island were an integral part of the United States—which, in his opinion, it is not constitutionally—and, secondly, in order that the proceeds of the tariff might be expended for the government and benefit of Porto Rico.

This change of view by the President was attributed to a desire on his part to conciliate Pennsylvania and other protectionist States before the Presidential election.

The Senate ratified the Samoan treaty on January 16 between the United States, Great Britain and Germany which had been arranged in the preceding year, and in February another treaty establishing a court of arbitration to settle claims of white residents in Samoa for injuries suffered through acts of the three Powers during their joint control of the islands.

A new convention, intended to take the place of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty preliminary to the construction of the Nicaragua Ship Canal by the United States, was signed on February 5 by the British Ambassador, Lord Pauncefoot, and John Hay, Secretary of State. This agreement was intended to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to that end to remove any objections which might arise out of the convention of April 19, 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to the construction of such canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States without impairing the general principle of neutralisation established in Article VIII. of that convention. By this document which changed only the first and eighth sections of the existing treaty the United States Government was to undertake to maintain the neutrality of the proposed canal and to keep it perpetually open to the world's commerce. The canal was never to be blockaded and no fortifications were to be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent, although the United States would be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as might be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder. The British Government accepted the draft of the convention without change. It was at once submitted to the Senate for ratification and, that body having referred it to their Committee on Foreign Relations, on March 9 it was favourably reported by the committee with an amendment as follows:—

"Insert at the end of Section 5, Article 2, the following: It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of this Act shall apply to measures which the United States may find necessary to take for securing by its own force the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order."

This amendment was adopted by a vote of sixty-five to seventeen.

On December 20 the Senate adopted an amendment to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty declaring the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty "superseded," and another amendment cancelling the provision inviting the adhesion of other Powers to the new convention. All other amendments were rejected and the mutilated treaty was ratified by 55 votes to 18. The President might have declined to transmit the Senate's Treaty to England but President McKinley and the Secretary of State decided to communicate the treaty as a purely Ministerial duty, they having a desire to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain, while the Senate's action could not be regarded as conducive to that end. Indeed the Senate could not expect that England would accept their treaty instead of the existing Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. It was said that the influence of the great railway through lines to the Pacific was brought to bear in opposition to the construction of any isthmian canal whatever.

President McKinley appointed in March another commission to the Philippines, consisting of the following members, Wm. H. Taft, of Ohio; Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Luke P. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont; and Professor Bernard Moses, of California. Judge Taft was made President of the commission. By their instructions they were requested to familiarise themselves with the condition of the islands, and to establish civil government in its various forms, as soon as they were able, in the sections permanently held by the United States troops. Considerable fighting took place with the Filipinos during the year. After the death of General Lawton, Brigadier-General Bates was appointed major-general on January 2 to succeed him, and began the task of clearing the provinces south and east of Manilla of rebels. There were many fights in which the American forces were generally the victors. In March General Bates occupied the northern and southern coasts of Mindanao. On Cebu Island (one of the Visayas) Colonel Snyder was successful in January in routing the rebels and seizing all their strongholds. It was found that the rebels opposing the American troops in the Visayas Islands were Tagalos from the island of Luzon.

On May 5 General Otis was relieved at his own request of the chief command, and Major-General MacArthur was made military commander and governor-general. Guerilla fighting continued through the summer and autumn, with some

heavy losses to the troops. In July, the 14th Infantry and Reilly's Battery were shipped to China to assist in putting down the Boxer rebellion. An amnesty proclamation issued on June 21, in the name of the President by General MacArthur, to insurgents in arms who should yield in ninety days, and take the oath of allegiance, prompted a meeting of the chief revolutionists at Manila to propose terms, which included amnesty, return of confiscated property, employment of Filipino leaders in the Navy, and the Militia when established, expulsion of the friars, guarantees of personal liberty and a civil government. General MacArthur accepted the proposals with some amendments, but the skirmishes were no less frequent. On November 7 steps were taken to suppress the rebel *junta* at Hong-Kong, and complaint was made concerning its secret action to the British Government. The rebels were very active early in November, in Luzon especially. The 14th Regular Infantry returned from China about the middle of the month.

On September 1 the Taft Commission assumed authority in the islands, and on the 20th promulgated "an act for the establishment and maintenance of an efficient and honest Civil Service." It also appropriated \$1,000,000 for public highways and bridges. General MacArthur remained as chief executive. The revenue of the islands for the first seven months of the year was \$4,782,080.

General MacArthur, the military governor of the islands, in his annual report, remarked that the conditions, both physical and social, had enabled the Filipinos to abandon a regular military organisation and to start and maintain an irregular warfare. These permit the insurgents to appear and disappear at their convenience, so that while they are soldiers one day the next finds them within the American lines in the attitude of peaceful natives. A widely scattered formation among them has resulted from this, and has been met by similar tactics on the part of the American commander. As a result of this the fifty-three military stations existing in the whole of the archipelago affected on November 1, 1899, had been increased to 413 on September 1, 1900. During these ten months the Americans lost 268 killed, 750 wounded, and 55 captured; while the Filipino losses during the same period were 3,227 killed, 694 wounded, and 2,684 captured. The general commanding said that this wide distribution of troops had strained his resources to the limit, this desultory work demanding more discipline, entailing more hardship and danger than regular warfare. General MacArthur attributed the unity among the Filipinos to race. He said that there was no organised system of feudal laws to eradicate, no dynasty to destroy, and no adverse aspects of nature to be overcome. On the other hand, while there are no principles or ideas among the people antagonistic to Republicanism, he said, with great frankness, that it was difficult to realise that such a system of government could be introduced.

His conclusion in this matter was that "for many years to come the necessity of a large American military and naval force is too apparent to admit of discussion."

Arrangements were completed in August for the purchase by the United States of the Sibutu and Cagayan Islands from Spain by the payment of \$100,000.

Under the reciprocity provisions of the Dingley Tariff Law the United States and Italy, in February, arranged for the conclusion of a treaty, and also, about the same time, a reciprocity treaty was signed by Lord Pauncefoot and Mr. Kasson, granting to Trinidad reduction of duties similar to those granted to the Windward Islands, with reciprocal concessions from Trinidad to the United States.

In July an agreement was arrived at between the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, to submit to arbitration the outstanding claims arising out of the seizure of British and American vessels by Russian cruisers in the North Pacific in 1892.

The Boer delegates from the South African Republics arrived in Washington in May, but they presented no credentials on visiting the President at the White House, and they received no encouragement that the United States would interfere in their struggle. In the city of New York the delegates were at first hopeful that Mayor Van Wyck and the Tammany ring would bring pressure to bear on the Federal Government in their favour; but even in that quarter they received nothing more than sympathy and pity. It was evident that their mission was hopeless. They travelled West and held meetings in the large cities, but their pleadings were everywhere useless in any practical sense.

A new Atlantic cable was successfully laid between New York and Emden in Germany, and on the opening day (Aug. 29) the Emperor William sent to President McKinley a congratulatory telegram, hoping that the cable would contribute to the maintenance of friendly relations existing between the two countries, to which the President replied in similar terms.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie offered, in November, to build a technical school in connection with the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg, and to provide an endowment of \$1,000,000, if the city would furnish the site for the building.

The total population of the United States by the census of 1900 was declared to be 76,304,799. The foreign-born population was about 13·4 per cent. In the forty-five States the total was 74,610,523. In the seven territories of Alaska, Arizona, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Oklahoma was a total of 1,604,606 inhabitants.

The Commissioner-General of Immigration, in the annual report of the operations of his bureau for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, submitted tabulated statements showing the arrival in the country during that period of 448,572 alien

immigrants—425,372 through ports of the United States, and 23,200 through Canada. Of these, 304,148 were males, and 144,424 females; 54,624 were under fourteen years of age, 370,382 were from fourteen to forty-five years old, and 23,566 were forty-five and over.

The total was in excess of that for the preceding year, 311,715, by 136,857, or 43 per cent. As to countries of origin, 424,700 came from European, 17,946 from Asiatic, 30 from African, and 5,896 from all other sources.

The Commissioner-General referred in his report to the large increase of Japanese immigration, and the opinion was expressed that, unless checked, it would produce serious trouble in the Pacific States, where such aliens are used as cheap labourers to take the places of American working men.

One of the most disastrous fires ever known in America, attended by great loss of life, occurred on June 30 at the Hoboken Docks, opposite the city of New York. The fire originated among some bales of cotton at one of the piers of the North German Lloyd Company, and rapidly spread to adjoining piers. Among the goods lying in the docks were a large number of barrels of oil, and several explosions took place which caused the flames to spread with appalling rapidity. It was on a Saturday, the visiting day on the vessels, and the docks were well filled with men, women and children anxious to see the officers and crews of the ships in port. The entire system of piers belonging to the company, having a frontage of a quarter of a mile, was burned. The Hamburg-American Company blew up their pier with dynamite, and thus prevented the fire from extending to other docks. The liners *Main*, *Saale* and *Bremen*, belonging to the North German Lloyd Company, were towed out into the stream after they had caught fire at the docks, and were subsequently beached. The engines and boilers of the steamers were not destroyed, only the decks and woodwork. The *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* was scorched by the flames, and was rescued from destruction only by the prompt action of the officers who were on board at the time. This great vessel was tugged out into the river while the sailors kept the fire at bay with hoses and hand grenades. Nearly 300 lives were lost, but it was difficult to ascertain the exact number that perished. Captain Mirow, of the *Saale*, lost his life, and dozens of people tried in vain to climb through the portholes of the burning vessels. Many of the victims jumped into the water and were drowned, and many were burned to death. The pecuniary loss amounted to several millions of dollars.

It was said that some of the captains of steam-tugs were guilty of cruelty in refusing to save lives unless money was forthcoming. An investigation was made but none of the incriminated parties were arrested.

Texas suffered severely this year from cloud-burst and storm. In Central Texas there was a cyclone or cloud-burst

which destroyed a vast amount of property, and about forty persons lost their lives. Rivers rose rapidly and quickly inundated the country. Owing to the rapid rise of the Colorado River a dam broke at Austin, Texas, and emptied from the reservoirs a torrent of water thirty miles long, half a mile wide and sixty feet deep which poured into the valley of the river and swept away to destruction buildings and bridges. Many were warned of the coming flood in time to escape.

A very destructive hurricane wrecked the city of Galveston on September 8. The storm commenced about two o'clock A.M. and raged with great violence for more than twenty-four hours. At first there was a very high tide from the storm on the gulf side and as the city was built on a low island there was nothing to break the force of the wind upon the waves. The wind suddenly shifting to the northward, piled up the waters of the bay so that when night came the city was completely submerged and in many streets the water was nine or ten feet deep. More than 5,000 lives were lost and property of the value of more than \$10,000,000 was swept away. The total population of the city was about 40,000. Thousands of the survivors were rendered homeless, and it was many days before the danger of plague from the unburied dead was averted. The destroyed district was about five miles square and the dead bodies had to be buried or cremated to prevent a pestilence. The whole country poured out contributions for the sufferers, subscribing more than \$1,000,000, and supplies of money, food and clothing were quickly sent to Galveston from all the great cities of the Union. Queen Victoria sent the assurances of her sincere sympathy to the unfortunate sufferers, and many of her Majesty's subjects contributed to the funds raised for their relief. It was at first thought that the town would be abandoned, but the inhabitants set about repairing the damage and soon the condition of affairs was greatly improved. The highest velocity of the wind during the cyclone was eighty-four miles an hour.

Once more the year of the presidential election had come round, and the quadrennial excitement began to develop even before Admiral Dewey announced his intention in April of becoming a candidate. There was no question about the popularity of the gallant admiral, but the Democratic election managers were friends of Mr. Bryan, and to run as an Independent candidate could only result in defeat. No serious attention was paid to the announcement, as American Presidents are always made by machinery and the Democratic machine was already engaged.

The Republican Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States met at Philadelphia on June 19, and after arranging the "planks" of their platform, nominated on the 21st William McKinley, of Ohio, for President, and Theodore Roosevelt, of

New York, for Vice-President. The unanimity of the convention was remarkable, for both candidates were named by acclamation. McKinley received every vote in the convention (926) and Roosevelt every vote but his own, for he was a delegate. Colonel Roosevelt desired to avoid the nomination, preferring to remain Governor of New York, but after considerable pressure he yielded for the good of the party.

The Republican platform stated that "the provisions of the Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interests of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republics." The gold standard was upheld and trade conspiracies or "trusts" were condemned; the policy of protection was praised, and a more effective restriction of cheap labour from foreign lands was advocated. It favoured the "construction, ownership, control and protection" of an isthmian canal by the Government of the United States, and it promised to the Philippines "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties," and to Cuba independence and self-government, and that to the letter this pledge would be performed. Senator Lodge was the permanent president of the convention and his speech was statesmanlike in its clear assertion of principles.

The Democratic National Convention met at Kansas City, Missouri, on July 4 and nominated as their candidates William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President, and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President. James D. Richardson was chosen the permanent chairman of the convention. On the 5th Mr. Bryan was unanimously nominated as candidate for the Presidency. For the Vice-Presidency D. B. Hill of New York received 200 votes, Charles A. Towne of Minnesota 89½ votes, and Mr. Stevenson 559½ votes. There was but one ballot, and then the vote was made unanimous.

The Democratic platform declared that Imperialism was the paramount issue, condemned and denounced the Philippine policy of the present Administration, and opposed militarism, which meant conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It denounced trusts and private monopolies in every form, and condemned the Dingley tariff as a trust-breeding measure. It advocated free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. It denounced the Currency Bill of the preceding Congress, was in favour of the election of senators by direct vote of the people, and advocated the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States. It condemned the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty as an intolerable surrender of American rights and interests, favoured the continuance of the Chinese exclusion law, and reaffirming the "Monroe doctrine," opposed "entangling alliances," especially with England, that was overwhelming with force the South African Republics.

The People's party, or rather the fusion wing thereof, met at Sioux City, South Dakota, on May 10 and nominated W. J. Bryan and Charles A. Towne for President and Vice-President respectively. Mr. Towne withdrew in August and Mr. Adlai Stevenson was named in his place, making the ticket identical with that of the Democrats.

The "middle of the road" wing of the Populists met at Cincinnati on the same day and chose for their candidates Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota.

The Silverite Republicans, who at Kansas City bolted from the gold standard set up by the Republican Convention, held their convention there and nominated on July 6 Mr. Bryan for President. Mr. Towne was the candidate much favoured for Vice-President, but he himself in the convention pleaded against his own nomination and Mr. Adlai Stevenson was chosen instead. Other small parties were the Socialist Labour, the Social Democrats, the United Christians and the Prohibition parties—each with their platforms and candidates thereon.

The contest during the campaign was animated. Mr. Bryan made incessant speeches on the dangers of Imperialism and "Trusts," reserving the discussion of domestic and economic questions, and placing even the Silver question for the time in the background.

Governor Roosevelt on the Republican side travelled through the West making earnest appeals to men of every class to support the present Administration.

The grand army of orators on both sides kept up the excitement till the eve of the election. Just before the decisive day there was evidence that the Democrats were desponding, if not in despair. Mr. Roosevelt was mobbed at Elmira, in New York State, and Senator Depew at another town in the same State was for the first time in forty years refused a hearing. Mr. Bryan under the auspices of Tammany was addressing large audiences at New York and uttering as a part of his political creed, "Great is Tammany and Croker is its prophet," Mr. Croker having promulgated as his advice to Democratic voters all over the country "to congregate about the polling places and count noses, and if the election returns for Bryan do not tally with their count to throw the inspectors into the street."

Mr. Bryan came out on November 5 in favour of such violence, although the words seem harmless, by saying, "I hope that the people will vote early and then see that the vote is counted as cast."

The Chief of Police in New York City, Mr. Devery, ordered his men to refuse to assist the State Superintendent of Elections in preventing fraud, whereupon Governor Roosevelt sent a letter to Mayor Van Wyck, holding him responsible for the conduct of the Chief of Police, and notifying him that upon

any wrong-doing following upon failure immediately to recall Chief Devery's order, or upon any action or inaction on the part of Chief Devery, he must necessarily call him to account. The order was at once revoked, and a new order gave to the Superintendent of Elections the aid required for the proper execution of the law. This prompt action of the Governor saved New York from disturbance on the election day, and perhaps the whole nation from the calamities of civil conflict. The election was held simultaneously on November 6 (the first Tuesday following the first Monday of the month) in all the forty-five States, and resulted in the election of McKinley and Roosevelt. The total popular vote for all candidates was 13,959,443. Of these Mr. McKinley received 7,214,027 and Mr. Bryan 6,342,514 votes. The Prohibition candidate received 197,112 votes, and the Social Democratic candidate 82,904 votes. Of the 447 electoral votes Mr. McKinley received 299 and Mr. Bryan 155, giving a Republican majority over Mr. Bryan of 137 votes. Mr. Bryan failed to carry even his own State of Nebraska. The Southern States generally maintained the tradition of supporting the Democratic party, from fear of giving any advantage to negro suffrage identified with Republicanism.

No changes took place in President McKinley's Cabinet during the year.

The second regular session of the fifty-sixth Congress was convened on December 3. David B. Henderson, Republican of Iowa, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and William P. Frye, Republican of Maine, President *pro tempore* of the Senate. Through the death of Mr. Hobart the Vice-Presidency remained vacant. The political complexion of the Congress was as follows. In the Senate: Republicans, 51; Democrats, 28; Silver Party, 3; Populists, 4; Vacancies, 4. In the House of Representatives: Republicans, 197; Democrats, 151; Populists, 6; Silverites, 3; total 357.

The President's annual message delivered to Congress was extremely long, and much of it was devoted to foreign affairs. On the Chinese question he expressed himself as follows:—

“It is a relief to recall and a pleasure to record the loyal conduct of the Viceroy and local authorities of the southern and eastern provinces. Their efforts were continuously directed to the pacific control of the vast populations under their rule and to the scrupulous observance of foreign treaty rights. At critical moments they did not hesitate to memorialise the Throne, urging the protection of the legations, the restoration of communication, and the assertion of the Imperial authority against the subversive elements. They maintained excellent relations with the official representatives of the foreign Powers. To their kindly disposition is largely due the success of the consuls in removing many missionaries in the interior to places of safety. In this relation the action of the consuls should be highly commended. In Shantung and Eastern Chi-li the task was a difficult one,

but, thanks to their energy and the co-operation of the American and foreign naval commanders, hundreds of foreigners, including those of other nationalities than ours, were rescued from imminent peril. The policy of the United States through all this trying period was clearly announced and scrupulously carried out. The Circular Note of July 3 to the Powers proclaimed our attitude of treating the condition of the north as one of virtual anarchy in which the great provinces of the south and south-east had no share. We regarded the local authorities in the latter quarters as representing the Chinese people, with whom we sought to remain at peace and in friendship. Our declared aims involved no war against the Chinese nation. We adhered to the legitimate office of rescuing our imperilled legation, obtaining redress for the wrongs already suffered, securing, wherever possible, the safety of American life and property in China, and preventing the spread of the disorders or their recurrence.

"As was then said, the policy of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the empire. Faithful to those professions, which, as has been proved, reflected the views and purposes of other co-operating Governments, all our efforts have been directed to ending the anomalous situation in China by negotiations for a settlement at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the sacred duty of relieving our legation and its dependants was accomplished, we withdrew from active hostilities, leaving the legation under adequate guard at Peking as a channel for negotiation and settlement, a course adopted by others of the interested Powers. The overtures of the empowered representatives of the Chinese Emperor have been considerably entertained. The Russian proposition looking to the restoration of the Imperial power at Peking has been accepted, in full consonance with our own desires, for we have held, and hold that effective reparation for wrongs suffered, and an enduring settlement that will make their recurrence impossible, can best be brought about under the authority which the Chinese nation reverences and obeys. While so doing we forego no jot of our undoubted right to exact the exemplary and deterrent punishment of the responsible authors and abettors of criminal acts, whereby we and other nations have suffered grievous injury, for the real culprits are the evil counsellors who have misled the Imperial judgment and diverted the sovereign authority to their own guilty ends. Full expiation becomes imperative within the rational limits of retributive justice.

"Regarding this as the initial condition of an acceptable settlement between China and the Powers, I said in my message

of October 18 to the Chinese Emperor, 'I trust that negotiations may begin as soon as we and the other offended Governments shall be effectively satisfied of your Majesty's ability and power to treat with just sternness the principal offenders, who have been doubly culpable, not alone toward foreigners, but also towards your Majesty, under whose rule the purpose of China to dwell in concord with the world had hitherto found expression in the welcome protection assured to strangers.'

"Taking as a point of departure the Imperial edict appointing Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching as plenipotentiaries to arrange a settlement, and the edict of September 25 by which certain high officials were designated for punishment, this Government has moved in concert with the other Powers toward the opening of the negotiations which Mr. Conger, assisted by Mr. Rockhill, has been authorised to conduct on behalf of the United States.

"The general bases for negotiation formulated by the Government of the French Republic have been accepted, with certain reservations regarding details made necessary by our own circumstances, but which, like similar reservations made by other Powers, are open to discussion in the progress of the negotiations. The disposition of the Emperor's Government to admit liability for the wrongs done to foreign Governments, and to their nationals, and to act upon such additional designation of guilty persons as the foreign Ministers at Pekin may be in a position to make, gives a hope of a complete settlement of all the questions involved, assuring foreign rights of residence and intercourse on terms of equality for all the world. I regard as one of the essential factors of a durable adjustment the securing of adequate guarantees for liberty of faith, since the insecurity of those natives who may embrace alien creeds is scarcely less effectual an assault upon the rights of foreign worship and teaching than would be a direct invasion thereof.

"The matter of an indemnity for our wronged citizens is a question of grave concern. Measured by money alone sufficient reparation may prove to be beyond the ability of China to meet. All the Powers concur in emphatic disclaimers of any purpose of aggrandisement through the dismemberment of the Empire. I am disposed to think that due compensation may be made in part by the increased guarantees of security for foreign rights and immunities, and, most important of all, for the opening of China to equal commerce for all the world. These views have been and will be earnestly advocated by our representatives.

"The Government of Russia has put forward the suggestion that, in the event of protracted divergence of views with regard to indemnities, the matter may be relegated to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. I favourably incline to this, believing that this high tribunal could not fail to reach a solution no less conducive to the stability and enlarged prosperity of China itself than immediately beneficial to the Powers."

He called attention to the action of Great Britain in respect to neutral cargoes shipped to Portuguese South Africa suspected of being designed for the Boers.

"Such consignments in British ships, by which alone direct trade is kept up between our ports and Southern Africa, were seized in application of the municipal law prohibiting a British vessel from trading with the enemy without regard to any contraband character of the goods carried, while cargoes shipped to Delagoa Bay in neutral bottoms were arrested on the ground of their alleged destination being an enemy's country. Appropriate representations on our part resulted in the British Government agreeing to purchase outright all such goods shown to be the actual property of American citizens, thus closing the incident to the satisfaction of the immediately interested parties, although, unfortunately, without any broad settlement of the question of a neutral's right to send goods not contraband *per se* to a neutral port adjacent to a belligerent area."

On the settlement of the Canadian boundary he said:—

"The work of marking certain provisional boundary points, for convenience of administration, around the head of the Lynn Canal in accordance with the temporary arrangements of October, 1899, was completed in July. The *modus vivendi* has so far worked without friction, and the Dominion Government has provided rules and regulations for securing our citizens the benefit of the reciprocal stipulation that the citizens and subjects of either Power, found by that arrangement within the temporary jurisdiction of the other, shall suffer no diminution of the rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed. But however necessary such an expedient may have been to tide over grave emergencies, the situation is at the best but an unsatisfactory makeshift, which should not be suffered to delay the speedy and complete establishment of the frontier line to which we are entitled under the Russo-American Treaty for the cession of Alaska. In this relation I may refer again to the need of definitely marking the Alaskan boundary where it follows the 141st meridian. A convention to that end has been before the Senate for some two years, but no action has been taken. I contemplate negotiating a new convention for the joint determination of the meridian by telegraphic observations. These, it is believed, will give more accurate and unquestionable results than the sidereal methods heretofore independently followed, which, as is known, have proved discrepant at several points on the line, although not varying at any place more than 700 feet."

On the subject of finance President McKinley considered that it would be the duty of Congress to provide whatever further legislation might be needed to ensure the continued parity, under all conditions, of silver with gold. He referred to the remarkable commercial and industrial progress of the United States, and stated that the total imports and exports had, for the first time in the history of the country, exceeded

\$2,000,000,000. He recommended reduction of internal revenue taxation to the amount of \$30,000,000, and urged Congress immediately to aid the mercantile marine by subsidies.

Concerning affairs in the Philippines the President said :—

“The American forces have successfully controlled the greater part of the Philippines, overcoming the organised forces of the insurgents and carrying order and administrative regularity to all quarters. What opposition remains is, for the most part, scattered, obeying no concerted plan of strategic action, and operating only by methods common to the traditions of guerilla warfare, which, while ineffective to alter the general control now established, are still sufficient to beget insecurity among populations that have felt the good results of our control, and thus to delay the conferment upon them of the fuller measures of local self-government, education, and industrial and agricultural development which we stand ready to give them. By the spring the effective opposition of the dissatisfied Tagalos was virtually ended, thus opening the door to the extension of stable administration over much of the archipelago.”

With regard to the new civil commission appointed in March, the message continued :—

“This commission made great progress from the outset, and its later reports show a yet more encouraging advance towards ensuring the benefits of liberty and good government to the Filipinos. In the interest of humanity and with the aim of building up an enduring, self-supporting, and self-administering community, I would impress upon Congress that whatever legislation is enacted with respect to the Philippines should be along these generous lines. The fortune of war has thrown upon this nation unsought a trust which should be unselfishly discharged, and has devolved upon this Government a moral as well as a material responsibility towards these millions whom we freed from an oppressive yoke. Our duty is so to treat the Filipinos that our flag may be no less beloved in the mountains of Luzon and the fertile zones of Mindanao and Negros than at home; that there, as here, it shall be the revered symbol of liberty, enlightenment and progress in every avenue of development.”

The report of the Isthmian Canal Commission was submitted by the President to Congress. It recommended the Nicaraguan route, and estimated that the cost by that route would amount to \$200,500,000. The cost by the Panama route was estimated at \$156,378,000, or by the cheaper route at \$142,342,579. The depth of the Nicaragua Canal would be 35 feet, mean low water, and the bottom width 150 feet. Locks would be 740 feet long, 84 feet wide, and 35 feet deep. Ten years would be required to complete the entire work. By the Panama route the concession provided that the canal should pass to Columbia at the end of ninety-nine years. Nicaragua and

Costa Rica, on the other hand, were untrammelled by concessions.

The growth of American shipping during the year amounted to 393,790 gross tons, and for value and efficiency had never been equalled in any other year; but it was wholly within the coasting trade, for of the world's sea-borne traffic the United States did not carry 3 per cent.

The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury stated that the revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30 was \$669,595,431, and the expenditure \$590,068,371, showing a surplus of \$79,527,060. The revenue for the current year was estimated, on the basis of existing laws, at \$687,773,253, and the surplus at \$80,000,000.

The imports of the year were \$849,941,184—an increase of \$152,792,695 over 1899. This large increase was chiefly in manufacturers' materials. The total exports of the year were valued at \$1,394,483,082, of which \$1,370,763,571 were of domestic production.

In both imports and exports American trade with the tropics and the Orient showed a much greater percentage of gain than that with European countries.

II. CANADA.

The Dominion Parliament began its sessions on February 1. On March 5, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Mills, stated in the Senate that the Government thought it would not be for the interests of Canada to impose a poll tax on Japanese entering the Dominion, or to adopt hostile legislation against Japanese immigrants. In June it was announced that a royal commission would be appointed to investigate the subject of immigration, and with regard to Chinese immigration the Government determined to ask Parliament to raise the poll tax on Chinese incomers from \$50 to \$100. Pauper immigrants were not desired in any part of Canada.

Early in the year considerable uneasiness was felt in Canada because of the attitude of the Imperial authorities on the Pacific cable question, and in the Senate on March 16 Sir Mackenzie Bowell proposed a resolution, which was adopted, protesting against concessions to the Eastern Telegraph Company or any other companies, and expressing the opinion that any further delay in proceeding with the construction of the cable would be inimical to the interests of the empire.

Mr. William Fielding, the Finance Minister, brought in the Budget on March 23, and made an interesting speech to the House. He said that the year past had been the most prosperous that Canada had ever known, and he claimed that the preferential tariff of the Liberal party had resulted in giving Canada a real preference in the markets of Great Britain. If England should ever be induced to impose a duty for the benefit

of the colonies, this, he said, could be obtained only by the methods which the Canadian Government had adopted. The Government, in order to encourage the development of trade with the West Indies, had made proposals to the Island of Trinidad for the interchange of products, except spirituous liquors and tobacco—the agreement to be for a period of five years, which could be terminated by one year's notice by either party. He announced that Canadian Government securities would in future be listed in England, so that they might be used for trust fund purposes. The manufacture of beetroot sugar had been placed on the free list, he said, to encourage that industry in Canada, and since the people of Canada had a right to look for a reduction of taxation on lines which would encourage trade with the mother country, therefore he announced that from July 1 next the preference in favour of Great Britain would be increased from 25 per cent. to 33½ per cent.

This statement caused great enthusiasm among the members of the House, who joined in singing the National Anthem in evidence of their satisfaction.

The debate on the Budget closed on May 4, after an amendment proposed by Sir Charles Tupper, declaring that nothing short of mutual preferential trade between Great Britain and the colonies could be regarded as final and satisfactory, was defeated by a majority of 40 on a straight party vote. During the debate the Opposition had opposed the increase in favour of British goods, claiming that British preference for Canadian goods should be given in return.

The immigration question came up again in the House of Commons on July 10, and a proposal to invite the Boers to settle in Canada was objected to by many of the members.

The Dominion Parliament was dissolved on October 9, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, appealed to the country. A general election in all the constituencies on the same day (Nov. 7) was about to be held, and the main issue placed before the electors related to the preferential tariff. The Conservatives in Opposition claimed that this should be mutual.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association in September adopted a resolution declaring itself in favour of reciprocal preferential trade within the empire.

Mr. Bourassa, the French Liberal member for Labelle, had strongly denounced Canada's participation in the Boer war, and in Quebec province he had many supporters among those of his own race. Both parties tried to make capital out of the patriotic sentiment aroused by the South African war. The Conservatives claimed that they were the first to awaken public feeling, and the Liberals took credit for the vigorous policy at last adopted, and for incurring the expense of raising troops without first consulting Parliament. Each party claimed to be the most loyal to the empire.

In the general election Sir Charles Tupper, who led the

Costa Rica, on the 17th inst. The Government had received 500 cessions.

The growth of the country had been rapid. The population had risen to 393,790, gross. The Government had received 500 cessions. The growth of the country had been rapid. The population had risen to 393,790, gross. The Government had received 500 cessions.

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the Boers. On their return home from the seat of war great popular demonstrations were made to welcome them. Among those who greatly distinguished themselves were a troop raised and fitted out by Lord Strathcona. The Dominion Government decided in November not to disband Strathcona's Horse on its return, but to make the regiment the nucleus of a mounted infantry force in the North-West Territories, retaining the name in honour of Lord Strathcona's services to Canada and the empire. It was proposed to establish a training school for irregular light horse in Western Canada, where horses and food are cheap and abundant.

A Fenian attempt in April to blow up with dynamite a lock on the Welland Canal was foiled, and three men accused of the crime were convicted and sentenced to life-long imprisonment. Through transport without breaking bulk of inland freights to Great Britain *via* Lake Erie and the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals began in November.

It was noticeable that the net debt of the Dominion was reduced this year by the sum of \$779,639. Such a reduction has taken place only in two previous years in the history of Canada. For the year ended June 30 there was a surplus of \$8,054,714 receipts over expenditure.

The mineral production of Canada was steadily increasing. In 1896 Canada produced less than \$550,000 of gold. In 1899, \$47,250,000. The Imperial Government arranged this year for the establishment in Canada of a branch of the Royal Mint.

The Earl of Minto, Governor-General, and Lady Minto returned in October from an official tour through Western Canada, which extended to Dawson City and the Klondyke gold region.

III. NEWFOUNDLAND.

Fully to understand the unrest which has marked the course of the year in Newfoundland, one must go back to the year 1893, when Mr. R. G. Reid, a Canadian capitalist, made a contract with the existing Government to work the railway system for a period of ten years in return for grants of land along the course of the railway. The Ministry then in power was designated for party purposes as Liberal, and at the general election of 1897 the Tories denounced these concessions and obtained a majority which brought Sir James Winter and Mr. Morine into power. The Tory leaders subsequently denied the truth of this allegation, but not until the second session of the new Parliament in 1898, when Sir James Winter introduced resolutions on which a bill was to be based sanctioning a far more widely reaching contract with Mr. R. G. Reid. Under this bill the entire colonial system was to be transferred to Mr. Reid in perpetuity—the Government telegraph system and the local sea-service for long terms of years; the dry dock at St. John's; the freehold of any of the Crown lands at Mr. Reid's choice,

together with the minerals beneath them ; and, above all, certain subsidies for undertaking the Government services. Mr. Reid in return was to pay about \$900,000 and certain royalties on the minerals raised. Sir Herbert Murray, the Governor of Newfoundland, on being informed of the terms of the proposed contract, at once protested against the price to be paid by Mr. Reid as far too small, and appealed to the Colonial Office for instructions, while clearly conveying his own disapproval of the terms. Mr. Chamberlain, however, whilst admitting that the Reid contract was "an abdication by a colony of some of its most important functions, almost without parallel," held, nevertheless, that it fell within the limits of self-government enjoyed by Newfoundland, and that the intervention of the Imperial Government would be a breach of the colonial charter. The bill had been pushed through the Legislature with such haste that it was alleged, with a fair show of reason, that the sparsely scattered inhabitants of the colony had not had time to realise the terms of the contract. The Governor was urged by petitions from all parts of the colony, representing, it was said, a majority of the voters at the general election, to withhold his sanction to the bill, and additional opposition was aroused by the discovery that Mr. Morine, the Minister of Finance, was Mr. Reid's standing legal adviser. When challenged on this subject Mr. Morine explained that he only advised Mr. Reid on private matters in which his interests and those of the colony could not clash. Sir H. Murray, however, declined to accept this distinction, and insisted upon Mr. Morine's resignation of one or the other position. In April, 1899, on the appointment of a new Governor, Mr. Morine returned to office on undertaking not to act as Mr. Reid's adviser ; but after six or eight months he again resigned, and soon after was prominently active in attempting to raise \$5,000,000 worth of debentures to work Mr. Reid's concessions. Meanwhile, Sir James Winter's Cabinet had been split into two or more factions, and Mr. Bond succeeded in constituting a Liberal Cabinet pledged to insist upon the literal execution of the existing contract by Mr. Reid, or his acceptance of important alterations in it in favour of the colony, including the substitution of a long lease for the absolute cession of the railways, and the restoration of the telegraphs to the colony. Mr. Reid strongly objected to these terms, and this year the Governor appealed to the electors for their decision. This was given in a decisive tone, and putting aside the soft promises put out by Mr. Morine that a relaxation of Mr. Reid's contracts would enable him to give employment to many, they returned a large Liberal majority to support Mr. Bond in his dealings with Mr. Reid's monopolies.

Mr. Bond won 32 seats out of a total of 36 by immense majorities, the Reid contract being the sole issue. Mr. Cowan, the Finance Minister, was defeated.

The revenue of Newfoundland for the fiscal year ended

June 30 was \$2,070,000, and was \$350,000 more than that of any previous year in the history of the colony. The surplus amounted to nearly \$140,000.

Mr. Edward Jackman became Minister of Finance in Mr. Bond's enlarged and reconstructed Cabinet. Union with Canada was strongly advocated by the official organ of the Bond Ministry, and the trend of political action was in that direction.

In December there was a growing sentiment against the renewal of the *modus vivendi* bill after its expiration (Dec. 31); but the Ministry awaited the action of the Imperial Cabinet regarding the French shore difficulty.

IV. CENTRAL AMERICA.

British Honduras.—For the extension of the wood-cutting interests in the interior, increased facilities of communication were greatly needed, and especially a line of railway. The beginning of the construction of the Belize-Peten Railway was regarded in the colony as the first step to be taken for the growth of trade and the development of the resources of the country.

The Governor, Sir David Wilson, visited England in August.

Guatemala.—The German *chargé d'affaires* in Guatemala, Herr von Eyb, was attacked by two masked men on the night of September 15 when riding home to his villa outside the town, who proved to be members of the secret police. Herr von Eyb demanded and obtained from the Government the dismissal and punishment of the offenders, and the dismissal also of the chief of secret police. Deep regrets were expressed by the President of the Republic and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the outrage.

Salvador.—The Minister of War, Dr. Castro, in making an attempt to cause a rebellion and to seize the Presidency, killed the colonel in command of the barracks. An investigation followed, and Dr. Castro was found guilty. By order of the President, Don Tomas Regalado, he was shot on September 3, and the insurrection was subdued.

Nicaragua.—The contemplated Nicaragua ship canal was to extend "from a point on the shore of the Caribbean Sea near Greytown, by way of Lake Nicaragua, to a point near Breto on the Pacific Ocean," and would pass through territory belonging to the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua. On December 1 Secretary Hay, on the part of the United States, and Señor Corea, on behalf of Nicaragua, concluded a treaty by which the latter State granted to the former the right to construct the canal. A similar arrangement was made with respect to the Panama route with the Republic of Columbia.

The concession granted to the Maritime Canal Company,

allowing it to construct the canal was cancelled by Nicaragua in May. Other concessions having lapsed by limitation, the two republics were free to grant an unlimited concession to the United States.

Costa Rica.—President Loubet, of France, the arbitrator appointed to settle the boundary question between Costa Rica and Columbia, in September gave his decision. On the Atlantic side he fixed the boundary at Mona Point, and on the Pacific at Punta Burica, thereby rejecting the long-pending claims of Columbia to half of Costa Rica and about two-thirds of Nicaragua.

V. WEST INDIES.

Cuba.—General elections were held in Cuba on June 15 and on September 15—the earlier for municipal officers throughout the island, and the later to choose delegates to attend the constitutional convention summoned to meet on November 5. The elections took place without disturbance.

On January 12 General Leonard Wood, the newly appointed Governor issued an order defining the duties of the military and civil service, and forbidding military interference in the conduct of civil affairs except with regard to sanitary measures. The first year of American rule did not bring a revival of trade or an influx of capital as had been expected. While imports notably increased there was no corresponding increase in exports. What Cuba needed most was a permanent form of government, so that capitalists would be induced to invest their money in renewing the crippled industries of the island.

General Wood reported that United States troops had not been used during the year for the maintenance of order, and that police duty outside the chief municipalities was performed by the rural guard numbering about 1,200 men, all Cubans. Over 3,000 public schools have been established and 200,000 children are in the schools. Under Spanish rule there were less than 30,000. The trip of the Cuban teachers to the United States in August was most beneficial. Many public works had been undertaken and finished and many hundreds of miles of roads had been put in excellent condition. The Treasury had an unencumbered balance of \$1,500,000. The year's sugar crop would be between 550,000 and 600,000 tons. All the prisons were repaired and overhauled in January and February, and their sanitary conditions vastly improved, and hundreds of prisoners detained for long periods awaiting trial were released after being held as long as they would have been imprisoned if found guilty of the charges for which they were arrested. The writ of *habeas corpus* took effect on December 1.

The population of Cuba, according to the census of October 16, 1899, was 1,572,797. By the Spanish census of 1887 it was 1,631,687. Since the beginning of the year 60,000 immigrants from Spain arrived in Cuba as permanent settlers to live where

their own language is spoken, and probably to avoid the heavy taxation and other troubles that afflict the Spaniard at home. There has not been hitherto as great an influx of English-speaking settlers as was anticipated. Havana had a population of 235,981. The native whites in the island numbered 910,299 and the coloured 520,300.

A new Customs tariff came into force on June 15.

The Cuban Constitutional Convention was convened on November 5 when the Military Governor called them to order and stated that it was first their duty to frame and adopt a Constitution for Cuba and then to formulate the relations which ought to exist between Cuba and the United States, and that the Constitution as framed by the convention would then be transmitted to Congress for consideration and such action as it might deem advisable.

Bahamas.—A great improvement was made in the social condition of the inhabitants of the group during the past year, and a general impetus to trade by closer connection with the United States. The revenue last year was 76,697*l.*, and the expenditure 68,749*l.* Imports were of the value of 329,196*l.*, and exports 169,148*l.* The sponge industry was growing in importance, and more capital was being placed in it. There was room for more capital in the Sisal hemp and fruit industries. Prospects of trade were never more promising. The population was estimated at 54,709.

Bermuda.—The revenue of the island for the past year was 39,955*l.* There was a total public debt of 44,000*l.* Imports amounted to 394,388*l.*, of which about one-third came from Canada and Great Britain, and most of the remainder from the United States. Exports were 125,817*l.*, of which 111,638*l.* went to the United States. Onions were exported to the value of more than half the total exports.

Barbados.—The past year showed a revenue of 216,022*l.* It exceeded the estimate and also the revenue of the preceding year, because of a grant of 40,000*l.* from the home Government to aid in recovering from the damage caused by the hurricane of 1898. Expenditure was 207,883*l.*, of which over 30,000*l.* was devoted to repairs necessitated by the hurricane, mostly in rebuilding the huts of labourers. Thanks to the aid of the Imperial Government the colony held its own fairly well. The public debt at the close of the year was 414,000*l.* Imports amounted to 998,000*l.*, of which rather less than half were from the United Kingdom. The sugar industry was not thriving. The competition of Cuba and Porto Rico was dreaded, with improved methods of manufacture aided by American capital and brains. The population was increasing, but the resources for feeding the people were diminishing.

Jamaica.—An agreement with Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co., by which a direct steamship line was established with the colony, with service to commence at the beginning of the century, was signed in February.

A constitutional struggle went on during the year. In March all the elected members of the Legislative Council, save one, returned home, leaving the Government to attend to the business of the session without their votes or advice. This was done as a protest against the introduction of four additional nominated members by direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The retiring members claimed that this procedure reduced them from the position of responsible legislators to that of irresponsible advisers of the Government. The Colonial Secretary of State took the ground that the colony was in the position of an insolvent merchant whose freedom of action must be curtailed until his business was established on a sound basis again. Mr. Oliver, the acting Governor, suggested a compromise in August at a private meeting, that if the additional nominated members were regarded as reservists merely, whose votes would only be taken on questions of paramount importance, the elected members might be able to return to the council. Mr. Chamberlain replied that he could not give any pledge as to the normal number of official and nominated members who would be present at ordinary meetings of the council.

A manifesto was issued by the leader of the malcontents for the signature of the elected members, which pledged them not to take their seats if re-elected at the ensuing election in January, 1901. Only five elected members signed the document, whereupon the leader resigned, and announced his retirement from politics. In December public opinion was changing, and it was felt that the elected members should remain inside the council, and work to secure the restoration of the former *status*. The black population were mostly quite indifferent as to the issue.

In August the Government took over possession of the railway and assets from the trustees for the bondholders, and it was announced that the line would be worked strictly for the benefit of the colony.

San Domingo.—Juan Isador Jiminez was inaugurated President with much ceremony, and carried out the reforms which he had promised by his manifesto before the election. He granted liberty of speech, and abolished political executions before trial, and greatly improved the state of the currency by his financial measures. There were two revolutions during the year against his authority, but they were both put down without bloodshed.

Porto Rico.—On May 1, 1900, Mr. Charles H. Allen of Massachusetts was inaugurated Governor of the island in accordance with the act of Congress which became law on April 12. Military administration ended without any disturbing incident. All the departments of the new Government had been provided for beforehand in anticipation of the change. Since then commerce with the United States had made great strides, and the exports of the island in the following months of the year were

three times as great as in the corresponding months of 1896 under the rule of Spain. The population of Porto Rico in October, 1899, was declared to be 953,243, with an excess of females over males of 8,721, the density of population to the square mile being 264 persons, which is seven times that of Cuba; 304,352 persons were of mixed blood, and there were 589,400 white persons, with 59,390 blacks. A Budget issued by the Executive Council on July 3 estimated the receipts for the fiscal year 1900-1 at \$2,014,608 and the expenditure at \$1,984,645. Native soldiers have been enlisted and employed with great advantage, and they compare favourably with United States regular troops in many respects.

Trinidad.—Sir Cornelius A. Moloney, late Governor of the Windward Islands, was appointed in October Governor of Trinidad and Tobago in succession to Sir Hubert Jerningham. The revenue for the past year was 681,339*l.*, the expenditure was 748,151*l.*; the excess of expenditure was due mainly to harbour improvements which cost 130,000*l.* Half the area cultivable belonging to the colony is still lying unproductive, but land has been taken up at an average rate of nearly 7,000 acres a year for the past twenty years. The public debt at the end of the year amounted to 923,412*l.* Imports last year were 2,535,935*l.*, exports 2,572,891*l.*; export of sugar amounted to 715,428*l.*, cocoa 898,389*l.*, and asphalt 152,046*l.* The average annual trade for the past three years with Great Britain was of the value of 1,363,000*l.*, and with the United States 1,227,000*l.* Rubber planting was extending, especially in Tobago. As a lake similar to the pitch lake of Trinidad has been discovered at Bermudez in Venezuela, and ten times larger and yielding asphalt of purer quality, Trinidad can no longer command the market as heretofore, but yet in Trinidad the last year was most prosperous in respect to this industry. The population was estimated at 290,000, of which Tobago supplied 21,000.

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

Argentine Republic.—A revolution broke out in Entre Rios in March. The rebels took possession of three of the chief towns, and national troops were sent to quell the disturbance. It was very much like other attempts to seize the Government that are so common in South America, and the work of needy adventurers. The insurgents failed in their attempt, and surrendered their arms before the end of the month.

The Congress met on May 1. General Roca, the President, delivered his message, which set forth the flourishing condition of the country, and especially of the finances. It stated that the customs for the first quarter yielded 400,000*l.*, and the inland revenue 100,000*l.* more than during the same period of the year previous.

During the first quarter of the year 700,000 tons of wheat

were exported, and agricultural products represented one-third of the total export trade. The total foreign and home debt amounted to 88,000,000*l.*, besides 3,500,000*l.* of floating debt.

The Budget statement of the Minister of Finance estimated that the revenue for 1901 would be 13,100,000*l.*, and the expenditure 13,000,000*l.* The Government were determined to economise as much as possible, and would not issue any more bonds or increase taxation; and in October the Congress passed a bill annulling all laws authorising extraordinary expenditure, unless special sources of revenue were provided for to meet such expenditure. The persistent urging of the Finance Minister that this course was absolutely necessary secured the enactment of this law.

Heavy floods in May inundated large tracts of land in the southern districts, and a disease prevailed in the early summer among the cattle which was thought to be foot-and-mouth disease, but in December the disease had disappeared.

Large shipments of horses to South Africa were made during the year.

A contract was signed in June by which the Republic issued 730,000*l.* of 4 per cent. bonds to pay off the Mendoza foreign debt and the arrears, amounting to 1,340,000*l.*

In December the Government decided to ask for public tenders for the sale of the Transandine Railway, the proceeds of the sale to be credited to the Conversion Fund as provided by law.

Dr. Campos Salles, President of Brazil, made a visit to Buenos Ayres on October 25, and had a very cordial reception from the people and from President Roca.

Brazil.—The Government resolved in January to place an additional tax of 10 per cent. on imports coming from Austria and Portugal, and of 30 per cent. on those arriving from France and Italy. The tax was to begin on March 1.

The Treasury statement for 1899 appeared in February, and represented the revenue from Customs (including 10 per cent. in gold reduced to currency) to have been 266,000 contos. Internal revenue amounted to 111,000 contos. Total 377,000 contos. Ordinary expenditure was 250,000 contos. There had been paid on account of the loan of 1897, now settled, and which amounted to 2,000,000*l.*, the sum of 33,000 contos. Total expenditure, including incinerated currency (45,000 contos), was 328,000 contos, leaving a surplus of 49,000 contos.

The Congress was opened on May 3, and the President in his message referred to the high duties in France and Italy on Brazilian coffee, and stated that these countries had been asked to reduce them 30 per cent. France had offered a reduction of 10 per cent. and Italy 20 per cent., and it was hoped that the full reduction of 30 per cent. would eventually be made.

The Banco da Republica on September 12 suspended cash payments on cheques, exacting sixty days' sight. The Gov-

ernment proposed to issue 100,000 contos of 3 per cent. bonds, guaranteed by the bank's assets, and redeemable in five years, and to advance 25,000 contos in cash, assuming control of the bank until the bonds are redeemed.

An extraordinary project was presented by the Government to Congress in October for restricting the operations of private and foreign banks, and was designed to give an advantage to the Banco da Republica, which was not subject to these restrictions. It prohibited the selling of exchange for future delivery except in the case of transactions arising out of exports, prohibited the renewal of exchange transactions by the payment of differences, prohibited persons or banks dealing in exchange from receiving bank deposits, prohibited a bank from dealing in its own bills, required an official registry of gold bills, drafts, etc., provided for an inspection of bank books, required a daily list of exchange bills bought and sold, and limited the sales of exchange to double the capital.

The Swiss Federal Council decided in December the boundary question between Brazil and French Guiana, and as it gave to France only a slight rectification of the line defined by the treaty of Utrecht, it gave almost entire satisfaction to the claim of Brazil. It fixed the boundary line on the watershed between Guiana and the Amazon basin.

Columbia.—Revolution was making headway in July, and the revolutionists were all well equipped and in greater force than the Government troops. There was severe fighting in and around Panama, and British marines were landed to protect the consulates. A British steamer was seized in November by the Government, as the owners refused to sell or rent the vessel, in order to carry troops and ammunition to Buenaventura, which was besieged by the rebels. After engagements at Bolivar, Buenaventura, and other towns, the insurgents were defeated, and the forces of Uribe and other leaders were scattered. Early in December the rebellion was thought to be over.

Ecuador.—An unsuccessful attempt was made early in May to assassinate General Alfaro, the President. The President was uninjured, and his assailant was captured.

British Guiana.—The revenue of last year was 525,865*l.*, and the expenditure equalled it, but the revenue had fallen below that of ten years previous. The public debt amounted to 975,791*l.*, and the total imports for the year were 1,371,412*l.*, exports being 1,775,691*l.* Trade with the United States was rapidly growing, especially in sugar, which was the chief export. Raw gold came next in importance among exports, but owing to exhaustion of the larger and richer claims the amount last year diminished, although recent investigations proved that large gold deposits were to be found in several of the river valleys. Rice was largely grown in the colony. Cocoa, kola, and tobacco were successfully grown. Other productions of

commercial value were gums, including rubber, and woods of great beauty and variety, suitable for all ornamental and useful purposes where wood can be used. Diamonds were found in the Upper Mazzaruni, a tributary of the Essequibo, nearly in the centre of the colony, in October, and caused some sensation, but the means used in the search were most primitive.

Chili.—There were rumours of the discovery of a secret treaty between Peru, Bolivia and the Argentine Republic in order to attack Chili, but no warlike demonstration confirmed these reports. A commission of military officers headed by General Körner, chief of the Chilian General Staff, left for Europe in February, it was supposed on important military affairs. Regulations were being perfected for compulsory military service by the military authorities.

President Errazuris opened the Chilian Congress on June 1, and gave a satisfactory statement of the condition of the country. He alluded also to the measures which had been taken for the extraordinary amortisation of the public debt.

A judicial sale of the Chili section of the unfinished railway known as Clark's Transandine-Railway was made in March to the Chilian creditors for \$1,600,000, Chilian currency. The Chilian Government proposed to take over the property on the same terms, and continue the construction of the line to a point in the pass where a tunnel six miles farther would make a junction with the Argentine section.

A decree was published in September establishing compulsory military service. By it all Chilians were made liable to military duty from their twentieth to their forty-fifth year.

Peru.—Some excitement was caused in Lima in October by a mob that held a mass meeting in the principal square, and demanded that the ex-Minister of Finance, Señor Balaunde, who was accused of having appropriated 20,000*l.* from the national Treasury, should be delivered up to them to be lynched. The military were finally called out and making a charge on the rioters wounded more than 100 of them.

Uruguay.—In April there were heavy rains and serious floods in the interior. Railway and telegraphic communication was much interrupted and great damage was done to property.

President Cuestas at the opening of the Chambers in February delivered a long message which presented in a very satisfactory light the financial situation. The revenue last year was \$15,750,000 being an increase of \$500,000 on the year preceding. At the close of the year there was a small deficit. Last year the imports were \$24,000,000 and the exports \$37,000,000, an advance in value of exports over the previous year of \$7,000,000.

Venezuela.—Political anarchy prevailed in the country at the opening of the year. In consequence of their refusal to advance money to the Government the directors of the Bank of Caracas and of the Bank of Venezuela together with other prominent business men were arrested and imprisoned at Maracaibo.

Commerce was completely paralysed. In March there was severe fighting near Bolivar City, resulting in the defeat of the rebels who lost 223 killed, and 80 prisoners were captured, besides arms and ammunition. About 1,200 of the rebels retired in the direction of Guiana.

The British deputy-consul at Bolivar, Mr. James Lyall, was murdered on February 28. It was believed that the assassin who stabbed him committed the act at the instigation of a band of conspirators.

The war was apparently over for the year in July, and peace was officially proclaimed throughout the Republic. Political prisoners were set free and there was great rejoicing in Caracas. All war taxes on English imports were abolished in October.

Caracas and the surrounding district was visited by a terrible earthquake on October 29, which caused the death of thirty people, and a great number were injured. President Castro sprang from the second floor of Government House, breaking his leg in falling. The British Legation building was seriously damaged and the second floor completely disappeared. The Minister, Mr. Haggard, and the other members of the legation were uninjured. Mr. Grant Duff also had a wonderful escape, his bed being covered with bricks. The shock of the earthquake was felt as far as the region of the Andes.

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA.

Two topics of supreme and unique interest have occupied the attention of the Australasian people, almost to the exclusion of local and domestic matters—two questions of a larger and wider import than any which are likely to occupy the minds of the colonists, and fraught with the most important consequences to the future of the British Empire in the South. The war in South Africa, protracted to a length which threatened to be a serious danger to the nation, evoked an extraordinary amount of patriotic feeling throughout the colonies, leading to a display of practical sympathy for the maintenance of the national honour and interests such as surprised even those best acquainted with the temper and with the resources of these young countries. The near approach of the great measure of Confederation, to which all Australian patriots have looked forward as a step towards Imperial unity, with the final amendments for the perfection of the Federal Constitution, tended to dwarf all meaner questions of policy, and to centre the minds of the 4,500,000 Australian people, for the first time, on one object and one destiny.

There was a meeting of all the Premiers (Sir John Forrest,

of Western Australia, excepted) at Sydney on January 24, at which various questions arising out of the coming federation were discussed. They decided that the appointment of the Lieutenant-Governors of the States should be vested in the Imperial Government, declaring that in future the State Governors should be less highly paid than at present, in consideration of their social duties being lessened. The residence of the Governor-General it was resolved to leave for the time being to the choice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Delegates were chosen to proceed to England to take charge of the Commonwealth Bill, and to advise the Imperial Government during the passage of the measure through Parliament. The bill brought forward in the Imperial Parliament to give effect to the Commonwealth scheme was passed virtually without amendment, nor in its process did it lead to any differences of opinion between the Imperial Government and the colonies, save only on clause 74, which as it originally stood provided for a restriction of the colonial right of appeal to the Imperial Privy Council. The Secretary of State informed the representatives of the colonies that "her Majesty's Government must press for amendment of clause 74, but they earnestly desired to carry out such amendment in the way most agreeable to colonial sentiment." It soon became evident that colonial sentiment was by no means unanimous on this question. The Australian delegates in London were themselves divided as what advice to give to the Colonial Secretary. In the colonies it did not appear that there was any feeling at all in connection with clause 74. The clause had been adopted without much consideration. It had been a "Convention lawyer's question," on which popular opinion had not been pronounced. Certainly a vast majority of the people of Australia had no idea of losing their right of appeal to the Imperial Court, nor were they prepared to limit their own privileges as British citizens by insisting that the final appeal should rest with the Australian High Court, to be created under the new Constitution. The delegates in London, a majority of whom seemed bent upon the rigid maintenance of clause 74, were roundly charged by the leading organs of the press in the colonies with not representing Australian opinion.

In reply to Mr. Chamberlain's despatch the Premiers in conference declared, as they had no option but to do, that they had no power to assent to any amendments in the Federal Bill. The Imperial Government might have proceeded to drop clause 74 altogether, and its timidity in regard to interfering with the appeal was not greatly appreciated in Australia, or to ignorance of colonial opinion than to sentiment. Ultimately the question of compromise, which satisfied the delegates and the approval of the Australian people, was that the right of appeal from the colonies should be left only by consent of the local

government, was abandoned in favour of an amendment giving the Australian High Court the power to grant an appeal. Clause 74, as thus amended, was accepted as a temporary solution of what never was a serious difficulty except with a minority of the colonial lawyers. The discussions upon this question of the right of appeal from the colonies to the highest Imperial legal tribunal disclosed the existence of a very strong feeling in favour of Imperial unity such as, doubtless, had been rekindled and refreshed by the call for Australian troops in aid of the British policy in South Africa.

During the course of the negotiations in London upon clause 74 a despatch was received by the Premiers in conference from the Imperial Secretary of State asking which of two courses, the amendment or the postponement of the clause in Parliament, the colonies preferred. The unanimous answer was that the postponement was the more objectionable. The colonies did not dispute the right of the Imperial Parliament to amend the clause.

At the beginning of the year the colony of Western Australia was inclined to stand outside the federation, owing to the opposition of its Government to surrender its separate tariff. This attitude, as afterwards appeared, was not in accordance with the popular sentiment, especially in the gold fields. Sir John Forrest, the West Australian Premier, formally proposed to the other Premiers at the Sydney Conference that Western Australia should be allowed to remain outside the federation for five years, collecting her own taxes during that time. This proposal was rejected, and ultimately under pressure from its own people the Western Australian Government was induced to depart from its policy of isolation and to join the Federal Union.

The Conference of Premiers at Sydney discussed other matters connected with the establishment of a Federal Government. Among others the question of a federal capital was considered. Three sites were recommended as the most suitable—Bombala, Yass, and Orange, all within the State of New South Wales, and all complying with the conditions in the Constitution Act, each offering some special advantages in respect to its position. Victoria, it was understood, would prefer Albury, on the banks of the Murray, as being more convenient as a geographical centre. The Federal Parliament, it was provided, should sit at Melbourne till the new capital was decided upon. The choice of a residence for the Governor-General was left to the Imperial Government.

The question of the federal tariff occupied much of the attention of the Premiers in conference, it being regarded by the federating States, having varying tariffs, as one of primary importance. Resolutions were passed in favour of a common tariff based on absolute inter-State free trade. As a revenue of 7,000,000*l.* would have to be provided there must be

customs duties, but it was agreed that these should be levied with the single aim of providing for a federal income. How far these resolutions expressed the views of the majority of the people in the confederated States must be a matter of doubt. Two of the States, it is known, New South Wales and Queensland, are in favour of free trade, while Victoria, carrying with her South Australia and probably Tasmania, is likely to be protectionist.

Towards the end of the year the final steps were taken for the completion of the scheme of the Australian Commonwealth. The Earl of Hopetoun, the first Governor-General, whose appointment was received with much favour, landed in Sydney on December 16, and was welcomed with immense enthusiasm. His first act in the constitution of his Government was to send for Sir William Lyne, the Premier of New South Wales, in order to form a Ministry. The choice of Sir William Lyne, who had been distinguished for his opposition to federation, was a good deal canvassed in the colonies, but Lord Hopetoun was able to justify himself by constitutional precedents and practice. There was no one, according to parliamentary usage, that he could send for who had a right to the honour. Sir William Lyne, as the head of the existing Ministry in the mother-colony, was clearly the man to be first nominated; nor could the Governor-General rightly take cognisance of the political views of the new Premier, being the first who was named for that post under conditions entirely novel and really non-political. After a week's consultation with Mr. Barton and other leading gentlemen more nearly connected with the federal policy, Sir William Lyne resigned the task of forming a Ministry. Lord Hopetoun then sent for Mr. Barton, the acknowledged leader of the Federalists, the delegate for New South Wales to the Imperial Government, and one of the foremost public men in Australia, who was designated by public opinion as the legitimate first Minister of the Commonwealth. Mr. Barton succeeded, towards the last days of the year, in forming a Cabinet out of the leading Ministers in the various colonies. Mr. Barton himself assumed the offices of Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, the latter a new department in any Colonial Government. Sir William Lyne was made Minister for Home Affairs; Sir George Turner, representing Victoria, was appointed Treasurer; Mr. Kingston, from South Australia, undertook Trade and Customs; Mr. Dickson, of Queensland, became Minister of Defence; and Sir John Forrest, whose reluctance to enter the federal scheme had been overcome, was Postmaster-General. The new Ministry came into office under the most favourable auspices, being generally regarded as fairly representative of the various States, and individually as a very strong combination.

An extraordinary amount of patriotic feeling was aroused throughout Australasia by the war in South Africa, the varying

phases of which were followed in the colonies with an eager interest and sympathy which even surpassed the feeling at home, while the unanimity among all classes and parties was greater. All the colonies readily assented to the request for military assistance, and contributed their best manhood cheerfully in defence of the cause of the mother-country and the Empire. Several thousand volunteers were despatched to the Cape, some of the colonies sending their fifth and sixth contingents to the war before the close of the year. Making day was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings in every town and village throughout Australia and New Zealand, while the news of the relief of Ladysmith was received with tumultuous acclamation as a national victory.

The Premiers in conference at Sydney sent a joint despatch in March to the Secretary of State for the Colonies declaring that "no settlement in South Africa would be satisfactory which did not provide for the absolute supremacy of British rule."

With reference to another external matter which is likely to receive a great deal of attention from the Federal Government, the Premiers in conference resolved that opposition to French designs in the New Hebrides was "not diminishing," and expressed a hope that France will not be allowed to have greater control over the islands without the colonies being consulted.

An international free trade congress was inaugurated at Sydney on February 15, at which delegates from all the colonies were present. Resolutions were passed in favour of a federal tariff based on absolute free trade, and declaring that duties should be imposed only to provide for the wants of the Treasury, the ultimate object to be the abolition of all Customs duties except those on narcotics and intoxicants.

On the other side a conference, promoted by the Labour Party, was held at Melbourne, at which a draft tariff was drawn up (but not published) expressing the views of the Protectionist party. The object of the tariff was declared to be "to prevent undue importation and to conserve the revenue." It included a proposal for an excise duty on sugar of 3*l.* a ton, also an import duty of 9*l.* a ton on cane and 14*l.* a ton on beet sugar. Another protectionist conference was held at Sydney in March, at which it was proposed that new taxes should be put on some articles of import and others increased—avowedly not for the sake of revenue, but in the interests of certain favoured industries and manufactures.

An inter-colonial conference of representatives of the Labour party which met at Sydney in February showed serious differences on the subject of the tariff. An elaborate attempt to capture the conference on the part of the Protectionists was defeated. Protection did not appear in the Labour programme, to the disappointment of the delegates of the Victorian Trades

Hall. The conference decided by a majority to leave the question of the tariffs open.

Sydney was visited in March by a serious outbreak of bubonic plague, which extended to all the other colonies and to New Zealand. Several hundred cases occurred, many fatal, chiefly in the older and more densely populated districts of the metropolitan cities, leading to a crusade against the rats and a thorough clearing out of Sydney Harbour, which was recognised as the seed-bed of the pestilence.

The year was one of universal prosperity and healthy progress in all the colonies. In spite of local disturbances, of long droughts and bad seasons—in spite of the extraordinary demands upon the colonial exchequers in aid of the Imperial service—the total increase of revenue in the six colonies amounted to 2,000,000*l.* in the year. The close of the century left Australia flourishing, peaceful, and contented—to enter, under the happiest auspices, upon her new era of unity, and to take up her burden of empire.

New South Wales.—The political history of New South Wales was quickened and diverted from its usual narrow course during this year by the interest aroused in the cause of the British Empire in South Africa. Not for the first time in her annals, the premier Australian colony took the lead in showing her deep sympathy with the world policy of the mother-country. No such enthusiasm was evoked anywhere over the war in South Africa as in Sydney, and nowhere was a livelier spirit of patriotism aroused, to the confusion of those who had predicted that England's difficulty would be the signal for the falling away of the Australians. Besides sending a military contingent, in common with the other colonies, in response to the appeal of the Imperial Government, the colony took the lead in furnishing and equipping a special corps of 1,000 bushmen, suitably armed and mounted, a force peculiarly fitted for service in South Africa. The departure of the troops on January 17 was made the occasion of an extraordinary demonstration at Sydney. Some 300,000 people, it is reckoned, were present in the capital to witness their embarkation, the largest crowd perhaps ever gathered together in this hemisphere. The same enthusiasm was aroused on the return of the war-worn volunteers and invalids.

Besides three or four contingents to the Cape of Good Hope, the New South Wales Government despatched a naval contingent to Chinese waters in aid of the Powers, a measure in regard to which there was less unanimity in the colony, being only carried in the Legislative Council by the casting vote of the President.

The progress of the war, with the varying fortunes of the British troops under Lord Roberts and General Buller, was watched with eager interest by the people of the colony, the relief of Mafeking and of Ladysmith being celebrated with

great rejoicings. A fund was started in Sydney to provide for a present to General Baden Powell of an Australian charger and a sword of honour.

Mr. Edmund Barton, who had taken a foremost part in the movement for confederation, resigned his seat in the Assembly early in the year to assume his appointment as delegate to the Imperial Government during the discussion of the Federal Bill.

The session of Parliament was opened on June 19, the principal topics in the Governor's speech being the war and the colony's military contribution thereto. The measures of domestic policy comprehended an Old Age Pensions Bill on the New Zealand model, as the chief novelty.

Mr. Reid, the leader of the Opposition, moved a vote of censure in the form of an amendment to the address, which was withdrawn upon a demonstration of the overwhelming strength of the Ministry. The Opposition was found to muster only 30 votes against 67 Ministerialists. The Labour party, which held the balance of power, had transferred their support from Mr. Reid to Sir William Lyne.

The Treasurer made his Budget speech on October 9. Sir William Lyne was able to congratulate the colony on its exceeding prosperity, as shown in its finances. The estimate of revenue had been exceeded by more than 600,000*l.*, the total for the year ending June 30 being 10,223,391*l.*, the largest sum up to date ever collected in one year in any British Colony, and half a million in excess of the previous year. The new financial scheme included no additional taxation. The total exports of the year were 28,445,000*l.*; the imports 25,594,000*l.*

The most important measure introduced by the Government in fulfilment of its pledge to the Labour party, was the Old Age Pensions Bill, which was passed through the Assembly almost by acclamation, and through the Upper House with very little criticism. The scheme was based on that which has been introduced in New Zealand, though the Premier did not show much confidence either in the sufficiency of the pension or in the successful working of the measure as one of relief to the extreme poor. The cost was estimated at between 400,000*l.* and 500,000*l.* a year, an estimate which was believed to be too favourable to the public exchequer, the experiment being a new and somewhat hazardous one, going beyond the example of New Zealand, seeing that the relief to be given was 10*s.* a week, as against 7*s.* in the latter colony. Sir William Lyne expressed the hope that some of the money would be saved by a reduction of the general charity vote; but as the charity vote did not cover old age destitution, it is expected that the new charge will have to be met out of the 1,000,000*l.* which the colony is to have refunded from the Federal Treasury.

Another experiment drawn from the practice of New Zealand was Mr. Wise's bill for compelling employers to submit to arbitration, which was supported by the Government, and

carried by a large majority in the Assembly. Mr. Wise had not much more to say in recommendation of this measure than that in New Zealand it had "not done much harm." The Legislative Council, however, would have none of it, rejecting the bill, on the second reading, by 33 to 18.

The Upper House also rejected the Woman's Suffrage Bill, to which, however, the opposition was believed not to be permanent, seeing that public opinion was not moved against it, if not greatly in its favour.

The session of Parliament, the last under separate Government, was ended on December 5.

Lord Hopetoun, the new Governor-General, landed in Sydney on December 16, meeting with a cordial welcome. Lord Beauchamp, the out-going Governor, left the colony on November 1.

The action of the New Zealand Government in annexing certain islands in the Pacific, and its policy of endeavouring to extend its jurisdiction even to the Fijis, which lie nearer to New South Wales than to any part of New Zealand, was not favourably regarded by the former colony. Sir William Lyne telegraphed to the Imperial Government a protest against New Zealand being allowed to appropriate external islands, until reference had been made to the Australian Federal Government.

There was great excitement among the Protestants in Sydney over a passage in a sermon delivered by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Redwood before the Governor and other notabilities, in which gibes and slanders were uttered against the heroes of the Reformation, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and others, who were said to be "notorious for their vices." Protestantism, as represented by these leaders, was declared to have "desecrated the home, polluted the nuptial bed, lowered the dignity of womanhood, devastated the school, and stopped the progress of science." A great meeting to protest against this language, uttered before the heads of the community, was held at Sydney on September 4. On behalf of Archbishop Redwood it was pleaded that the words complained of, though they appeared in the printed sermon, had not been publicly uttered.

A series of brutal murders and outrages in the bush, committed by two half-caste aborigines in the district of Corowa, excited much horror and alarm. The victims numbered nine killed and four wounded, besides women outraged, five of the killed being of one family. After a long chase and a desperate resistance, one of the brothers, "Jimmy Governor," was captured and executed three months and a half after the occurrence of the tragedies; the other brother, "Jack Governor," being subsequently shot by the police.

Great alarm was caused by the outbreak of bubonic plague in Sydney, which claimed nearly two hundred victims before its subsidence.

A contingent of 1,000 Imperial troops, including all the

branches of the service, with men of the native Indian Army, guardsmen, Ghorkas, dragoons, Sikhs, etc., were landed in Sydney on December 22, to take part in the ceremonies of the inauguration of the Commonwealth. The Imperial soldiers were received with great cordiality, their presence on such an occasion being hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm.

Victoria.—Victoria was not behind the sister colony in the display of patriotic feeling evoked by the war in South Africa. Troops were furnished with alacrity in response to the Imperial demand. A second contingent of volunteers left Melbourne on January 15, amidst great enthusiasm, followed by a bushman contingent on March 10.

The Parliament passed a vote of thanks to Lord Roberts for his victories on March 1, before prorogation, the news of Cronje's surrender and the relief of Ladysmith exciting great enthusiasm.

The proceedings in London in connection with the Federal Bill attracted much attention, the great majority of the people being inclined to deprecate the stubborn attitude of the Australian delegates.

The Victorian branch of the Australasian National League, hearty Federationists, and representing a very influential section of the community, sent a despatch to Mr. Chamberlain (April 27) strongly supporting the retention of the right of appeal to the Privy Council.

A Federal Electoral Bill, providing for the division of the colony into electoral districts for the purposes of the Federal Parliament, occupied much of the attention of the Government. In the first draft of the bill twelve seats were allotted to the country and eight to the towns. Afterwards, in deference to the pressure from the Democratic and Labour parties, the Government took one from the country to be added to the town electorate.

Mr. Deakin, a prominent politician, was appointed to represent the colony in London on the Commonwealth Bill, an appointment regarded by the opponents of Mr. Maclean as a case of "successful nobbling."

The course of political events showed that while the Ministry had declined in popularity there was very little difference between them and their opponents, represented in Parliament by Sir George Turner. Mr. Maclean, the Premier, had once been a member of Sir George Turner's Ministry. He had turned out his former chief by the help of the Labour party. The Labour party had since ranged itself on the side of Sir George Turner, who had promised a "convention" to remodel the Constitution and other measures agreeable to the Democratic party as represented by the Trades Hall. During the greater part of the year it was understood that Mr. Lyne only survived as the head of the Government until Sir George Turner had completed his plans for turning him out. The opportunity for doing so did not occur till towards the close of the year.

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Great alarm was caused by the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic in Sydney, which claimed nearly two thousand of its subsidence.

A contingent of 1,000 Imperial

The Parliament opened early in January, the first business being to vote the despatch of the second Victorian contingent to the Cape, which was carried with one dissident.

Lord Brassey, the Governor, left Melbourne on January 15, with a reputation for having "made no mistakes," nor having had trouble with anybody. Sir John Madden assumed office as Lieutenant-Governor.

A want of confidence motion was made on February 9 by Mr. Higgins, which proved a fiasco. Mr. Higgins was an anti-federalist and a pro-Boer, who commanded no following, though his avowed object was the "making of the Liberal Party."

Great public dissatisfaction was caused by the action of the Government in regard to the despatch of the contingents. Mr. Melville, the War Minister, was blamed for officious meddling with the volunteers, one or two of whom were arbitrarily prevented from leaving the colony because of domestic reasons, said to have prevailed with the Minister on political grounds.

The Treasurer's financial statement disclosed a satisfactory state of affairs. The revenue for the year ending June 30 was 7,450,676*l.*, being an increase of 67,000*l.* on the previous year. There was a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 152,000*l.*, in spite of the extraordinary charges on account of the military contingents. The principal increase was due to the railways, the deficit on the working of which was reduced from 493,949*l.* to 264,396*l.* in six years.

The Woman's Suffrage Bill passed the Assembly on August 21 by 52 votes to 24, to be thrown out, as several times before, by the Legislative Council. A strong counter movement was started, a petition against the bill being signed by over 15,000 women.

Mr. G. H. Reid, of New South Wales, made a great speech in favour of free trade as the fiscal policy in the coming federation on September 6. He contrasted the position of Victoria with that of New South Wales under the two systems. The population of Victoria under free trade had grown by 83 per cent. since 1866, while that of New South Wales had increased 216 per cent. in the same period under free trade.

The Parliament was opened on June 27, the short session closing on October 17. The principal measures introduced by the Ministry were Woman's Suffrage (once more), Voting by Post (which was a novelty), Old Age Pensions, and Compulsory Arbitration in Trade Disputes—all measures on the principles of which there was no great difference of opinion between the two parties in Parliament.

The Treasurer introduced his Budget on August 14 with a satisfactory statement.

The Legislative Council rejected the Assembly's proposal to make Woman's Suffrage the subject of a *referendum* by 29 votes to 13.

A scheme for a popular convention to frame amendments in

the Constitution of the two Houses was put forth by Sir George Turner. The idea was to construct a new Parliament in accordance with the federation. Two members were to be chosen by each federal electorate, the whole number to decide upon the Constitution of the two Houses; their scheme to be submitted to a *referendum*. The scheme, obviously devised to make both Houses submit to be regulated by the constituency of the Lower House, did not meet with much favour outside of the Trades Hall, and was not persevered in by its authors after the general election.

The elections for the Assembly were held in the beginning of November, and resulted in the defeat of the Ministerialists. The numbers were 45 to 48. The new Parliament was opened on November 13, when Sir George Turner moved a resolution of want of confidence in the Government, in the shape of an amendment to the address, which was carried by 51 votes against 42.

The Maclean Ministry resigned office on November 15. Sir George Turner formed a new Cabinet two days after, with himself as Premier, Treasurer and Commissioner of Customs; Mr. Isaacs, Attorney-General; Mr. Peacock, Chief Secretary and Minister of Labour; Mr. Trenwith, Minister of Public Works and Railways; Mr. Morissey, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Duggan, Minister of Lands; Mr. Barton, Mines and Water Supply; and Mr. Gurr, Postmaster and Minister of Public Instruction.

The Parliament was adjourned on December 22.

Sir George Turner's action in throwing himself into the arms of the Trades Hall, and submitting his policy to their dictation, led to the formation of a strong "country party" composed of agriculturists and pastoralists who claimed to represent the interests of the productive industries of the colony as against the party of labour. There remained at the close of the political year nothing else to divide the Ministerialists from the Opposition.

The return of Colonel Price, the Commandant of the Victorian contingent at the seat of war was made the occasion of a great patriotic demonstration.

A new goldfield was discovered at Mount William, in the district of Ararat, which attracted a rush of diggers. It was described as a "poor man's field," the gold deposits being on the surface.

South Australia. — South Australia took her part in the patriotic ferment aroused by the war, sending her quota of volunteers to South Africa. A mayor of a country town having exhibited symptoms of pro-Boer feeling, the local councillors refused to sit with him, causing a deadlock in the municipality.

Mr. Holder's scheme of a convention for considering some drastic reforms in the oft-amended Constitution, after being carried through the Assembly under the pressure of the Govern-

Assisted immigration, which had been for some time discontinued, was resumed in this year, Parliament voting 5,000*l.* in aid of the introduction of agricultural labourers and servants.

A party of Finns arrived in the colony with the intention of forming an agricultural settlement. They were made welcome and received every encouragement.

The total yield of gold in the year was announced to be 1,000,000 ounces, the largest on record.

Western Australia.—There was a good deal of popular discontent with the policy of the Government in standing aloof from the other colonies in the matter of federation. Sir John Forrest's separatist ideas were certainly not in unison with those of the large majority, and his delay in submitting the question to a popular vote, as in the other colonies, was the subject of much angry comment. In the goldfields, where the population was strongly in favour of federation, the discontent took the form of a movement for separation. A conference was held on February 7, with the Mayor of Coolgardie in the chair, at which a petition was read, signed by 15,000 persons, in favour of separation, and resolutions to that end were passed amidst great enthusiasm. The inequality in the franchise was the chief matter of complaint. The people at the goldfields numbered two-fifths of the colonial population, yet had only one-fifth of the representation. It was decided to send Mr. G. H. Parker to England as a delegate to represent the gold districts, but without a mandate. The grievances of the miners were compared to those which had been suffered by the Outlanders in the Transvaal.

Sir John Forrest, the Premier, having failed in his attempts to persuade the representatives of the other colonies to accede to his plan of keeping Western Australia outside of the federal scheme for a period of five years, was induced at last to come into it. He made a speech in July, asking the people to consent to the federal union. The colony, he said, could not afford to stand out. "There would be a loss of Customs revenue, but there was too much revenue now." The voting for federation took place on July 31, when the number of Ayes was 44,616 and of Noes 19,651. The question was thus settled at last to the general satisfaction.

The Budget speech was delivered on October 10. The Treasurer was able to congratulate the colony on the soundness of the finances. The year's revenue up to June 30 amounted to 2,875,395*l.*, being 80,000*l.* in excess of the estimate.

The port of Fremantle, at the entrance of the Swan River, was, from August in this year, made the port of call for the mail steamers in place of Albany—more to the satisfaction of Western Australia than of the other colonies.

Sir Gerard Smith resigned the Governorship from July 1.

Tasmania.—Tasmania contributed to the war fully up to her
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small means. A second contingent of volunteers was despatched to the Cape on January 15 amidst much enthusiasm.

A general election was held on March 9, ending in the return of 21 Ministerialists, 12 of the Opposition, and 4 Independents, making no change in the political condition. Hare's principle of election was adopted at Hobart and at Launceston, apparently without any results such as recommended the novelty to the favour of the electors. Captain Miles, who had been compelled to resign his place in the Cabinet in consequence of charges affecting his personal character in connection with contracts, succeeded in winning a seat for Hobart. Sir Edward Braddon, the Prime Minister, was also successful at the polls.

The revenue for the year ending June 30 was 1,040,107*l.*, showing a small increase.

A great increase was announced in the apple trade, the consignments of the fruit to England being largely in excess of previous years.

Lord Gormanston, the Governor, took his departure from the colony in December.

New Zealand.—The colony farthest from the seat of war was perhaps the most enthusiastic of all in her sympathies for the Imperial cause, and the most conspicuous for her liberality in contributing to the aid of the mother-country. The second contingent was sent off from Wellington on January 20, and was followed by third and fourth contingents in a few weeks, the latter sailing from Dunedin. Two of these contingents, it should be said, were raised entirely by private effort, their enrolling and equipment being the work of patriotic individual settlers, without any aid from the Government. It was noted that among the most conspicuous for their enthusiasm on these occasions were the Irish.

While the Premier and his colleagues were distinguished for their patriotic zeal in furtherance of Imperial interests, there was some indignation among the loyal citizens at the pronounced anti-British leanings of the representative of the colony in England. His telegrams from London were devoted to the exaltation of the Boers, the praise of their valour and virtue, and the disparagement of the British officers and soldiers.

Some changes were made in the Seddon Ministry consequent on retirements and resignations. Mr. J. G. Ward, who had given up the Treasurership some time ago in consequence of financial troubles, re-entered the Cabinet as Minister of Industry and Railways. Mr. M'Kenzie, Minister of Lands, reckoned the strongest member of the Government, resigned office on account of ill-health on June 26.

Some bye-elections gave results generally unfavourable to the Government. At Rangitikei the candidate of the Opposition was successful. The seat vacated by Mr. M'Kenzie was won by Mr. S. Y. Duncan, an Independent.

A Ministerial banquet took place at Invercargill in February

to celebrate the return of Mr. Ward to the Cabinet. The ex-Treasurer was rumoured to be "the victim of a knavish conspiracy." The Prime Minister declared that he would say boldly that "the whole of this persecution (of Mr. Ward) arose from the desire of a certain section to pull down Mr. Ward so as to cripple the Liberal party and bring down the Liberal Ministry."

The independent public opinion was inclined to believe that Mr. Ward owed his political resuscitation rather to the rise in the prices of produce than to any other more sentimental cause. Mr. Ward being a Roman Catholic, his presence in the Cabinet was believed to be essential in maintaining the fidelity of the Irish and Roman Catholic supporters of the Government.

At Christchurch there was a banquet in the rival interest to the retiring statesman, Mr. Rolleston, who, after forty years of an honourable career in New Zealand, was returning to England. Mr. Rolleston was defeated at the last election by one vote.

The Parliament was opened on June 22. The Treasurer was enabled to announce a highly satisfactory state of the public finances. The revenue was increasing, and there was a large surplus, in spite of the extraordinary demands on the Exchequer in the shape of the military contingents. Trade was flourishing, and there was a steady increase in all the branches of national industry representing agricultural and pastoral produce.

Mr. Ward introduced a bill, on behalf of the Government, for restricting Chambers of Commerce. Chambers of Commerce had been found by the Government to be inconveniently large—for political purposes. Therefore it was proposed that they might be started in any district with a minimum of fifteen members—the members to belong strictly to the district. The bill was carried in the Assembly, but thrown out in the Council by a majority of one.

The principal other measures of the year were Ministerial bills for the increase of Ministers' salaries, which met with a good deal of criticism and opposition on the Government benches.

The relations of New Zealand to the neighbouring islands were the subject of much discussion. Although indifferent to the larger scheme of Australian confederation, from which indeed she is geographically excluded, New Zealand has always had an eye to the increase of her domain in the South Seas, claiming the political supremacy in Southern Polynesia. To this end the House of Representatives passed a resolution on September 28 in favour of extending the boundaries of the colony so as to include the Cook and Hervey groups and certain outlying islets and rocks east of Tonga. Mr. Seddon made a speech in which he declared that in the years to come New Zealand would be "a strong self-contained nation with colonies of her own." The resolution was carried by 37 votes

to 4 amidst much patriotic enthusiasm, the members cheering and singing the National Anthem.

A bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to enable women to sit in Parliament and to fill all public offices, which was lost by a narrow majority—25 voting for it and 30 against.

The Supreme Court gave an important decision tending to fix the character of the law as to compulsory arbitration. The Arbitration Court, it was decided, had power to order that employers should give a preference to unionists over non-unionists in all cases of dispute.

The Maories were greatly disappointed at the decision of the Imperial Government not to accept aboriginal volunteers for the war in South Africa. They were prepared to furnish a special Maori contingent of 500.

The Ngatipouri tribe sent a *mere*, or ancient ornament of green stone, the badge of chieftainship, to Earl Roberts, with their congratulations on his victories and condolence on the death of his son.

Fiji.—The federation of the Australian States moved our outlying colony of Fiji to consider her own position in the Pacific system. The natural tendency of the Fijians would be to unite with Australia, with which continent they are connected geographically as well as by trade interests and political sympathies. New Zealand, however, is a claimant for the *suzeraineté* of Fiji, on the ground of her predominance in the Southern Pacific and her political ambitions in the future.

Polynesia.—The German flag was hoisted at Apia on March 1, in the presence of a large number of the islanders, who witnessed the ceremony respectfully, though without enthusiasm. The rival chiefs, Mataafa and Tamasese, were present, and shook hands publicly amidst the applause of their partisans.

Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Premier, visited the islands on a cruise in search of health. At Raratonga he received a cordial welcome, and was a witness to a loyal demonstration by the natives in honour of the victories of the British in South Africa. Having sent word to the Queen of Raratonga of the relief of Mafeking, she wrote back that "the success of the British arms meant the success of the islanders."

The Raratongans were found to be much exercised over the question of the right Sunday. They had been keeping the wrong Sunday for years, owing to the mistake of the early missionaries in not taking account of the 180th degree of longitude. The Progressives were clamouring for a change, so as to bring the Raratongan Sunday on a line with the Sunday of Christendom, but on the part of the multitude there was great opposition to the movement, leading to scenes of turbulence and much confusion of days.

There was an outbreak of bubonic plague at Noumea, in New Caledonia.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1900.

JANUARY.

1. The Queen sent New Year's greetings to the various commands in South Africa, expressing her deep interest in her soldiers of all ranks.

2. At Paris the trial of the leaders of the conspiracy against the Republic before the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, was concluded. The three principal accused—M. Buffet (Orleanist), M. Déroulède (Nationalist), and M. Guérin (Anti-Semite)—were found guilty, and condemned to banishment or imprisonment.

3. The new Royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*, on leaving Pembroke dockyard, heeled over while being floated, and became jammed at the dock entrance.

4. The Frankfurt-Strasburg express train ran into a goods train laden with spirits at Bischweiler Station. A waggon at once caught fire and spread to the mail van of the express. Three postal officials were killed, and the engine-drivers, guards and several passengers sustained injuries.

— At Lagos the flag of the Royal Niger Company formally lowered and the Union Jack hoisted.

— A terrible earthquake reported from Tiflis as having been felt throughout the Caucasus. Ten villages, together with the town of Akhalkalaki, suffered most severely, as well as Batoum and the district of Bogdanoff. Upwards of 1,000 persons lost their lives, and much cattle and other property were destroyed.

5. The Great Western Railway mail steamer *Ibez*, from Weymouth, went ashore on the Black Rock, Guernsey, and sank in twenty minutes. All the passengers and crew were saved except one sailor.

6. Ladysmith attacked with great vigour by the Boers, but after eleven hours' fighting Sir George White effectually defeated the assailants, who suffered serious losses.

6. The "Gorsedd" sword, the mystic weapon of the Welsh bards, solemnly unsheathed for the first time for centuries in a remote spot in Merionethshire, near Llyn Cowlyd. The chief bard invoked the blessing of God on British arms in South Africa, and announced that the Gorsedd sword would not be sheathed again till the triumph of the forces of righteousness over the hordes of evil. The day chosen for this ceremony was Old Christmas Day.

9. The house of Mr. Pulitzer, proprietor of the *New York World*, totally destroyed by fire. The housekeeper and governess lost their lives, and a valuable collection of tapestries was destroyed.

10. The first through train from Cairo to Khartoum reached its destination.

— Field-Marshal Lord Roberts and his staff arrived at Cape Town. General Buller commenced his advance by the seizure of Springfield Bridge and the occupation of Zwart's Kop by Lord Dundonald.

11. The Bank of England reduced its rate from 6 to 5 per cent., the total reserve standing at 21,831,856*l.*, or 39½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 33,357,711*l.*

— In consequence of the absence of winter rains, the famine area throughout India was greatly extended, and upwards of three millions of natives were in receipt of relief, the Central Provinces and Bombay being the chief sufferers.

12. M. Zola presented with a gold medal weighing 4 lb. as a testimonial of his services to the cause of truth and justice in the Dreyfus case.

— Lord Strathcona offered the Secretary of State for War to provide, equip and transport from Canada to South Africa at his own expense a force of 400 officers and men.

— The freedom of the city conferred upon the officers and men of the City of London Imperial Volunteers, who in the evening attended an impressive service at St. Paul's, and were subsequently entertained at supper by the Benchers of the Inner Temple.

13. Before daylight they marched to Nine Elms Station through dense and enthusiastic crowds, and started for Southampton, where their embarkation was witnessed by the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and the Corporation of the City.

15. Sir Stafford Northcote, the new Governor of Bombay, raised to the peerage as Lord Northcote.

16. The United States Senate ratified the new Samoan treaty.

17. The German mail steamer *Bundesrath*, which had been seized by a British cruiser outside Delagoa Bay, released, nothing contraband having been found on board, and full compensation ordered to be paid to the owners.

— In the Lisbon Chamber of Deputies the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that the Portuguese Government would neither sell, cede nor lease any portion of its colonial possessions.

18. The Bank of England reduced the official rate of discount from 5 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the reserve standing at 23,113,423*l.*, or $42\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the liabilities, and the coin and bullion at 34,536,253*l.*

19. Osman Digna, the fugitive Mahdist leader, captured near Tokar by a party sent from Suakim.

— The Archbishop of Canterbury received at Lambeth Palace a deputation of the High Church party bringing a memorial, signed by 13,794 communicants of the Church of England, protesting against the opinion on incense and processional lights given by the two archbishops.

20. Cardinal Vaughan issued to the clergy of his diocese a circular inhibiting Dr. St. George Mivart for articles contributed by him to certain reviews, and for failing to sign a confession of faith thrice tendered to him.

— The second detachment of the City Imperial Volunteers, 800 strong, having received many farewell demonstrations, started from Nine Elms for Southampton, where they embarked.

22. The Vaudeville Theatre, Newcastle-on-Tyne, together with the adjoining Central Exchange Art Gallery buildings, valued together at upwards of 70,000*l.*, totally destroyed by fire.

23. After three days' incessant fighting, during which the Boers were ultimately driven back about three miles to their principal line of defence behind the Tugela, Sir Redvers Buller delivered a night attack upon Spion Kop, an important position, but after twenty-four hours it had to be abandoned.

— The Town Militia Arsenal, Jersey, with its guns, ammunition, etc., totally destroyed by fire in less than two hours.

24. The French and Italian Governments arrived at an arrangement delimiting their respective rights in the Red Sea littoral.

— The Emperor of China, Kwang Su, signed an edict appointing as emperor in his own place Put-sing, son of Prince Tuan, aged nine years.

25. Mr. Ruskin quietly buried in Coniston Churchyard, in accordance with his wishes; an offer of a grave in Westminster Abbey having been made to and declined by his family.

— The text of the new German Navy Bill issued, proposing to make during the ensuing twenty years an addition of 19 battleships, 8 large and 15 small cruisers to the Navy. The total cost of ships, dock and harbour works was estimated at 1,861,000,000 marks, and the addition to the annual expenditure at 5,400,000 marks.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 23,921,625*l.*, or 45 per cent. of the liabilities, and the coin and bullion at 35,240,790*l.*

27. The bubonic plague declared to be existing at Rosario in the Argentina, and the town ordered to be isolated by a strong cordon.

— The Mayor of Mafeking, on behalf of the troops and inhabitants, sent a message of devotion to the Queen on the hundredth day of its successful defence.

29. The Committee on National Defences laid before the French Cabinet a vast scheme for greatly increasing the navy and improving the coast and colonial defences, providing cables between France and her colonies, etc., at a cost of 40,000,000*l.*, to be spread over seven years, and covered by the ordinary resources of the revenue.

30. The seventh session of the fourteenth Parliament of the Queen's reign opened by Royal Commission.

— At a general assembly of the Academicians and Associates of the Royal Academy, Mr. H. S. Tuke, painter, Mr. J. Belcher, architect, and Mr. Alfred Drury, sculptor, were elected Associates.

31. The French Government decided to suspend the stipends of the Archbishop of Aix and of half a dozen bishops for having addressed letters of sympathy to the Assumptionist Fathers.

FEBRUARY.

1. The steamship *Remus*, from Philadelphia to Aarhus, laden with wheat, and with a crew of twenty-seven men, having been caught by a severe gale in the North Sea, foundered on the rocks on the Danish coast, and thirteen of the crew were drowned, and the captain in a fit of delirium shot himself.

— After ten days' continuous fighting, the forts erected by Mat Salleh, the rebel leader in British North Borneo, stormed by a party of British and Dyaks under Captain Harington. Mat Salleh was killed and his troops taken prisoners, only one European officer being wounded.

2. The new wing of the Engineering Laboratory at Cambridge, erected in memory of Dr. John Hopkinson by his widow, opened by the Vice-Chancellor, and an address delivered by Lord Kelvin, F.R.S.

3. Dumbell's Banking Company, at Douglas, Isle of Man, suspended payment, causing a run upon the other local banks.

4. St. Saviour's Church, Upper Huskisson Street, Liverpool, totally destroyed by fire shortly before morning service, and caused by over-heating of the flues.

5. A convention abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, so far as related to the construction of a canal across the Central American Isthmus, signed at Washington by the British Ambassador, Lord Pauncefote, and Mr. Secretary Hay.

6. In the House of Commons the vote of want of confidence, moved by Lord E. Fitzmaurice, rejected after a week's debate by 352 to 139 votes—the Irish Nationalists abstaining.

— The election for the City of York, consequent on the retirement of Admiral Lord C. Beresford, resulted in the return of Mr. Faber (C.) by 6,248 votes against 4,818 polled by Hon. A. Murray, Master of Eli-bank (L.).

8. A sum of 19,400*l.* in bank-notes found in the pass-book of a customer at the head office of Parr's Bank. The notes formed the remainder of a sum of 60,610*l.* which had been mysteriously lost in January, 1899.

Of this sum 40,000*l.* had been returned anonymously a few days after the loss. Several 100*l.* notes had been recovered, and only 205*l.* now remained unaccounted for.

9. An extraordinary coal famine, consequent chiefly upon the great development of industry, felt all over Europe. In Russia the duty on imported coal for railways was suspended for seven months. In London household coal rose to 40*s.* per ton.

10. The five days' polling for the representation of the London University, consequent on the elevation of Sir John Lubbock (L.U.) to the peerage, resulted in the return of Sir Michael Foster (C.) by 1,271 votes against Dr. W. J. Collings (L.) 863, and Mr. E. H. Busk (L.U.).

11. Septuagesima Sunday observed in many dioceses as a Day of Intercession.

12. Serious inundations caused along the course of the Douro by the sudden melting of the snow in the mountains, and much damage done to the shipping at Oporto.

— In the Probate Court, the president, Sir Francis Jeune, pronounced in favour of the distribution of property by a paralysed lady, who had indicated by means of cards, on which were described the property she desired to bequeath to various persons whose names were written on separate cards.

13. The election for North-East Lancashire (Rossendale Division), consequent on the resignation of Mr. Madden (L.), resulted in the return of Mr. Mather (L.) by 5,936 votes against 4,564 polled by Mr. Kingsbury (U.).

— A band of several hundred Chinese of the Was tribe attacked the members of the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission, between the Irawadi and the Salween rivers, but were beaten off with considerable loss.

— Lord Roberts crossed the Modder river, having secured the drifts, invaded the Free State and captured five Boer laagers.

14. In the Belgian Chamber of Representatives the debate on the renewal of the charter of the *Banque Nationale* led to serious disturbances between the Socialists and members of the Right, who came to blows, whereupon the sitting was suspended.

— General Sir Redvers Buller, after a fourth attack on the Boer positions on the Tugela, obtained possession of Hussar Hill, where he established himself firmly.

15. The congregation of the Cambridge University decided by 161 *non placet* to 139 *placet* that the proposal of the Mathematical Board to abolish the distinction of Senior Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos should not be adopted.

— General French with about 2,000 cavalry and mounted infantry reached Kimberley by way of Alexandersfontein, the Boers hurriedly raising the siege, which had lasted since October 15, leaving their stores and ammunition, but carrying off their guns.

16. Lord Roberts crossed the river Modder with upwards of 50,000 men on the 12th, and occupied Jacobsdal on the 14th. Commandant Cronje abandoned without awaiting attack his strong line of fortifications at Magersfontein and Spynfontein, falling back towards Bloemfontein.

— At Washington, Mr. Hay, Lord Pauncefoot and Dr. von Holleben exchanged the ratifications of the Samoa Treaty.

— The election for the Newark division of Notts, consequent on the succession of Viscount Newark (C.) to his father's peerage, resulted in the return of Sir Charles Welby (C.) by 5,162 votes against 2,871 polled by Mr. H. F. Stanger, Q.C. (L.).

17. The French Government appealed to the Pope to bring to terms the Archbishop of Aix and Bishop Valence, who had openly protested against the finding of the court against the Assumptionist Fathers.

18. Sir Redvers Buller, after three days' continuous fighting on the slopes of Monte Cristo, drove the Boers across the Tugela, leaving their camps, stores and ammunition in his hands.

20. The Queen, in view of the absence of so many troops abroad, appealed to her old soldiers to raise an efficient force for home service to be known as the "Royal Reserve Battalions."

— In the House of Commons a motion to reopen the inquiry into the origin and circumstances of the Jameson Raid, after a sharp debate rejected by 286 to 152 votes.

21. In the German Reichstag the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, speaking on a motion to repeal the dictatorship paragraph of the Alsace-Lorraine constitution, declared that the Government could not consent to such a proposal, as Alsace-Lorraine had been acquired by force of arms, not by a popular vote.

22. The elected members of the Legislative Council of Jamaica, with one exception, quitted Kingston, leaving the Government members to carry through the business of the session.

— In the German Reichstag, in the course of the debate on the Army Estimates, the Minister for War defended the practice of duelling in the army, which he declared "had been introduced into Germany to prevent immediate manslaughter" in case of insult. The Courts of Honour, introduced by the Emperor, had greatly reduced the number of duels.

23. In the House of Commons the attempt to censure the Government for sanctioning the erection of the statue to Oliver Cromwell within the precincts of Parliament negatived by 221 to 53 votes.

— The Grand Opera House and Masonic Building at London, Canada, totally destroyed by fire.

24. The Duke of Orleans, while staying in England, having written a letter of congratulation to M. Willette, a caricaturist, who had published insulting pictures of the Queen and the English, invited to leave this country for Portugal, and subsequently his name was removed from the London clubs to which he had been elected.

26. The Grand Theatre, Islington, almost completely burnt out by a fire which broke out on the stage at an early hour of the morning.

27. General Cronje surrendered with 4,000 men and arms unconditionally to Lord Roberts on the nineteenth anniversary of the British defeat at Majuba Hill.

28. Sir Redvers Buller, after twelve days' almost incessant fighting, finally drove the Boers from their positions, and Lord Dundonald with about 500 mounted troops entered Ladysmith, which on the 119th day of its siege was finally relieved, the route from Colenso having been cleared.

— In the German Reichstag the third reading of the motion to repeal the dictatorship paragraph in Alsace-Lorraine carried against the Government opposition by a large majority.

MARCH.

1. The news of the relief of Ladysmith and the capture of Cronje's army excited the most extraordinary enthusiasm in London and throughout the country. Congratulations were sent to the Queen by the sovereigns of Germany, Austria, Italy and Turkey.

— The German flag formally hoisted at Samoa, and a public reconciliation between the two chiefs Mataafa and Tamasese took place.

2. The Queen despatched congratulatory telegrams to Lord Roberts, Sir George White, and Sir Redvers Buller and the forces under their respective commands, and received the like from all the British colonies whose troops were engaged in the war.

— Leo XIII. received the cardinals, bishops and prelates on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday and the twenty-second anniversary of his election as Pope.

3. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Shoreditch to open the buildings completing the Boundary Street scheme of the London County Council for housing the poor.

— The works of the Strand and Charing Cross Electric Supply Co., in Maiden Lane, Strand, almost completely destroyed by fire.

5. One death from bubonic plague at Cape Town, on board a transport from South America, four at Sydney, and several at Melbourne and also at Mauritius officially notified.

6. The Paris Court of Appeal confirmed the judgment fining the Assumptionist Fathers and dissolving the community.

— A Roman amphitheatre in fair preservation discovered by excavation at St. André-sur-Cailly (Seine Inférieure), and presented to the commune for performances.

— The House of Keys (Isle of Man) passed a bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Later in the day both branches of the Legislature met to assimilate the tea, tobacco and spirit duties to those accepted by the British Parliament.

7. The Queen gave orders that in future upon St. Patrick's Day all ranks in the Army should wear a sprig of shamrock to commemorate the gallantry of her Irish soldiers in South Africa.

— Rev. F. J. Chavasse, Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, appointed Bishop of Liverpool in succession to Dr. Ryle.

8. The Queen visited London from Windsor and drove along the Embankment to the City, where she was received by the Lord Mayor and Corporation. She was most warmly greeted by enormous crowds.

— The Théâtre Français, erected in 1803 in the Palais Royal, Paris, destroyed by fire just before a *matinée* performance. One actress lost her life and several firemen were injured. Several valuable contents of the theatre were burnt, but the most important historic treasures were saved.

— At the sale of the late Duke of Westminster's racing stud, Flying Fox, 4 yrs., winner of the Derby, St. Leger, and other important races, sold to M. Blanc for 37,500 guineas.

9. The Queen again drove through the streets of London and was greeted with great enthusiasm. In the evening a great demonstration took place before Buckingham Palace, the Queen coming to the window to acknowledge the welcome.

— In the German Reichstag a bill virtually prohibiting the importation of foreign meat, loudly demanded by the Agrarians but opposed by the Government, read a second time by 168 to 99 votes.

12. Serious rioting took place at Scarborough, and much damage done to the shops, etc., of certain persons who had convened a private meeting to discuss South African affairs. The police being powerless to restore order, the military were called out and the Riot Act read, upon which the mob dispersed.

— Mr. Kensit, the Protestant champion, accompanied by eight "Wycliffe preachers," took from the church at Womersley four "graven images" and two crucifixes with a view of showing them to the Archbishop. After a march of six miles they were met by the police, who took possession of the church property. Two days later at Wakefield the Wycliffe preachers were severely hustled by a large and hostile mob, and forced to fly amid a shower of missiles.

13. Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein without opposition from the Boers, and was cordially received by the inhabitants. He was met two miles outside the town by the officials, who handed to him the keys of the State offices.

— In the Dominion House of Commons the Canadian Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, made a remarkable and eloquent speech on the relation of Canada to the empire, and the despatch of a Canadian contingent to South Africa was approved by 119 to 10 votes.

14. In the House of Commons a bill extending the Welsh Sunday Closing Act to Monmouthshire was read a second time by 188 to 124 votes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Home Secretary.

15. The "khaki loan," or 2½ per cent. war loan of 30,000,000*l.* issued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at 98½, repayable in ten years at par, being covered more than eleven times over in Great Britain alone—335,500,000*l.* having been tendered by 39,800 subscribers.

— In reply to a notification that the Presidents of the South African Republics had requested the President of the United States to intervene, Lord Salisbury replied that the British Government did not propose to accept the intervention of any Power in South Africa.

17. In recognition of the valour of the Irish regiments, and in view of the Queen's directions that shamrocks should be worn by the soldiers, St. Patrick's Day was celebrated with more than customary warmth throughout England.

19. The German Emperor received in State the members of the Berlin Academy of Science on the occasion of the celebration of the bi-centenary of its foundation.

— Sir Forrest Fulton, Common Serjeant, elected Recorder of London in succession to Sir Charles Hall, deceased, Mr. Bosanquet, Q.C., being subsequently chosen as Common Serjeant.

— The Rouen Museum broken into and several glass cases rifled of their contents, including a Merovingian gold ring of great value and a Gallic gold necklace.

20. A French detachment, under Lieutenant d'Eu, attacked a strong force of Kessurians at Insala, in Southern Algeria, and defeated them with great loss.

22. The Queen, accompanied by Princess Christian, left Windsor for Woolwich, and spent more than an hour at the Herbert Hospital, where upwards of 700 wounded from South Africa were under treatment.

— The Austrian Crown Princess Stéphanie, widow of the Crown Prince Rudolph, married to Count Elemer Lonyay at Miramar, near Trieste.

23. M. Houssaye, at the meeting of the French Military History Society, announced that in conjunction with two friends he had purchased a site at Belle Alliance in the field of Waterloo, to erect a monument in memory of Napoleon's Old Guard.

24. The international chess match, conducted by cable, between representatives of Great Britain and the United States for the Newnes trophy, won by the Americans by six games to four.

27. The National Liberal Federation held its twenty-third annual congress at Nottingham, Dr. Spence Watson presiding. In consequence of the absence of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, the general assembly was addressed by Sir Edward Grey, M.P.

— The Queen received at Windsor the delegates from Australia charged with watching the progress of the Federation Bill through the Imperial Parliament.

28. The author of an article in the *Birmingham Argus* reflecting scurrilously upon the action of Mr. Justice Grantham, the Judge of Assize, convicted of "contempt of court," and fined 100*l.* and 25*l.* costs.

28. A serious railway accident occurred on the underground section of the North British Railway in the suburbs of Glasgow. A workman's train was run into by another train, smashing the rear carriages. Five workmen were killed and about thirty others injured.

29. The Duke of Norfolk having accepted active service with the troops in South Africa, resigned his office as Postmaster-General and left England on the following day.

— The Delagoa Bay arbitration tribunal, which had sat since 1889, made its award at Berne, by which Portugal was ordered to pay to Great Britain and the United States 15,314,000 francs, and 5 per cent. interest thereon since 1889, in all about 950,000*l*.

30. The Inter-University Athletic Sports at Queen's Club, Kensington, resulted in Oxford winning the 100 yards, the quarter mile, the high and long jumps, the hammer and putting the weight; Cambridge the half mile, the mile, the three miles and the hurdles.

— The Liverpool Grand National Steeplechase won by the Prince of Wales' Ambush II., 6 yrs., 11st. 3 lb. (A. Anthony). Sixteen ran.

31. The University Boat Race over the usual course won by Cambridge, who lead all the way, defeating Oxford by twenty lengths. Time 18 min. 47 sec. The Oxford crew had met with several mishaps during training.

— Two batteries of Horse Artillery and four squadrons of the 10th Hussars and Household troops with a convoy fell into an ambush at Koornspruit near Bloemfontein, and seven guns, many stores and 250 prisoners were captured.

APRIL.

2. The Marquess of Londonderry, K.G., appointed Postmaster-General.

— The "Southern Cross" expedition, under M. Borchgrevink, arrived off Bluff, New Zealand, having determined the true magnetic position of the South Pole. The sledging party reached the furthest southward point ever attained, 78° 50'.

3. The Queen, who had left Windsor on the previous evening after dinner, reached Holyhead, where she embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert* yacht, and arrived at Kingstown some hours before she was expected.

— In the Second Chamber of the States-General, the Convention of the Hague Peace Congress adopted by 65 to 20 votes.

4. The Queen, after passing the night on board her yacht, landed at Kingstown, and drove to Dublin Station, and was enthusiastically received by all classes and by the Dublin authorities with full honours. The city was gaily decorated and illuminated at night.

— The Prince of Wales twice fired at by an anarchist named Sipido, aged 16, who jumped on to the train-board as it was leaving the Nord Station, Brussels, for Cologne, and fired through the carriage window. No one was hurt, and the youth was immediately arrested.

5. The Queen, in order to commemorate the services of the Irish troops in South Africa, commanded the formation of a regiment of Irish Foot Guards, to be called the Irish Guards.

— Colonel Bertrand occupied Igli, in the Sahara, making the French masters of Twat, and severing it from the south regions of Morocco.

6. Serious disturbances occurred in Ashanti, arising out of an attempt to seize "the golden stool." The natives of the various tribes grew angry, cut the telegraph wires between Coomassie and the coast, thereby isolating the governor, Sir F. Hodgson.

7. The Queen drove to meet upwards of 52,000 children assembled from all parts of Ireland in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, receiving a most hearty reception.

10. The Supreme Court of Justice, at Leipzig, quashed the sentence of acquittal pronounced by the Berlin Provincial in the case of the members of the "Innocents' Club," charged with professional gambling.

— A boat from the British torpedo-boat-destroyer *Desperate*, with a crew of twelve men, overturned while pulling ashore at Brighton, and seven bluejackets drowned; and at the Piræus a Greek torpedo boat exploded, killing the officer and all the crew.

11. During a heavy north-west gale a fishing-boat anchored off the entrance of Padstow Harbour parted her cable and began to drift. Two lifeboats put off to her assistance—one was upset and her crew thrown into the water, but were saved; the other (a steam lifeboat) was also upset, and eight of the crew, half of them battened down, were drowned, as well as three belonging to the fishing-boats.

— At Brussels, in the Chamber of Representatives, the Premier read a letter from the King of the Belgians, making over to the State all his properties "which contribute to the charms and beauty of the localities in which they are situated," subject to their being preserved as open spaces.

12. Serious plague-riots occurred at Cawnpore, the segregation camp being wrecked by the mob, and five native policemen were thrown into the burning camp and killed with ten of the rioters.

13. Commandant Cronje and a number of Boer prisoners arrived at St. Helena. An attempt by Colonel Schiel and two others to escape was frustrated.

— In consequence of an order issued by the French Minister of Marine, the practice of hanging crape on Good Friday on the masts of ships and in the national arsenals abandoned, except at Brest.

14. The Paris International Exhibition opened with great ceremony by the President of the Republic, M. Loubet, attended by the great functionaries of State.

16. Violent thunderstorms passed over the home counties, and at St. Mary Cray (Kent) the lightning struck a stand in which a number of persons were watching a football match—one man was killed and several injured.

17. Thirteen German students drowned whilst crossing the Rhine between Bingen and Rüdesheim—their boat fouling an anchor chain was capsized.

18. The United States Government addressed a peremptory note to the Porte insisting upon the immediate payment of 100,000 dols. compensation due to American missionaries for damages received during the Armenian troubles.

— King Oscar of Sweden, travelling *incognito*, arrived in London to join his Queen and Prince Eugene at Roehampton.

19. The Boer mission received by Queen Wilhelmina at the Hague.

20. The Ashantis round Coomassie attacked the loyal tribe of Hekwala, killing a large number, and causing a general rising of the disaffected tribes against the British Government.

21. An attempt, attributed to American Fenians and Boer sympathisers, made to destroy by dynamite a lock on the Welland Canal, connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario. Three men were arrested near the spot.

22. St. George's Day celebrated in London and elsewhere by a great display of flags over public and private buildings, and by the wearing of red and white roses.

The Transvaal delegates having received notice that they would not be officially received in any European capital, decided to start for Washington.

23. The Duke of Fife received a new grant of his titles, with remainder in default of heirs male to his daughters and their heirs male and female.

The Naval Brigade of H.M.S. *Powerful*, who had taken part in the Natal campaign, arrived at Portsmouth from Cape Town, and were accorded a most splendid reception by the authorities and population.

24. The arsenal at Johannesburg wrecked by an explosion, which was immediately, but falsely, attributed to British agency. Upwards of forty men were killed and a hundred injured, and enormous damage done to the surrounding buildings.

25. The Queen brought her visit to Ireland to a close by a letter addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, expressing how much she was pleased by her stay and touched by their warm reception.

— A terrible fire, which raged for thirty-six hours, destroyed nearly the whole of the city of Hull on the north shore of the Ottawa river, and, crossing the river, a large portion of the western district of Ottawa city, including numerous churches and public buildings. Eighteen lives were lost, several acres of wood devastated, 15,000 persons rendered homeless, and property valued at 3,000,000*l.*, chiefly timber and houses, destroyed.

27. The United States Secretary for War in an after-dinner speech at New York said that "the hour is coming when the American people will be forced to fight for the Munroe doctrine or to abandon it."

27. At Sandown the Century Stakes of 10,000 sovs. won by Lord Durham's Osbech, 5 yrs., 8st. 10 lb. (F. Rickaby). Eight ran.

28. The Prince of Wales unveiled at the Natural History Museum the statue of Professor Huxley by Mr. Onslow Ford, R.A.

29. A serious accident took place at the Paris Exhibition, where a wooden and cement bridge gave way under the weight of the public passing, of whom eight were killed and about thirty seriously injured.

30. A banquet in honour of the Australian troops in South Africa and of the Australian delegates in England, given by the British Empire League, presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, and attended by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York and other members of the Royal family.

— A grand naval review of the Japanese fleet, in which thirty war-ships took part, held off Kobe in presence of the Emperor.

MAY.

1. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York pronounced at Lambeth Palace their opinion that "reservation" of the Sacrament was not allowed by the Church of England.

2. At Newmarket the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes won by the Prince of Wales' Diamond Jubilee, 3 yrs., 9 st. (H. Jones). An easy winner by four lengths. Ten ran.

3. The election at Portsmouth caused by the resignation of Mr. W. O. Clough (L.), resulted in the return of Mr. T. A. Bramston (L.) by 10,287 votes against 9,708 polled by Mr. J. H. H. Majendie (C.).

— The proposed sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States abandoned in consequence of the King's objections and the national feeling.

4. The Emperor Francis Joseph arrived in Berlin, where he received a splendid ovation from the populace and a cordial welcome from the Emperor William.

— The German Emperor addressed a telegram to the Viceroy of India expressing his sympathy for those suffering from the distress, and sent half a million of marks raised in Berlin for the famine fund.

— At Westminster in both Houses debates were raised on the publication of the Spion Kop despatches, and the Ministry of War seriously blamed for its action.

— An attack made on the two camps of the Wei-hai-wei Boundary Commission and Major Penrose and four men of the Chinese regiment wounded, but the assailants were repulsed with the loss of thirty killed.

6. The coming of age of the German Crown Prince celebrated with great splendour at the Royal Castle, Berlin.

7. The Brussels Chamber of Indictments committed Sipido for trial on the charge of attempting the life of the Prince of Wales, and Meest, Penchot and Meire as accessories.

7. Mount Vesuvius in a state of violent eruption, explosions taking place at the mouth of the crater, stones thrown up to a great height, and lava in large quantities flowing towards Tone del Greco and on other sides.

— Sir N. Lindley, Master of the Rolls, having been appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, Sir Richard Webster, M.P., became Master of the Rolls; Sir R. Findlay, Q.C., Attorney-General; and Mr. E. Carson, Q.C., Solicitor-General.

8. Winburg, in the Free State, surrendered to General Ian Hamilton with large stock of grain and ammunition, the Boer troops withdrawing all along the line before Roberts' advance.

9. "Presentation Day" at the University of London held for the first time in the new buildings at South Kensington, acquired from the Imperial Institute. The Chancellor, Lord Kimberley, presided, and the Prince of Wales distributed the prizes.

10. Lord Roberts with two divisions and General Ian Hamilton's column of mounted infantry, in all about 35,000 men, crossed the Zand River, the Boers falling back after much fighting.

11. A new Indian decoration, entitled the Kaiser-Hind medal, established for public science in India.

— The sale of the Peel heirlooms, pictures and ornaments, authorised by the Court of Chancery, realised 62,500*l*.

— Serious disorders took place at Madrid, Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, and other places of Spain, provoked by opponents of the new taxes. In many places collisions with the military resulted in the loss of life.

12. A serious fire occurred at Omdurman, by which important documents belonging to the Intelligence Department were destroyed.

13. The Boers besieging Mafeking made an attempt to carry the place by assault, but were repulsed with heavy loss in killed and prisoners.

14. In the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain introduced the Australian Commonwealth Bill, which was read a first time after a short discussion.

— The King of Sweden and Norway received at Cambridge the honorary degree of Doctor in Law.

15. A serious fire in the electrical section of the Paris Exhibition destroyed the installation by which the grand cascades in the Champ de Mars and the interior of the building were illuminated.

— The Boer envoys arrived at New York, where they were received by a private body of sympathisers, but without any public ovation.

16. The Queen travelled by special train from Windsor to Netley to visit the sick and wounded recently arrived from South Africa. After visiting each of the wards and the special hospital tents, and distributing flowers, she returned to Windsor.

— The Newmarket Stakes for three-year-olds won by the Prince of Wales' Diamond Jubilee, 9*st*. (H. Jones). Six ran.

16. A madman on board one of the Stockholm river steamers, armed with two revolvers and a dagger and knife, obtained mastery over the ship, and killed seven and wounded five of those on board. He then jumped into the lifeboat and rowed away, but was captured on the following day.

17. Major Peake telegraphed from the White Nile that the *sudd* having been cleared the Nile was navigable for gunboats up to Bedden.

— Mafeking having undergone seven months' siege, relieved by a force under Colonel Mahon, after having inflicted a severe defeat on the besieging army.

18. The news of the relief of Mafeking received from Pretoria greeted throughout the whole empire from Australia to Canada with intense enthusiasm. In London the streets were paraded by vast and vociferous crowds throughout the greater part of the night.

19. A British protectorate proclaimed at Tonga, notwithstanding the protest of the king, who claimed the sovereignty for himself and his descendants.

— A *Te Deum* thanksgiving service held in St. Paul's Cathedral, which was attended by the Lord Mayor and Corporation and an enormous congregation. In the evening there were illuminations in London, and at Windsor a torchlight procession in the quadrangle of the castle, at which the Queen appeared.

— The statue of Mr. Gladstone, by Mr. Pomeroy, erected in the central hall of the Houses of Parliament, unveiled by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

20. The first performance of the Passion Play, attended by 4,000 spectators, took place at Ober-Ammergau.

21. The diplomatic body at Peking addressed a conjoint note to the Tsung-li-Yamen, calling upon the Chinese Government to suppress the "Boxers" and the anti-foreign propaganda, which had assumed serious proportions.

— In the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain having explained the agreement arrived at with the delegates, the Australian Commonwealth Bill was read a second time *nem. con.* amid cheers.

22. In the German Reichstag, the conflict over the Lex Heinze, giving the police a stricter censorship over publications, ended in a victory for the Radical and Socialist minority. The bill was dropped, and a new bill deprived of its severer clauses passed through all its stages.

23. The House of Commons by 248 votes to 129 read a second time the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, enabling women to sit as councillors and aldermen on the London Burgh Councils, and reversing the decision of the previous year.

— The polling for the Isle of Wight, consequent on the retirement of Sir Richard Webster (C.), resulted in the return of Captain Seely (C.) by 6,432 votes against 5,370 given to Mr. G. Baring. Captain Seely was elected in his absence in South Africa.

24. The Queen's eighty-first birthday celebrated with exceptional festivities throughout the empire.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 4 to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the reserve being 22,133,827*l.*, or $44\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion 33,510,622*l.*

25. The election for South Manchester, consequent on the succession of the Marquess of Lorne (U.) to his father's peerage, resulted in the return of Hon. W. Peel (U.) by 5,497 votes against 3,458 polled by Mr. Leif Jones (L.).

26. The terms of the Anglo-German agreement to a line of railway from Great Fish Bay to Otavi in German South-West Africa published. The total length of the railway estimated at 400 miles was to be constructed for two millions sterling, and the stock divided equally between England and Germany.

27. The Belgian elections under the proportional system showed a very considerable increase to the Socialist and Radical vote, the Clericals losing seats in all the large cities. The result showed Catholics, 85; Liberals and Radicals, 33; Socialists, 33; Christian Democrats, 1.

28. A total eclipse of the sun observed under exceptionally favourable conditions along the line of totality from Mexico to Portugal, Spain and Algiers.

— The "Boxers" having scattered the forces sent against them, burnt a station on the Pekin-Hankow railway, and wrecking the track marched towards Pekin.

— The annexation of the Orange Free State formally proclaimed at Bloemfontein by the British general in command.

30. After a sharp fight, in which the Gordons and City Imperial Volunteers, under General Ian Hamilton, bore the brunt, the commandant of Johannesburg offered to surrender.

— At Epsom the Derby was won by the favourite, the Prince of Wales' Diamond Jubilee, 9 st. (H. Jones). Fourteen ran.

— Detachments of troops to guard the legations ordered to Pekin by their respective envoys.

31. The British flag hoisted at Johannesburg, and the town and the Rand occupied by British troops.

— Mr. Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the University of Birmingham, presided over the first meeting of the Court of Governors, and explained the object of the promoters to make it a school of research and of practical science.

— The Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, by 592 to 29 votes, resolved on union with the United Presbyterian Church, the Synod of which had previously unanimously elected in favour of the proposal.

JUNE.

57 1. The Oaks Stakes at Epsom won by the Duke of Portland's La Roche, 9 st. (M. Cannon). Fourteen ran.

3. The Italian general elections, whilst returning a large preponderance of Ministerialists, showed a considerable increase of the Socialist and Republican parties.

4. An accident, involving the loss of four lives and the injuring of several, occurred on the electric railway running between Budapest and Auwinkel. The brake was set loose in the struggle of the passengers to obtain seats, and the car was set in motion down a steep incline and was capsized.

5. After an entire day's hard fighting, Lord Roberts entered Pretoria and took formal possession of the capital of the Transvaal.

6. In the German Reichstag the first clause of the Navy Bill determining the strength to which it was intended to raise the German Navy by 1920, finally passed by 153 to 79 votes.

— The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, after protracted proceedings, recognised by 109 to 78 the proprietary title to the Cathedral of Dunkeld, vested in the Duke of Athole, subject to its use for the religious service of the Church of Scotland.

— The attempt to relieve the British forces at Coomassie frustrated by the strongly fortified position of the Ashantis, who caused Colonel Carter to retire to Kwisa, seven European officers having been wounded.

7. The five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Cracow University celebrated, representatives of most European universities and colleges attending.

— The contest for the open Golf Championship played at St. Andrews, and won by J. H. Taylor of Richmond, who defeated H. Vardon by 309 to 317 for the four rounds. Taylor finished the last round with the record score of 75.

8. The Austrian Reichsrath was the scene of the most disgraceful obstruction on the part of the Czech opposition. After seven hours of blowing penny trumpets, beating cymbals, and other noises, the Prime Minister, Dr. von Körber, declared the session closed.

9. Serious riots broke out in various quarters of St. Louis, U.S.A., owing to a strike of the conductors and those connected with the tram service. Dynamite bombs were thrown, as well as stones and bricks. Several persons were killed and many injured.

— The attempts of the Chinese authorities to re-establish order and to subdue the "Boxers" having failed, 1,500 European troops of various nationalities landed at Tien-tsin and marched to Peking.

10. The naval storehouses at St. Petersburg partially destroyed by fire, which raged for several hours.

11. Prince Ching, President of the Foreign Section of the Tsung-li-Yamen, superseded by Prince Tuan, father of the Crown Prince, and a supporter of the "Boxer" brotherhood.

11. General Sir R. Buller having forced Almond's Nek, the last defile leading from Natal to Charlestown Flats, the Boers evacuated Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill.

12. The Senior Wrangler of the year was Mr. J. E. Wright of Trinity College, educated at the Liverpool Institute.

13. Mr. Schreiner, the Cape Premier, with his cabinet resigned, in consequence of the attitude of the extreme section of the Afrikaner Bond under Messrs. Merriman, Sauer and Hofmeyr.

— At Pekin the "Boxers" destroyed the foreign buildings in the eastern city, including the old Catholic Cathedral, the buildings of the London and American Board of Missions, the Custom House, etc.

14. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at 21,002,884*l.*, or 44 per cent. of the liabilities, and the coin and bullion at 32,738,279*l.*

— Increasing disturbances reported from various parts of Northern China. Several mission-houses destroyed, missionaries murdered, and buildings belonging to Europeans wrecked. The railway between Tien-tsin and Pekin broken up by the "Boxers" in the rear of the European troops advancing on the capital.

16. The celebration of the bi-centenary of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (1701) opened with special services at St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, at which the archbishops and bishops attended.

— A serious accident occurred at the Slough Station of the Great Western Railway, where the Plymouth express, travelling at the rate of fifty miles an hour, ran into a train in the station. Five persons were killed and about seventy injured.

— The German Emperor at Lübeck formally opened the Elbe and Trave Canal, connecting the North Sea and the Baltic. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the Hanseatic towns and of the principal German and Scandinavian mercantile centres.

17. The allied squadrons, having been fired upon by the Chinese, bombarded the Taku forts at the entrance of the Peiho river, which, after six hours, were silenced and occupied by the allies.

19. Mrs. Gladstone buried in Westminster Abbey in a private and unostentatious manner. A large number of personal friends, as well as representatives of the Royal family and the leaders of all political parties, attended.

20. The Irish Nationalist Convention, held at the Rotunda, Dublin, under the presidency of Mr. John Redmond, M.P., was attended by representatives of the various Irish parliamentary groups, excepting that under the leadership of Mr. T. Healy, M.P.

— The German Minister resident at Pekin, Baron von Ketteler, murdered by the Chinese whilst on his way, unarmed, to the Tsung-li-Yamén.

20. The civil list pensions granted during the year were as follows :—

Mr. Benjamin Harrison, 26*l.*, in consideration of his researches in the subject of pre-historic flint implements.

Miss Marguerita Hogan, Miss Kate Hogan and Mrs. Susan MacSwiney, 83*l.* each, in consideration of the merits of their late father, Mr. John Hogan, as a sculptor.

Mr. Thomas Whittaker, 50*l.*, in consideration of his philosophical writings.

Mr. Alfred Austin, 200*l.*, as Poet Laureate.

Mrs. Euphemia Hill Macallum, 100*l.*, in consideration of the merit of her husband, the late Mr. Hamilton Macallum, as a painter.

Mr. John Sims Reeves, 100*l.*, in consideration of his eminence as a singer.

Mr. Charles James Wollaston, 100*l.*, in recognition of his services in connection with the introduction of submarine telegraphy.

Mr. Robert Drew Hicks, 125*l.*, in consideration of his services to classical scholarship.

Emma, Lady Ellis, 90*l.*, in consideration of the public services in West Africa of her late husband, Lieut.-Colonel A. B. Ellis, C.B.

Mr. Herman Charles Merivale, 125*l.*, in consideration of his literary work.

Anna Maria, Lady Barkly, 75*l.*, in recognition of the public services of her late husband, Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., as governor of five British colonies in succession.

Mr. Robert Tucker, 40*l.*, in consideration of his services in promoting the study of mathematics.

Dr. John Mackintosh, 50*l.*, in consideration of his historical writings and research.

Mrs. Eliza Arlidge, 50*l.*, in consideration of the labours of her late husband, Dr. John Thomas Arlidge, in the cause of industrial hygiene.

Miss Emily Victoria Biscoe, 90*l.*, in consideration of the services rendered to Antarctic exploration by her late father, Captain John Biscoe.

21. The Republican National Convention, held at Philadelphia, unanimously adopted Mr. M'Kinley as candidate for re-election to the Presidency, and Colonel Roosevelt as Vice-President.

— The Khedive of Egypt arrived at Port Victoria, but was too unwell to proceed to London.

— The annual meeting of the English Church Union, presided over by Lord Halifax, passed a declaration that "Christ our Lord was present in the most holy Sacrament under the form of bread and wine, is to be worshipped and adored."

22. The Wallace Collection of pictures, armour and works of art, bequeathed to the nation by Lady Wallace, formally opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

— Admiral Seymour forced his way back to Tien-tsin after a fruitless attempt to reach Peking. His retreat was cut off by the "Boxers" supported by the Chinese Imperial troops.

— Serious disturbances occurred in various parts of Bulgaria, and a state of siege proclaimed in the chief districts.

— Sir F. Hodgson, Governor of the Gold Coast, who had been beleaguered by the natives in revolt, broke out of Coomassie with 600 troops and managed to reach the friendly district of Cape Coast Colony.

25. The 500th anniversary of the birth of Gutenberg celebrated by a series of fêtes in his native city of Mayence.

27. The Central London Electric Railway formally opened by the Prince of Wales, who traversed its entire length, from the Bank to Shepherd's Bush, in twenty-two minutes.

27. The Oxford Encœnia, or annual commemoration, passed off without any of the usual ceremonies, there being no honorary degrees conferred; the speeches being delivered in the Divinity School instead of the Sheldonian Theatre.

— The Khedive, who had been detained by illness on board the Royal yacht at Port Victoria, arrived in London and occupied rooms in Buckingham Palace.

28. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir-presumptive to the throne, executed a deed at Vienna, in presence of the Emperor, recognising his forthcoming marriage with the Countess Chotek as morganatic, and declaring that neither she nor any children born of the marriage could have rights of equal birth or to succeed to the throne.

29. The Lord Mayor gave a lunch at the Mansion House to celebrate the completion of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, on which the publishers, Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., had spent upwards of 150,000*l*.

30. The allied forces, under Admiral Seymour, stormed the native city of Tien-tsin, in which the Chinese troops had established themselves, and destroyed the arsenal.

— A fire broke out at the North German Lloyd dock at Hoboken, New York, and spread with great rapidity, setting on fire the two steamers *Saale* and *Bremen*, which were totally destroyed, besides a quarter of a mile of warehouses, whilst upwards of 300 lives were supposed to have been lost.

— Finland's most important newspaper, the *Nya Pressen*, suppressed for ever.

— The Eton and Winchester cricket match resulted in a draw. Scores: Winchester, first innings, 183; second, 155. Eton, first innings, 177; second (7 wickets), 132.

JULY.

1. The marriage of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Countess Chotek celebrated at Reichstadt, in Bohemia, the seat of his step-mother. The Emperor was not represented and the Archduke's brothers were absent.

2. Count Zeppelin's aerial ship ascended from Friedrichshaven on Lake of Constance, and travelled safely to Immarstadt, a distance of 3½ miles.

— H.M.S. *Ringarooma*, cruising off the New Hebrides, came upon a submarine volcano in full activity. At a short distance below the surface the water was boiling, and three divers were seriously injured.

3. The Khedive paid a visit to the Guildhall to receive an address from the Corporation of the City of London.

— Explorations at Mount Dicte, in Crete, the traditional birthplace of Zeus, led to the discovery by Messrs. Hogarth and Evans of a large quantity of votive statuettes and bronze weapons.

4. General Jamont, generalissimo of the French army, resigned in consequence of a disagreement with the Minister for War. He was succeeded by General Brugère.

— Divisions of Lord Roberts' and Sir R. Buller's command joined hands at Vlakfontein, establishing a junction of the troops operating from the Transvaal and Natal.

— The Finnish senate refused to promulgate an imperial manifesto declaring Russian to be the official language of Finland, only 8,000 persons out of 2,700,000 speaking that language.

5. Sipido, who had attempted to shoot the Prince of Wales at the Brussels Railway Station, found guilty by the jury, but acquitted by the court on the ground of being irresponsible. His three associates were acquitted. Owing to some blunder Sipido escaped over the frontier into France.

— At Newmarket the Princess of Wales' Stakes (10,000 sovs.) won by Mr. W. Hall Watkin's Merry Gal, 3 yrs., 7st. 13 lb. (J. Reiff), who defeated the favourite, Prince of Wales Diamond Jubilee, 3 yrs., 9st. 5 lb. (H. Jones), by four lengths. Eight ran.

6. The National Democratic Convention assembled at Kansas City, nominated Mr. Bryan for the Presidency, and Mr. A. Stevenson for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

7. The University Cricket Match at Lord's Ground ended in a draw. Score: Oxford, first innings, 503 runs; second (6 wickets), 218; Cambridge, first innings, 392; second (2 wickets), 186 runs.

— The Amateur Athletic Championship decided at Stamford Bridge Grounds, when eight out of thirteen events were carried off by the American competitors. Among the scores were the 120 yards hurdle race in 15½ sec., and throwing the hammer (16 lb.), 163 ft. 1 in.

9. The dockers' strike, after lasting four weeks, ended by the unconditional surrender of the men, who waived their claim to be engaged outside the dock gates.

— The Australian Federation Bill having been passed without further amendment, received the Queen's assent. The table, inkstand and pen at and with which Her Majesty signed the statute were presented by her to the representative of New South Wales to be taken back to Sydney.

11. Sir Frederick Hodgson arrived in safety at Cape Coast Castle, having brought away the missionaries and women from Coomassie and evaded the insurgent tribes.

12. The Prince and Princess of Wales opened at Ladywell, near Lewisham, a block of new buildings for the use of the aged and infirm poor of St. Olave's, Southwark.

— The Earl of Hopetoun, K.T., G.C.M.G., appointed first Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, to reside at Sydney.

13. H.M.S. *Viper*, a new torpedo-boat, in six trial trips on the Tyne averaged a speed over forty-two miles an hour, and on one run reached 37·113 knots, or forty-three miles.

14. The Eton and Harrow match resulted in the victory of Harrow by one wicket just after the stroke of 7 P.M. Scores: Eton, first innings, 294; second, 218. Harrow, first innings, 388; second, 128 (nine wickets).

— The Amateur Swimming Championship won, for the third time, by J. A. Jarvis, of Leicester, who swam the distance from Kew Bridge to Putney Pier (about five miles) in 1 hr. 4 min. 17 sec.

15. The French National fête passed off in Paris and in the provinces without any disturbances of the peace and with many festivities, in which the foreign visitors to the exhibition were conspicuous.

— The garrison of Coomassie relieved by a force under Colonel Willcocks after much fighting on the way.

16. A pleasure-boat with eighteen passengers on board capsized off Brighton by a sudden gust of wind and five persons drowned. Another boat twenty yards off was almost becalmed.

18. President Loubet arrived at Cherbourg to hold a grand naval review of the united Mediterranean and Channel Squadrons, forming a magnificent fleet of 43 ships.

— The Japanese volcano Mount Azuma, near Bandaisan, broke into sudden eruption, causing the loss of upwards of 200 lives.

19. Queenborough Pier, near Sheerness, the landing-place of the Zealand steamers, almost totally destroyed by fire for the second time.

— The Bank of England raised the rate of discount from 3 to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 18,910,920*l.*, or 38 per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 31,488,375*l.*

20. The Eclipse Stakes (10,000*l.*) at Sandown won by the Prince of Wales' Diamond Jubilee, 3 yrs., 9st. 4 lb. (H. Jones). Nine ran.

— The Wingfield Sculls and Amateur Championship of the Thames won by Mr. C. V. Fox (Guards' R. C.), who defeated the holder, Mr. R. H. Howell, by fifteen lengths.

21. The steamship *Campania*, shortly before entering the Mersey, ran down the sailing ship *Embleton* in a dense fog. Eleven of the crew of the latter were drowned; and the steamer *Dromedary*, outside Belfast Lough, was run into by the steamer *Alligator*. Five passengers on the former lost their lives, and about forty others were injured.

— Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Premier, submitted a scheme of national defence, providing amongst other things an Imperial Reserve force of 10,000 good riders and shots for imperial and colonial service.

— At the annual meeting of the National Rifle Association at Bisley, the following were the principal scores:—

MATCHES.

Matches.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Total scores.
Humphry Challenge Cup (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	900	{ Cambridge - - - 731
Volunteers and Regulars Officers (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	1,350	{ Oxford - - - 708
Halford Memorial (M.R.)	900, 1,000	150	{ Volunteers - - - 1,143
Wimbledon Cup (A.R.)	1,100	75	{ Regulars - - - 1,073
Ashburton Challenge Shield (M.R.)	200, 500	560	{ T. Caldwell, Ulster R.A. 127
Spencer Cup (M.R.)	500	35	{ Major W. J. Perkins, W. Surrey - - - 67
Elcho Challenge Shield (S.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ Dulwich School. - - 460
China Challenge Cup (S.R.)	600	500	{ Serg. Carpmael, Dulwich School - - - 38
Chancellor's Challenge Cup (A.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	{ Ireland - - - 1,537
Kolapore Cup (A.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	{ England - - - 1,518
United Service Cup (M.R.)	200, 500, 600	840	{ Scotland - - - 1,506
National Challenge Trophy (S.R.)	200, 500, 600	2,100	{ 3rd Lanark (Glasgow) 433
			{ Oxford - - - 637
			{ Cambridge - - - 634
			{ Mother Country - - 732
			{ Volunteers - - - 730
			{ Scotland - - - 1,844
			{ England - - - 1,806
			{ Wales - - - 1,806
			{ Ireland - - - 1,724

PRIZES.

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Winner.
Waldegrave (M.R.)	800, 900	100	Lieut.-Col. J. Hopton, H.L.I. - - - 95
Albert (M.R.)	800, 900, 1,000	175	Lieut.-Col. J. Hopton, H.L.I. - - - 155
Prince of Wales's (S.R.)	200, 600	100	L.-Corpl. J. Cole, 1st V.B. Dorset - - - 95
Alexandra (S.R.)	500, 600	70	Pte. T. Hopkins, 2nd V.B. Welsh Regiment - - 70
Wimbledon Cup (S.R.)	600	50	Major Gibbs, 2nd Gloucester Engineers - - 49
Duke of Cambridge (S.R.)	900	50	Lieut. Richardson, 2nd Northumberland - - 48
Queen's (S.R.), 1st stage, Bronze Medal	200, 500, 600	105	Sergt. J. Murray, 2nd V.B. Gordon Highs. - - 100
Do., 2nd stage, Silver Medal	500, 600	125	Col.-Sergt. Connery, 3rd H.L.I. (1st stage, 95) - 215
Do., 3rd stage, Gold Medal	800, 900, 1,000	175	Pte. W. T. Ward, 1st Devon (1st stage, 95, 2nd stage, 116, 3rd stage, 130) - 341
St. George's (S.R.), 1st stage	500, 600	70	{ Col.-Sergt. G. E. Fulton, 13th Middlesex (1st stage, 69, 2nd stage, 44) 113
Do., 2nd stage	800	50	
Grand Aggregate	—	385	Sergt. H. Ommundsen, 5th Royal Scots - - - 353
Volunteer Aggregate	—	210	Col.-Sergt. H. Connery, 3rd H.L.I. - - - 194

23. A breach, 23 metres in width, made in the unfinished part of the Assiout barrage works on the Upper Nile. No damage was done to the completed works.

— King Alexander of Servia announced his intended marriage with Madame Dara Maschin, one of Queen Natalie's attendants. The Cabinet resigned, and ex-king Milan withdrew from his post as commander-in-chief of the Servian army.

— The West African frontier force, under Colonel Morland, surprised the Ashanti war camp at Kokofu, and after a sharp attack captured it with its arms, etc., and scattered the native troops.

24. The Commission appointed to inquire into the management of the South African hospitals, and the treatment of the sick and wounded, met under the presidency of Lord Justice Romer, to take official evidence before proceeding to South Africa.

25. A revolution, provoked by the Liberal party, broke out in Central America; the revolutionists besieged Panama, but after much severe fighting they suddenly surrendered to the Government troops.

26. The centenary of the grant of the Charter to the Royal College of Surgeons celebrated in London by the presentation of honorary diplomas to Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery, and by a general gathering of the profession attended by the representatives of various foreign medical bodies.

— On the motion of the Premier, Sir W. J. Lyne, the New South Wales Legislative Assembly resolved to despatch a military force for service with the Imperial troops in China.

— In the House of Commons, Lord George Hamilton, in explaining the Indian Budget, stated that the area affected by the famine had been 420,000 square miles with a population of 62,000,000, as compared with 275,000 square miles and 52,000,000 in 1896, and 205,000 square miles and 35,000,000 in 1876.

27. A German force numbering 4,000 men of all arms embarked at Bremerhaven for China, in the presence of the German Emperor and Empress and their family; the German Emperor delivering a speech in which he was understood to approve of giving no quarter to the Chinese whom his troops met in battle.

— A banquet given at the Middle Temple Hall by the Bench and Bar of England to the representatives of the Bench and Bar of the United States.

28. The Shah of Persia arrived in Paris and was received by President Loubet, who accompanied him to the Palais des Souverains in the Bois de Boulogne, the house formerly belonging to Dr. Evans, the American doctor.

29. The King of Italy assassinated by an anarchist named Bresci at Monza, near Milan, as he was leaving a gymnastic prize distribution. Bresci fired three shots from a revolver, of which the first struck the king in the heart.

29. The Boer forces, under General Prinsloo, numbering 5,000 men, finding themselves completely hemmed in by Lord Roberts in the Brandwater basin, unconditionally surrendered to General Hunter, after a series of actions.

30. A message, dated 21st July, from Sir Claude Macdonald at Pekin—the first since 14th June—received through the British admiral at Taku, announcing that the European Legations had been attacked constantly from 20th June to 16th July, when an armistice was proclaimed. The casualties to that date had been sixty-two killed and many wounded.

— The Postmen's Park in Aldersgate, and the Cloister, erected by Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., to commemorate the heroes of humble life, opened by the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London.

31. Prince Alfred of England, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and Duke of Edinburgh, died somewhat suddenly at Rosenau Castle, Coburg.

AUGUST.

2. As the Shah of Persia was leaving the Palais des Souverains, in the Bois de Boulogne, Paris, a man jumped on to the footstep of the carriage and levelled a pistol at the Shah's breast. He was disarmed by the Grand Vizier before he could fire and arrested on the spot.

3. Stansted House, near Goodwood, one of the oldest mansions in Sussex, totally destroyed by fire, and damage and loss to the value of 200,000*l.* was estimated.

— The Belgian Government, in reply to a British note on the Sipido trial, stated that the law, allowing three days' liberty to a prisoner to appeal, could not have been infringed in his case, but they regretted that he had availed himself of the interval to escape.

4. The funeral of the Duke of Edinburgh, attended by the German Emperor, the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal family, took place at Coburg. Memorial services held at Osborne and in London.

— The Commonwealth Bill adopted by *referendum* by a large majority in Western Australia, the federation of Australasia being thereby completed.

5. The allied forces—British, American and Japanese on one flank, the Russian and German on the other—12,000 strong, attacked the Chinese intrenched position outside Tien-tsin, and carried it after an obstinate fight, but with severe casualties.

6. The House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, decided in the case of *Walter v. Lane*, that the copyright of a public speech vested in the reporter and publisher, and could not be reproduced without the sanction of the latter.

7. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced a loan of 10,000,000*l.* Exchequer bonds, which was covered as soon as issued; one American firm subscribing for one half of the amount.

8. Parliament prorogued by Royal Commission, after a sharp attack on Mr. Chamberlain for not disclosing the contents of the letters purporting to be written by members of Parliament and found at Pretoria.

— Field-Marshal Count von Waldersee appointed to command the German troops in China, and inferentially, as senior in rank, the whole allied forces.

-- The Court of Appeal, reversing the judgment of Mr. Justice Barnes, decided that the Countess Cowley, who had obtained a divorce, was entitled to retain her title after her marriage with a commoner.

9. The funeral of King Humbert, who was buried in the Pantheon at Rome, attended by members of the Royal families of Europe and their representatives, was marred by a sudden panic in the densely crowded streets, and several persons were seriously injured.

10. A Boer conspiracy discovered at Pretoria, having for its alleged object the capture of Lord Roberts and the murder of the superior officers quartered in the town. Two large houses at one end of the town were to be set on fire, and advantage was to be taken of the troops being occupied to carry out the design.

— The International Congresses of Medicine and Hygiene met in Paris, and were largely attended by representatives of all nations. Special distinction was accorded to Lord Lister by the French members of the profession.

11. The French torpedo-boat-destroyer *La Framée* sank with all her officers and forty-four of the crew after a collision with the battleship *Brennus* off Cape St. Vincent.

— King Victor Emmanuel III., in the Senate Hall of the Quirinal, took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution, and afterwards addressed the senators and deputies, dedicating himself to the service of his country.

12. A disastrous railway collision near Castel Quibiles, a few miles from Rome, the second portion of a train running into the first, which contained the Grand Duke Peter Nikolaievitch and other representatives of the Powers attending the late king's funeral. Fifteen persons were killed, and a large number were seriously injured. The king on hearing of the accident at once drove to the spot, and assisted in rescuing the injured.

13. Many Armenians of Spagbank and other villages between Erzeroum and Diarbekr massacred by the Kurds, and the British Vice-Consul at Van attacked by the same tribes.

14. Count Ledochowski, of the Austro-Hungarian general staff, called upon by a military court of honour to resign his commission for having advised a young lieutenant, Markgraf Takoli, not to fight a duel.

— Serious strikes of dock labourers, stokers, etc., occurred at Havre, Marseilles and other French shipping ports, the employers having eventually to agree to the men's terms.

14. The Pekin Legations relieved by the allied troops after a forced march of fifteen miles. The Americans and Russians attacked the central gate of the Tartar city, while the British Indian troops, under General Gaselee, entered by the water-gate and reached the Legations.

15. Fifty officers of the infantry in the Greek army placed under arrest for insubordination, they having held a banquet to protest against the exclusion of their branch from the military bureaux.

17. The allied troops entered the "Pink Forbidden," or sacred imperial city of Pekin, the Empress-Dowager having fled to Sian-fu, or Shensi, the old capital of China, about 600 miles to the south-west ; the Japanese troops having occupied the palace itself on the previous day.

— General Gribsky, Governor-General of the Ameer, issued a proclamation announcing the annexation to Russia of so much of Manchuria as had been conquered by the Czar's troops.

18. The seventieth birthday of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and King of Hungary celebrated with great rejoicing throughout the dual monarchy.

— A strike in which nearly one-half of the employees of the Taff Vale Railway took part declared, and supported by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The traffic was almost completely suspended.

— The Queen addressed a message to the officer in command of the Royal Marines Guard at Pekin expressing her thankfulness for his and his troops' safety.

— King Prempeh, some time ruler of Ashanti, and King Asibi of Kokofu, embarked at Sierra Leone for Seychelles, to which they were ordered to be deported.

21. A movement started by the women of Victoria against women's suffrage, and a petition against the bill granting it signed by 15,000 women.

— Lieut. Hans Cordua, of the Transvaal army, charged with having broken his parole and attempted the abduction of Lord Roberts and other acts, found guilty, after a long trial by court-martial at Pretoria, and condemned to death. The sentence having been confirmed he was shot on the following day.

22. In the Cape Parliament after a prolonged debate the Treasure Bill was read a second time by 48 to 38 votes.

— Heavy rains fell throughout India, especially in the famine districts. Serious floods in various parts of the country were reported, notably in Madras and Orissa, where several lives were lost.

23. Editors of Russian newspapers warned not to publish any attacks upon Li-Hung-Chang, who was regarded as Russia's particular friend, although other nations suspected his good faith.

24. Two columns of troops under Lieut.-Colonels Wilkinson and Henstock after ten days' march, and having cleared the country as

far as Lake Basumakevn, returned to Bekwai, and subsequently the war camp of the King of Kokofu was captured by Lieut.-Colonel Brake, commanding the Central African regiment.

27. Baron von Lynden designated by the Powers to be General Secretary of the bureau of the Court of International Arbitration at the Hague, created by the Peace Conference.

— The jubilee of submarine telegraphy, the first message having been transmitted from a horse-box by the South Eastern Railway to a custom house shed on Cape Gris Nez, the chief originators being Mr. J. Jacob Brete, Mr. J. W. Bute, Mr. C. J. Wollaston. The first cable lasted three days.

28. Two fatal cases of bubonic plague occurred at Glasgow, and ten families removed to a reception house for observation.

— The allied troops at Pekin marched through the Forbidden City, each army represented in proportion to its strength, the British taking their place after the Russians and Japanese.

29. The Taff Vale Railway dispute provisionally settled on the basis of the understanding that all imported labour should be dispensed with within a month.

— Mafeking visited by a terrific cyclone, which in ten minutes did more damage than the besiegers had effected in six months.

— Bresci, the murderer of King Humbert, tried at Milan, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

30. The United States Government acting with Russia agreed to accept Li-Hung-Chang as a plenipotentiary to discuss the terms on which peace between China and the Powers could be arranged. It was also proposed by Russia that the allied forces should be withdrawn from Pekin.

— All the British prisoners detained at Nooitgedacht, to the number of 1,800, released by order of President Kruger, the officers being detained and sent to the north part of the Transvaal.

31. The county cricket season ended with Yorkshire taking the championship, having out of 28 matches won 16, drawn 12 and lost 0; Lancashire came second, having won 15, drawn 11 and lost 2; and after a wide interval Kent and Sussex.

— Colonel Sir J. Willcocks with the troops under his command reached Coomassie, which was found to be deserted, and a flying column, under Lieut.-Colonel Brake, attacked and dispersed the forces of Queen Ashantuah, one of the principal rebel leaders.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Lord Roberts formally proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire.

2. A Nationalist demonstration, largely attended, took place in Phoenix Park, Dublin, and resolutions passed adopting the programme

of the Irish National League, demanding Home Rule and the abolition of landlordism, and calling upon the Irish party to hold aloof from all English parties.

3. The Trades Union Congress, attended by 388 delegates representing 1,200,000 members, met at Huddersfield, and Mr. Pickles, the president, in his address, dealt with the economic and philosophical aspects of trades unionism.

4. The joint-commission appointed to settle the compensation payable to German ships for detention by British cruisers on their way to Delagoa agreed upon a sum of 79,563*l.* to be paid by the British Government.

— Li Hung Chang and three others appointed by imperial edict commissioners to treat for peace with the allies.

5. The British Association opened its annual meeting at Bradford, Sir Wm. Turner delivering the presidential address, in which he reviewed the progress of science dealing with the structure of men and animals during the century.

6. The Duke of Abruzzi reached Vardoe after having been for eleven months on the ice exploring the Arctic regions, and having reached latitude 86° 33', or nineteen miles farther north than Dr. Nansen. The expedition, one of four, started from Tafel Bay, was out 105 days.

7. Lydenburg occupied after slight resistance by Colonels Lord Dundonald and Brocklehurst, acting under Sir R. Buller, the Boers withdrawing northwards with their guns, etc.

— The leading rebel chiefs of Ashanti surrendered unconditionally, acknowledging the futility of further resistance.

9. A terrific cyclone devastated the coasts of Texas, and a tidal wave almost completely destroyed the town of Galveston and the shipping. Over 4,000 lives were lost, and property valued at 10,000,000 *dols.* was destroyed, including the damage done to over a million bales of cotton.

10. The race for the professional sculler championship of England, rowed from Putney to Mortlake, when George Towns, the holder, defeated James Wray by two and a half lengths in 22 min. 40 sec. Both men were Australians resident in England.

11. Ex-President Kruger, accompanied by Mr. Grobler, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and other officials, arrived at Lorenzo Marques, having obtained "six months' leave of absence."

— Lord Roberts issued an order placing the whole of the Transvaal under martial law.

12. Three-fourths of the business portion of the town of Paris (Ontario) destroyed by fire.

— At Doncaster the St. Leger Stakes won by the favourite, the Prince of Wales' Diamond Jubilee, 9 st. (H. Jones), by a length and a half. Eleven ran.

— The Banco da Republica at Rio de Janeiro suspended cash payments on cheques, the Banco Rural and two other national banks following suit, in demanding sixty days' sight.

13. The storm which devastated Texas, after raging along the Atlantic coast northwards, burst upon Newfoundland, causing great havoc among the fishing fleets on the banks.

— General French occupied Barberton after slight opposition, having surprised the garrison by his rapid movements. Large stores of ammunition, locomotives, etc., were captured, and numerous British prisoners released.

14. The German Government concluded arrangements for placing 80,000,000 marks' worth of Treasury bonds in America.

15. The men of the Great Eastern Railway, who for some weeks had been agitating for increased wages and threatening to strike during the holiday season, held a mass meeting at which it was almost unanimously agreed that the directors' offers of settlement were unsatisfactory. Subsequently, on the advice of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the terms were accepted.

16. A collision took place in Cardigan Bay between the Glasgow steamer *Gordon Castle* and the Hamburg steamer *Stormarn*, in which both vessels foundered, with the loss of twenty lives.

17. A proclamation, dated Balmoral, announced the immediate dissolution of Parliament from 25th inst., and its reassembling on 1st November.

— It was announced that the Duke of York would visit Australia to open in the Queen's name the first session of the Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth.

18. The German Government issued a circular note declaring that the preliminary condition of all diplomatic negotiations was the surrender of those persons regarded as instigators of the crimes against the law of nations committed at Pekin.

— The President of the Paris municipality announced the abandonment of the proposed banquet to the provincial mayors—only 1,600 out of 22,000 having accepted—the banquet being regarded as an anti-Ministerial demonstration.

19. A serious fire at the Manchester Central Post Office, caused by the fusing of electric wires, caused all telegraphic and telephonic communication with the rest of the country to be suspended.

— The Metropolitan Tabernacle, destroyed by fire in 1898, re-opened after its reconstruction at a cost of 45,000*l*.

20. The Shah reached Vienna on his homeward journey, and was received with much ceremony by the Emperor and archdukes of the imperial family.

21. The Commissioners of H.M. Woods and Forests concluded the purchase of the ruins of Tintern Abbey and upwards of 2,000 acres of the surrounding land from the Duke of Beaufort, to be retained for the enjoyment of the public.

22. The Socialist Congress attended by a large body of delegates of all countries met in Paris, and M. Jaurès elected president by a large majority against M. Guesde, the nominee of the irreconcilable party.

23. President Loubet gave a grand breakfast in the Tuileries Gardens to 22,000 provincial mayors of France in celebration of the anniversary of the proclamation of the first Republic in 1792. Eight kilometres (five miles) of the gardens were enclosed, and 4,866 persons were employed in cooking and serving the banquet, which was done without the least hitch.

— The Boers having evacuated all their positions along the Portuguese frontier, General Pole-Carew occupied Komati-Poort, where he found a number of guns and a large amount of stores. Upwards of 3,000 Boers and their foreign mercenaries surrendered to the Portuguese, and having been disarmed were sent to Lorenzo Marques.

24. The United States Government declined to endorse the proposals contained in the German circular note to the Powers with reference to the negotiations with China.

25. The fortieth Church Congress met at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the inaugural address delivered by the bishop of the diocese (Dr. Jacob).

26. Count Leo Tolstoi, a Russian writer and philosopher, formally excommunicated from the Orthodox Church on account of his writings.

— The Lyons Mission Board received news of the murder in Shan-si of two prelates, two priests and seven nuns and the beheading of upwards of 1,000 native Christians.

27. The Cape Legislative Council, by 13 votes to 7, passed the second reading of the Treason Bill.

— The Legislative Council of Victoria rejected the Women's Suffrage Bill by a large majority. Petitions against the bill were presented, signed by 27,000 women.

— At Newmarket the Jockey Club Stakes of 10,000 sovs. won by Mr. J. B. Keene's Disguise II. (bred in U.S.A.), 3 yrs., 8 st. 9 lb. (M. Cannon). Eight ran, including the Prince of Wales' Diamond Jubilee (9 st. 7 lb.), not placed.

28. A great fire destroyed a number of warehouses in the Hafenstrasse, Hamburg, and property estimated at over 1,000,000 marks.

— The first elections to the new Parliament took place in the metropolitan districts of the Strand and Lewisham.

— The Russian troops, with the exception of a small force to act as police, withdrawn from Peking to Tien-tsin, to which place the Legation was transferred.

29. Lord Roberts, G.C.B., appointed Commander-in-Chief in succession to Viscount Wolseley, K.P.

— The Bishop of Rochester unveiled and dedicated at St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark, a memorial window to John Bunyan, who at one time preached at Zoar Street Chapel close by.

30. The German Emperor in reply to a personal telegram from the Emperor of China telegraphed his refusal to accept "drink offerings on an altar" as sufficient expiation for the murder of the German Minister and missionaries of the Christian faith.

OCTOBER.

1. The St. Petersburg *Official Messenger* contained a formal denial of an incorporation of Manchuria with the territory of the Russian empire.

2. The International Peace Congress, assembled at Paris, passed after much deliberation a resolution declaring that the responsibility for the war in South Africa fell upon Great Britain for having repeatedly refused arbitration.

3. A robbery of 350,000 lire in securities, and 3,000 lire in coin effected at the Vatican from the department charged with the maintenance of the Apostolic palaces.

4. The Palounotchnie Canal, at the mouth of the Danube, passing wholly through Russian territory, opened.

5. Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, the seat of the Duke of Portland, partially destroyed by a fire, which was confined to the Oxford (or west) wing. Many of the valuables were saved, but the damage done exceeded 25,000*l*.

— Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Premier, gave notice of the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the advisability of New Zealand joining the Australasian Commonwealth.

6. The United States Government officially informed that the Chinese Imperial Court would be established at Si-ngan-fu.

8. Lord Strathcona, Lord High Commissioner of Canada, on arriving at Montreal, accorded a magnificent reception by the citizens in recognition of his liberal contribution to the Imperial forces in South Africa.

— Lord Ranfurley, Governor of New Zealand, landed at Raratonga, and at the unanimous request of the chiefs and people formally annexed the Cook Islands.

9. Herr Max Harden, editor of the Berlin weekly paper *Die Zukunft*, tried *in camerâ* on a charge of *lèse majesté*, arising out of an article on the Emperor's speech at Bremerhaven on 27th July. Herr Harden was found guilty and condemned to six months' imprisonment in a fortress.

10. At Newmarket the Cesarewitch Stakes won by Mr. L. Neumann's Clarehaven, 4 yrs., 7 st. 13 lb. (W. Halsey). Twenty-one ran.

— The Round Table Conference on Ritual, attended by representatives of both extreme parties in the Church, held at Fulham Palace. The proceedings were private.

11. The German Emperor, at Saalburg, near Homburg, laid, with an elaborate and picturesque ceremonial, the foundation stone of the "Limes" Museum to be erected as a restored Roman castle in the neighbourhood of the "Limes Transrhenassus," and the Roman wall extending from the Rhine to the Danube.

— Cte. Henri de la Vaulx, the winner of the French ballooning competition, reached Koroslycheff, in the Government of Kiev, a distance of 1,304 miles from Vincennes, in thirty-six hours. M. Balsau

descended at Opotchka, seventy miles from Pskov, and M. Jacques Faure at Schimetz, near Breslau.

12. Sir Redvers Buller relinquished the command of the Natal Field Force, and left Pretoria *en route* to England. At Pietermaritzburg he was presented with a sword of honour as the "Saviour of Natal."

13. The special envoys from the Dalai Lama of Tibet received by the Czar at Livadia.

— Several officers of the military school at Fontainebleau transferred to their regiments and otherwise punished for refusing to hold social intercourse with a Jewish officer recently appointed an instructor at the school.

16. Lord Salisbury and Count Hatzfeld, German Ambassador to Great Britain, exchanged notes embodying an agreement whereby the two Governments were to observe a mutual policy in China.

16. The betrothal of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin announced.

— The general elections (with the exception of the returns for Orkney and Shetland) closed, showing that 362 Conservatives, 69 Liberal Unionists, 187 Liberals and 82 Nationalists had been returned, being a net gain of two seats to the Ministerialists.

17. Prince Hohenlohe, the Chancellor of the German Empire, resigned on the ground of age, and was succeeded by the Foreign Minister, Count von Bülow.

18. The Queen directed that the Duke of York on the opening of the Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth should be attended by a guard of honour representing every arm of the British army, including the Volunteers.

19. Count Zeppelin made a second ascent in his airship from Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance, and after maintaining itself at an unvaried height of 300 metres for an hour and twenty minutes, sailing both with and against the wind, descended safely on the lake. In the air its speed was about eight metres per second.

— Particulars published of a plot, discovered a month previously, to wreck the railway on which the Czar was about to travel to Livadia.

20. In consequence of the appointment of General Weyler as Captain General of Madrid, Señor Silvela's cabinet resigned.

— Mr. Kruger embarked on board the Dutch cruiser *Guelderland* for Europe.

23. A collision took place off the Spanish coast during a dense fog between two French steamers, one of which sank in twenty-five minutes with twenty-four persons, and in the Inland Sea (Japan) the French coast service ship *Caravane* was sunk after collision with a Japanese steamer.

24. Mr. Schreiner, ex-premier of Cape Colony, resigned his seat in the Cape Parliament in view of the dissatisfaction of the Afrikander Bond.

24. At Newmarket the Cambridgeshire Stakes won by an outsider, Mr. J. C. Sullivan's Berrill, 4 yrs., 7 st. 9 lb. (Thompson). Twenty-four ran.

25. Consequent upon the transfer of Lord Alverstone to the Lord Chief Justiceship, Lord Justice A. L. Smith appointed Master of the Rolls; Mr. Justice Stirling, Lord Justice of Appeal, and Mr. M. Ingle Joyce to be Judge of the High Court, Chancery Division.

— A memorial window to the poet Chaucer unveiled at St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, on the five hundredth anniversary of his death.

— The ceremony of proclaiming the Transvaal part of the empire took place at Pretoria.

26. Sipido, the assailant of the Prince of Wales at the Brussels railway station, arrested in Paris, and handed over to the Belgian authorities.

27. A heavy rainstorm, accompanied by snow, occurred on the north-east coast, causing great destruction of property and the loss of five lives from the widespread floods round Newcastle and Stockton.

— The transport *Aurania* not arriving at Southampton until late in the afternoon, the reception of the City Imperial Volunteers, for which great preparations had been made, was postponed.

29. The City Imperial Volunteers landed at Southampton and brought to Paddington, whence they marched through the dense crowds, assembled to welcome, to St. Paul's Cathedral, and afterwards to the Guildhall, the ceremonies closing with a banquet to the regiment in the ground of the Honourable Artillery Company. Upwards of 1,000 casualties, two of which were fatal, were caused by the defective arrangements for preserving order in the streets.

— The premises of Messrs. Tarrant & Co., wholesale chemists and druggists in New York, destroyed by a fire, which culminated in a terrific explosion, causing the loss of over thirty lives and property valued at 1,500,000 dols.

— A severe earthquake felt throughout Venezuela, especially at Caraccas, where the British Legation was wrecked. The shocks were renewed on the following day, and great damage done to several towns.

31. The union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland formally accomplished in Edinburgh. The ministers, deacons and brethren of both churches marched in separate processions to the Waverley Market, where the adoption of the uniting act was moved by Dr. Murray Mitchell, one of the two surviving ministers of the pre-Disruption period.

— Carlist demonstrations made in various parts of Catalonia, and large bands of armed men reported in the neighbourhood of some of the larger towns.

NOVEMBER.

1. The Queen approved various changes in the Cabinet, Lord Salisbury transferring the Foreign Secretaryship to Lord Lansdowne, and Sir M. White Ridley resigning the Home Office and Mr. Goschen the Admiralty.

— The municipal elections took place for the first time in the new London boroughs created under a recent Act. In the twenty-eight boroughs 1,362 councillors were elected, of whom 785 were Moderates or Conservatives, 460 Progressives or Liberals, 160 Independent and 11 Labour members.

2. Gold bars to the value of £150,000 seized on board the German steamship *Bundesrath* on her arrival at Cuxhaven from Delagoa Bay at the request of a syndicate holding vouchers for gold commandeered from the miners by the late Transvaal Government. The order for the seizure was, however, subsequently set aside.

3. The Canadian Volunteers, on their return from South Africa, received a magnificent welcome at Ottawa, and the city was brilliantly illuminated at night.

— M. Loubet, President of the French Republic, unveiled at Lyons a monument to his predecessor, President Carnot, who had been assassinated in that city in 1894.

5. A case of bubonic plague reported from Bremen, the victim being a seaman recently arrived from Buenos Ayres.

— In view of the widespread disaffection in Spain all Carlist journals suppressed and all Carlist clubs closed. The Constitution suspended throughout the country and numerous arrests, including priests and bishops, made.

6. The Presidential election in the United States resulted in the return, for a second period, of President McKinley, who polled 292 electoral votes against 155 given to Mr. Bryan.

7. A convention, signed at Washington, between the United States and Spain, by which the latter ceded for \$100,000 the islands of Cagayan and Sibutu, her sole remaining possessions in Oceania.

— The general election throughout Canada resulted in the maintenance in power of the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—Sir Charles Tupper and other Conservative leaders losing their seats.

9. At the Lord Mayor's banquet Lord Salisbury, in replying for Her Majesty's Ministers, urged upon his hearers the need of constant watchfulness abroad and preparedness at home.

— The election of mayors to the twenty-eight Metropolitan Borough Councils, created to take the place of the London vestries, took place; fourteen Conservatives, eight Liberals and six Independents were chosen.

10. At Paris, Salsou, the anarchist who had fired at the Shah, found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

10. Sir Redvers Buller arrived at Southampton, where he was warmly received, and presented with the freedom of the town. He afterwards proceeded to Aldershot, where he also received an enthusiastic welcome.

11. On the Paris-Orleans Railway an express train ran into an empty standing at Noisy-le-Sec station. Six passengers were killed and seventeen severely injured.

12. The Queen held a council at Windsor Castle at which the retiring Cabinet Ministers and their successors attended, and orders issued for the summoning of Parliament for a winter session.

13. The Paris Universal Exhibition closed after a fairly successful season, upwards of 47,000,000 tickets having been sold. The largest attendance on any one day was over 600,000.

— The Ogaden Somalis, in British East Africa, rose against the British Government, and a force about 4,000 strong attacked the British sub-Commissioner at Kismaya.

14. The French Senate by 74 votes to 37 confirmed the law passed by the Chamber admitting the right of women to practice at the French bar.

15. The Paris Madrid express, travelling at the rate of seventy miles an hour, left the metals and fell over an embankment near Dax, between Bordeaux and Bayonne. Out of thirty-four passengers, seventeen were killed on the spot, including the Peruvian envoy to France.

16. As the German Emperor was driving through the streets of Breslau a hatchet was thrown at him by a woman of weak intellect, but it only struck the carriage.

— Lord Rosebery, on his installation as Lord Rector of the Glasgow University, delivered a great speech on true Imperialism.

— At Johannesburg, five Italians, four Greeks and one Frenchman arrested on the charge of being concerned in a plot to explode a bomb in St. Mary's Church during the service at which Lord Roberts was expected to attend.

17. Sir Redvers Buller received by the Queen at Windsor with marked honour, and an enthusiastic greeting given to him by the town.

19. At Douglas, Isle of Man, a director, the manager and auditors of Dumbell's Bank found guilty of misappropriation and of the issue of false balance sheets, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

20. A banquet given to the Right Hon. Horace Plunkett, Vice-President of the Irish Board of Agriculture and Technical Education, when an address by 20,000 persons of every shade of political opinion was presented to him.

21. A serious storm raged along the Algerian coast, doing great damage to shipping. At Oran the lighthouse on the jetty and several wharves were swept away.

22. Ex-President Kruger arrived at Marseilles, and was received with great enthusiasm by a large concourse of people, but without any disturbance of order.

23. The War Office issued orders for the immediate disembodiment of twenty-one battalions of Militia, and further announced that except under unforeseen circumstances the annual training of the Militia in the ensuing year would not be required.

24. Mr. Kruger, who had slept at Dijon on the previous night, arrived in Paris, and was rapturously received by enormous crowds. He paid an official visit to President Loubet, who returned the visit.

26. Upwards of fifty deaths, besides numerous severe cases of illness, occurred in Manchester and the neighbourhood, due, as was supposed, to the arsenical poisoning of certain qualities of beer sold in the public-houses.

29. The results of the triennial elections of the London School Board showed a gain of four seats by the Moderates and one by the Progressives, the numbers being twenty-eight Progressives, twenty-five Moderates and two Roman Catholics. There was an aggregate decrease of 277,014 votes on those polled in 1897.

30. Lord Roberts formally made over the command in South Africa to Lord Kitchener and left Pretoria for Durban.

— The Royal Society's medals awarded as follows: the Copley Medal to M. M. Berthelot, for chemical research; Rumford Medal to M. A. H. Becquerel, for physical research; the Royal Medal to Major P. A. M'Mahon, for mathematical science, and the other to Prof. Alf. Newton, for ornithological and zoological research; the Davy Medal to Prof. G. Körner, and the Darwin Medal to Prof. Ernst Haeckel, of Jena.

DECEMBER.

1. Ex-President Kruger left Paris amid great enthusiasm, with the intention of going to Berlin, but at Cologne he received notice that the German Emperor could not receive him, and he consequently abandoned his journey.

3. The sixth session of the fifteenth Parliament of the Queen's reign opened by Royal Commission, and in the House of Commons Mr. Gully re-elected Speaker without opposition.

5. The German Emperor issued an edict substituting English for French as a compulsory subject in the three highest classes of the Prussian Gymnasias.

6. Ex-President Kruger left Cologne for the Hague, and was enthusiastically received all along his route through Holland, especially at his destination.

— A mass meeting of the Afrikaner party held at Worcester, Cape Colony, attended by nearly 10,000 persons, including a hundred representatives of upwards of 120,000 others. Resolutions were passed censuring the British policy and claiming independence for the revolted states.

8. Ex-President Kruger formally received by Queen Wilhelmina at the Hague, the interview lasting less than a quarter of an hour.

8. Lord Roberts arrived at Cape Town, where he was enthusiastically received by the population, European and native.

— A number of Nelson relics stolen from the Painted Hall at Greenwich Hospital, during the night, by a burglar, who escaped.

11. A Nationalist Convention, largely attended, held at the Rotunda, Dublin, when a resolution moved by Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., excluding Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., and Mr. J. L. Carew, M.P., from the Irish Parliamentary party, was passed after a violent debate by an overwhelming majority.

12. The Inter-University Football Match (Rugby rules), played at Queen's Ground, Kensington, resulted in the victory of Oxford by ten points to eight.

13. General Clements, after a severe engagement in the Magliesberg, about 28 miles from Pretoria, forced to withdraw with severe loss in killed and wounded, and leaving nearly 600 prisoners in the hands of the Boers under General Delarey.

14. The United States Senate adopted an amendment (moved by Senator Davis, Republican) to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, setting aside the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty regarding the Nicaragua Canal.

— The Château de Bel Œil, near Tournay, erected in 1394, the residence of the Prince de Ligne, with nearly all its valuable pictures and priceless treasures, totally destroyed by fire.

15. Parliament prorogued after a session lasting only eight days from the reading of the Queen's Speech.

— The Earl of Hopetoun, on arriving at Sydney to take up the post of Governor-General of Federated Australia, received with remarkable enthusiasm.

16. A body of Boers, estimated at nearly 1,000 strong, crossed the Orange River at Rhenoster Hock, and on the following day another body 2,000 strong crossed at Sand Drift and occupied Philipstown in Cape Colony.

18. The French Chamber of Deputies, after a sitting marked by extreme violence and protracted until 3 A.M. by the hostility of the Nationalists, passed the Amnesty Bill, covering all persons connected with the Dreyfus trial.

21. The election at Blackpool, consequent upon the elevation of Sir M. White Ridley (C.) to the House of Lords, resulted in the return of Mr. Worseley Taylor (C.) by 7,059 votes against 5,589 polled by Alderman Heale (L.).

— Terrible gales raged round the British Isles, lasting over twenty-four hours, and doing great damage to life and property, especially to the fishing boats of Scotland and Shetland, etc.

24. The joint note, embodying the terms of peace with China, presented at Peking to Prince Ching, the Chinese plenipotentiary, by the Spanish Minister on behalf of his colleagues.

28. Terrible south-westerly gales raged round the British Isles, causing great destruction of property on sea and land as well as serious loss of life. A ship off Holyhead went down with thirty-three men; all the lighthouse keepers on one of the Shetlands were washed away, and disasters were reported all round the coast.

29. Helvetia, a strong position on the Machersdorp-Lydenberg line, captured by the Boers, the British losing fifty killed and wounded and two hundred prisoners.

— The Théâtre Français, rebuilt after the fire on its former site in the Palais Royal, opened with great ceremony, the President of the Republic and ministers attending.

31. One of the upright stones supporting a lintel of the outer circle of Stonehenge fell, owing to the violence of the gale with which the century closed. The last occasion on which a stone fell was in 1759.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1900.

LITERATURE.

WE noted last year a slight decrease in the number of books published in 1899 compared with those published in 1898. The statistics of publishing during 1900 show the same tendency to a slight restriction of output. In the latter case, however, a definite cause may be assigned to the decrease. The anxiety arising from the war in South Africa, and the unexpected prolongation of hostilities undoubtedly rendered publishers cautious in issuing books of general interest to a public whose attention was distracted by public events. The public, however, was ready enough to read books about the war, and all kinds of books dealing with different aspects of it appeared and are still appearing in rapid succession. Many of these will afford valuable material for the historian of the war, but we have not thought it necessary to do more than to call attention to those histories of the military operations which are on a more comprehensive scale. In general literature, the public, if we may judge from statistics, has shown a greater taste for serious reading than it showed in some previous years. There has been a certain number of novels which have been very widely read, but on the whole, although the output of fiction has been large, it nevertheless has shown a slight tendency to decrease. The same may be said of poetry and works of belles lettres. It is not surprising that there should have been a diminished demand for books of this class when we consider the expenses which have fallen upon the nation in connection with the war, and the fact that the war has naturally tended to divert attention from books to newspapers. Nevertheless, in some departments of literature there has been no decline but rather the contrary. History, biography and travel show a larger output, and in the two former particularly many books have appeared which are of real importance, and will, undoubtedly, form valuable permanent additions to the library.

POETRY.

Very little poetry that, so far as the critic of to-day is able to judge, is likely to live, has been produced during 1900. The poets who stand highest in popular estimation were not entirely silent, but their utter-

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a work never before attempted in this country, that, namely, of which he has given us the first instalment in **A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe** (Blackwood). The early period of which the first volume now published treats, that namely of "Classical and Mediæval Criticism," demands for its treatment close erudition of a special kind, and the faculty of rendering attractive to a modern public a mass of rather dry and ponderous learning. This Mr. Saintsbury, by the skill with which he deals with his material, and his power of keeping in touch with modern points of view, has successfully done. He finds the origin of criticism in the Greek Schools of Rhetoric and traces its course in the hands of the Sophists of Plato, and of Aristotle, giving however special prominence to, and a most interesting appreciation of, the critical work of Aristophanes as it appears in the famous attack on Euripides in "The Frogs." Some general discussion of the nature of literary criticism is contained in the volume, Mr. Saintsbury himself being inclined to lay stress on the personal element in criticism rather than on any common recognised standard, and to give to the expression rather than the matter the highest rank as a test of literary merit. In this he finds himself, among classical writers, on Longinus, and among mediæval writers on Dante, whose "De Vulgari Elogio" he regards as a critical document of much importance. Historically, Mr. Saintsbury works steadily down to Dante through all the writers who touch on criticism, including not only those who deal professedly with rhetoric and grammar, but also poets and miscellaneous writers; and his illuminating treatment promises well for the further volumes dealing with modern criticism.

Professor Dowden found in **Puritan and Anglican Studies in Literature** (Kegan Paul), a subject of inquiry which deserved a fuller consideration than it had hitherto received. The problem he attempted to solve was this: Why is it that the Puritans who had so little sympathy with art as the handmaid of religion, were yet far more fertile than Churchmen in the highest imaginative religious literature? Professor Dowden found the answer in the fact that for Puritans "the inward drama of the spiritual life became more tragically earnest; its lyrical cries of hope and fear, of anguish and joy, became more poignant. God and the soul were the chief actors in the drama, but for the Puritan imagination a world of magic lay around the human soul—blessed angels, demons of the pit, special interpretations of Providence, miraculous words of Scripture, preternatural voices echoing in the heart." The Puritan writer, in fact, yielded to the free expression of emotion, while the Anglican was restrained by the fetters of formalism.

Mr. Walter Raleigh followed his suggestive volumes on "The English Novel" and on "Style" with a book on **Milton** (Arnold), which, in manner it is sometimes marred by an excessive straining after originality of phrase, will certainly help to establish the author as one of the most capable and intelligent of literary critics.

The "Periods of European Literature" (Blackwood) is a series being conducted under the Editorship of Professor Saintsbury, and two volumes belonging to it have recently appeared of which the best is Mr. Gregory Smith's **The Transition Period**. It embraces roughly the

fifteenth century—an epoch, in England at any rate, not unfruitful, but not conspicuous for any great names in poetry, though in prose Malory gives it distinction. The interval between Chaucer and Spenser was the period in which Scotland produced a well-known school of poetry; France produced Villon and Froissart. On the whole it was a period of growth and preparation rather than of individual genius, and Mr. Gregory Smith shows himself sufficiently equipped with the learning necessary for the treatment of a literary age which to ordinary students is rather obscure. The other book was **The Romantic Triumph**, by Mr. J. S. Osmond, which, though it has merit as a sketch of modern European literature, suffers from the familiar difficulty of defining the subject matter, and the lack of a definite view as to what should or should not be included under a clearly realised conception of romanticism.

The Taylorian lectures delivered at Oxford from 1889 to 1899 were collected into one volume under the title **Studies in European Literature** (Clarendon Press). They are unequal in merit, but some of them are of great interest: and we may particularly mention Walter Pater's lecture on "Prosper Mérimée," Professor Dowden's on "Literary Criticism in France," and M. Bourget's on "Flaubert."

As a contribution to a future history of modern French literature, Mr. Arthur Symons' **The Symbolist Movement in Literature** (Heinemann) will be valuable. With symbolism—the revolt of a recent school of French poets against the rigid classicism so peculiar to French composition—Mr. Arthur Symons is closely in sympathy. If he gives too little prominence to its unhealthy "decadent" side, he has yet done good service in calling the attention of Englishmen to a new note in French poetry, which has won for itself a hearing among the soundest critics, as an assertion of the freedom of poetic utterance against an excessive academic formality.

Among histories of particular national literatures, of which many have been published of late years, two have seen the light during the past year which are of great importance, but which necessarily appeal to a limited class. Scholars have worked zealously and continuously during the past century at unearthing the voluminous treasures of Indo-Aryan writings—the name most familiar in England in connection with the study being that of Professor Max Müller, who died full of years and of honours in 1900. The researches of Max Müller, and of others before him, have rendered available an immense amount of matter recording the extraordinarily isolated development through many centuries of Sanskrit thought and poetry. There was still required a succinct, and so far as it could be, popular account of the result of these researches. And this has now been given us in Professor A. A. Macdonell's **History of Sanskrit Literature** (Heinemann)—a book of great value to the student as a comprehensive survey, and as a guide to the bibliography of the subject. The other literary history to which we referred is of a still more recondite character and enters ground almost unbroken by English scholars. Few Orientalists have made any close study of Turkish poetry. Founded upon Persian models, it has an interesting history dating from the fourteenth

century. No one now living has devoted so much attention to it as Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, who some years ago published a selection from Ottoman verse, and has now in a learned and yet popular manner traced the first period of the history in the first volume of a **History of Ottoman Poetry** (Luzac).

Among works dealing with particular authors, apart from the host of reprints of English and other classics, the output of which shows no sign of decrease, we may single out as of special importance Professor Skeat's careful investigation of the **Chaucer Canon** (Clarendon Press) and a new instalment of the "Tudor Translations Series," giving in three volumes **Rabelais** (Nutt) as translated by Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter Motteux, with excellent introductions by Mr. C. Whibley. Among anthologies, of which a good many are also being published, Mr. Quiller Couch's **Oxford Book of English Verse** (Clarendon Press) is perhaps the most important. It is a well-selected representative collection, considerably larger in scope than Palgrave's "Golden Treasury."

Books and essays of a more discursive and less critical character than any we have mentioned are not numerous. **Conferences on Books and Men** (Smith, Elder), published anonymously, presents a series of pleasant and scholarly *causeries* on literary and university matters; and a volume by Mr. C. Whibley, an original essayist, called **The Pageantry of Life** (Heinemann), took as its theme those characters of history whom the author describes as "Artists in Life," and consists of a series of somewhat unequal studies of such personages as Pepys, Beckford, Beau Brummel, closing with a fine paper on "Disraeli the Younger" regarded as a typical specimen of a dandy of the old school.

HISTORY.

Taking first the writers who have dealt with the history of the British Islands, we shall not be far wrong in assigning the first place to Mr. Andrew Lang's **History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation** (Blackwood). The first volume only of this work has at present appeared, but Mr. Lang's treatment of the earlier period may be taken as a sufficient guarantee for the high quality of his entire work, which promises to be the most readable and complete History of Scotland we possess. Mr. Lang's recognised position as a poet, an essayist, a *causeur*, and a bibliophile—even the skill which he has shown in handling isolated periods of Scottish history—had hardly prepared his readers for the display of persevering labour and research required for a work on so considerable a scale. The present volume affords ample proof of both diligence and learning, and, moreover, of the power to marshal and record historical facts in a broad and impartial spirit. What, however, is perhaps equally important is that Mr. Lang, as the learned and serious historian, does not sacrifice the qualities which have won him popularity as an entertaining writer: and his history undoubtedly gains by his habit of illuminating the subject from his acquaintance with the literature and history of other times and countries.

Of a very different character, but perhaps equally important though less popular, is a history which last year gave us of another of the three divisions of Great Britain. The Royal Commission on Land in Wales took a very liberal view of its duties, and collected a mass of material of great utility for the historian of early Wales. The report which it issued forms the basis of **The Welsh People** (Unwin), a work compiled by Professor John Rhys, our leading authority on the primitive Celt, and Mr. Brynmor Jones. With the considerable additions to the Report of the Commission made by the learned authors, the book comprises in one volume a fairly exhaustive history of early Wales, and a review of religion, education, literature, and social life in the Principality during modern times. The most striking feature in the laborious investigation here made into Welsh ethnology refers to the so-called Goidelic peoples found in Wales by the Brythons in the second century, B.C. It has generally been assumed that these were mainly of Aryan origin. Chiefly on philological grounds Professor Rhys arrives at a different conclusion, and he is indeed of opinion that the non-Aryan element was not only then strongly represented but "survives in force" at the present day. The book is not an attractive one for the general reader, but it is the most learned Welsh history we possess and of the greatest value to the student of Celtic ethnology.

Ireland has not been treated in the same comprehensive way as Scotland and Wales. But we must find a place for mention of a substantial work in two volumes by Mr. T. Dunbar Ingram, called **A Critical Examination of Irish History** (Longmans). It deals with the period from 1595 to 1800, and is particularly concerned with affairs in the Irish Parliament just before the Union. It is a book of wide research but it is avowedly written in a partisan spirit, being mainly a defence of English policy, and an attack on the opinions expressed by Mr. Lecky in his "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century."

One great undertaking, dealing with our Empire beyond the seas, has had to struggle against an adverse fate, but is nevertheless advancing to completion. We refer to Sir William Wilson Hunter's **History of British India** (Longmans). Sir William Hunter, after much labour in preparation for this important and necessary work, lost the main part of his materials by shipwreck. With persevering courage he began again and produced the first volume in 1899. Before the second volume could be completed, Sir William died, and his work had to be taken up by another hand. The first volume only brought the history down to 1623—almost the beginning of what may properly be described as Anglo-Indian history. The second volume published in 1900 gives the history of the Old East India Company down to its amalgamation with the new company, the final portion of this volume being written by Mr. P. E. Roberts, who will continue the work. He is well acquainted with Sir William Hunter's methods, and is able to avail himself of his materials, so that despite the misfortunes that attended the undertaking at the outset, we may look forward to possessing a work which will not fall far short of the project of its original author, and which will supply what has long been a real need, a complete history of our Indian Empire.

Passing to English history proper, we find no work on a comprehensive scale to detain us. An essay which cannot be overlooked by future historians is Mr. A. F. Pollard's **England Under Protector Somerset** (Kegan Paul), a severe and rather unattractive presentment of facts, but possessing all the merit in the way of rectification of accepted opinion which a careful and discriminating inquiry into a particular period still so often achieves. Mr. Pollard unquestionably throws new light on the character of the Protector, showing that he was by no means so unscrupulous and purely self-seeking a politician as he has been generally thought to be. In minuteness and accuracy the book is worthy of one of the chief contributors to the "Dictionary of National Biography."

Mr. Julian S. Corbett's **Successors of Drake** (Longmans) was a worthy successor to the same author's "Drake and the Tudor Navy." It is a stirring record of the closing phase of the great Elizabethan war in which all sources of information, including manuscripts still uncalendared, are laid under contribution. It contains also some fine reproductions of portraits in the National Portrait Gallery.

Another work giving an aspect of events hitherto presented in too one-sided a fashion is Mr. Edward Smith's **England and America after Independence** (Constable). American historians have laid upon England the chief blame for the hostility between the two peoples which followed the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Smith, who brings his history down to the Alabama arbitration, presents the English side of the case, and supports his view largely by quotations from documents which have hitherto been inaccessible, and from original letters and despatches.

Nothing is more characteristic of modern historical work than the publication of "Source Books" containing selections from the original documents on which history is based. A very good example of this kind of book is **The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485**, by Dr. Charles Gross (Longmans). Dr. Gross is one of the American historians who have done so much good work in this direction. It is an admirably exhaustive bibliography of English history, with careful estimates of the sources to which reference is made.

The mass of volumes, English and foreign, which already compose the literature of Waterloo might well deter a writer who proposed to add to them. But the authority of Judge O'Connor Morris as a military historian gives weight to his **Campaign of 1815** (Grant Richards) and it is a book which deserves commemoration as a sound, lucid and readable summary of the present learning on the subject, in which judicious use is made of all the available sources of information.

One chapter of the modern history of England, or rather of the British Empire, was recorded in the last book written by Mr. H. D. Traill, and published some months after his death, which occurred in February of last year. This was **England, Egypt and the Sudan** (Constable), a book which supplemented and expanded the work of previous writers, such as Sir Alfred Milner, by bringing the history down to Lord Kitchener's expedition, and the reorganisation of the

Sudan after the Khalifa's death, and also by treating events more definitely from the point of view of English politics.

With this we may connect a work tracing the history of English policy in another quarter of the globe, *viz.*, **The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era** (Blackwood). The book is ostensibly founded on an account of the career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, but Mr. Alexander Michie, the author, has a close acquaintance with China, and he treats the life of Sir Rutherford Alcock as the text for an able review of the relations of England with China in recent times and for a strong advocacy of an energetic forward policy.

So much solid work has been done of late years in the matter of local history that no excuse is needed for selecting as worthy of mention one or two books which come under this head. **The County Palatine of Durham: A Study in Constitutional History** (Longmans), by Mr. G. T. Lapsley, was one of the "Harvard Historical Studies," but it undoubtedly deserved to be published as it has been in England as a really important contribution to the study of local records and of their relation to the development of English law and custom. The history of Durham has been discussed by many leading English historians; but the first really exhaustive treatment of it is given in this elaborate volume from America. To Messrs. Blackwood's series of "County Histories of Scotland" was added a volume full of sound information on the **History of Aberdeen and Banff**, by Mr. W. Watt. The peculiar and interesting history of the "Land of Home Rule," as Sir Spencer Walpole termed the Isle of Man in his book on the subject, was written by Mr. A. W. Moore, the Speaker of the House of Keys, in a work of two volumes called **A History of the Isle of Man** (Fisher Unwin) which will take its place as the fullest and most authoritative history of the island which has yet appeared. A sumptuous volume on **The Cinque Ports** by Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer (Blackwood) was not intended to possess great archaeological value, but it is an interesting attempt to portray the old life of the ports and to invest them with the romance of the past; and it has some especially good illustrations in black and white by Mr. William Hyde.

But perhaps the most important undertaking in the sphere of local history is the beginning of the **Victoria History of the Counties of England** (Constable), edited by Mr. H. A. Doubleday, the first attempt on a comprehensive and systematic scale to describe the history, characteristics and present condition of the English counties. A large number of contributors with special authority in different branches of knowledge have been engaged to assist in the work, the size of which may be estimated from the fact that Hampshire, the county on which operations have been first begun, is to occupy four substantial quartos. The first of these has been published, containing a complete account of the natural history and antiquities of the county, and giving good promise of excellence in the remaining volumes.

English Church History is another field which has attracted many workers of late years. The most substantial contribution to it during last year was probably Dr. William A. Shaw's **History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth** (Long-

mans). This work stands on an entirely different footing from the numerous popular histories of the Church and of special periods recently published. It is a minute and exhaustive examination of the constitutional history of the twenty years, 1640-1660—a period crowded with ecclesiastical change and problems of Church government. Dr. Shaw, by his elaborate study and collation of all available authorities, and his persevering investigation of detail, has produced a treatise indispensable to the student—an important feature of the book being the appendices which go closely into the financial side of the attempt to set up a Presbyterian system in England, and into the question of the confiscation and sale of Church property. A series of handbooks on the history of the English Church, published by Messrs. Macmillan under the editorship of the Dean of Winchester, call for notice on account of the names of the writers who contribute to it, and as likely when completed to form a considerable complete history. The two first to appear are **The English Church from Its Foundation to the Norman Conquest** by Mr. William Hunt, and **The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries**, by Rev. W. W. Capes.

Before passing from the history of our own country we must glance at the literature produced by the war in South Africa. A very large number of books of a more or less ephemeral character have appeared, describing special parts of the campaign, and written chiefly by war correspondents. The unexpected prolongation of hostilities has of course rendered impossible any complete record of the campaign, though such a record was attempted in a lucid and vigorous book by Dr. Conan Doyle, called **The Great Boer War** (Smith, Elder). Two histories on a larger scale have been undertaken, to be completed when peace is restored, and of each of them a first volume has appeared. **The Times History of the War in South Africa**, edited by Mr. L. S. Amery (Sampson Low) is conceived on a large scale and promises to be a careful and thorough record. The first volume carries the story not much further than the publication of the Ultimatum; and some five or six volumes are to follow. **The History of the Boer War** (Methuen) is by Mr. F. H. E. Cunliffe—a well and judiciously written chronicle with numerous illustrations, to be completed in two volumes.

We may now turn our attention to books which do not directly touch English history. Mr. T. Rice Holmes, the author of a "History of the Indian Mutiny," has gone back to classical times and presents us with a substantial volume on **Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul** (Macmillan), putting together, in a manner which will certainly not repel ordinary readers, all the evidence which helps to solve the many questions as to strategy, ethnology, Cæsar's credibility as a writer, and so on, which have become somewhat obscured either by excessive partisanship or by the interminable diligence of German research. Another exploration into ancient history, of a nature perhaps rather antiquarian than strictly historical, is Professor Alexander van Millingen's **Byzantine Constantinople** (Murray). Professor van Millingen has studied for some years "the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites"—to adopt the phrase which forms the sub-title of the book. Future excava-

tions will probably reveal many facts at present unknown, but no one is likely to deal more completely with the evidence at present at our disposal than Professor van Millingen, who aims at identifying the historic sites of Roman and Byzantine Constantinople, being "sustained by the conviction that the Empire of which new Rome was the capital defended the higher life of mankind against formidable antagonists, and rendered eminent service to the cause of human welfare."

Two more volumes have appeared in the "Story of the Nations Series" (Fisher Unwin)—**Norway**, by Mr. Boyeson, in which a rather undue amount of space is allowed to the early history for which the Saga Literature is the chief authority, and a useful history of **Modern Italy**, by Professor Orsi.

Lastly we may mention the history of the "Hudson's Bay Fur-Trading Company," compiled by Mr. Beckles Willson from the archives of the Company and other sources of information, under the title of **The Great Company** (Smith, Elder), giving a complete view of the solid basis of fact underlying the romance which novelists have thrown over the adventures of the fur-traders of the West.

SOCIAL ECONOMICS.

The Dictionary of Political Economy, edited by Mr. R. H. Inglis Palgrave (Macmillan) is a work of great value to the student of economics, as there had been nothing before it in the same field so wide in scope—at least in the English language. Among the contributors to it we find the names of the most eminent economists in England, in America, and on the Continent; and the plan is consistently adopted throughout the work of presenting every side of a question without engaging in speculation, or insisting on disputable views.

An outcome of the good work done by the London School of Economics is the **Early History of the English Poor Law** (Cambridge University Press), in which Miss Leonard traces in great detail the history of poor-relief from 1349 to the reign of Charles I.

THEOLOGY.

Early in the year appeared a book which had been expected, and to which much personal interest attached, *viz.*, **The Apocalypse: An Introductory Study of the Revelation of St. John** (Macmillan). It was the result of a study of the Apocalypse continued during a very full and busy life by Archbishop Benson. He did not live to see it published, but Miss Benson undertook the task, and the book contains a preface written by her, in which she truly observes that the interpretation of the Apocalyptic imagery was a work for which the Archbishop was especially qualified by temperament and training. He treats the Book of Revelation purely as a spiritual drama setting forth spiritual principles, and though his interpretation, as might be expected from a mind of such imaginative subtlety, is sometimes difficult to grasp in its completeness, the book is full of suggestive and

inspiring thoughts, and must take an important place in Apocalyptic literature.

From the other abundant yearly volumes of exegesis we need not do more than select the one which seems most remarkable, *viz.*, Professor W. M. Ramsay's **Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians** (Hodder & Stoughton). The object of Professor Ramsay's work is to settle the controversy which has raged among scholars as to whether the Epistle is addressed to the Christians of North Galatia or to those of South Galatia. He decides unhesitatingly in favour of the latter. His argument is founded on a close study of the political and geographical conditions of Asia Minor, founded on modern archaeological discoveries. The value of his "commentary" lies, in fact, in the liberal view which he takes of the work of a commentator, and in his success in showing how the Epistle throws light on "contemporary history in its widest sense—the history of religion, society, thought, manners, education—in the eastern provinces of the Empire."

A book in which, as in the case of one or two other volumes published last year, a number of writers discussed theological or ecclesiastical questions, was **The Church, Past and Present** (Nisbet). The attitude adopted by the writers towards the Church problems of the day is indicated on the title. They are for the most part historical scholars: such as the late Bishop Creighton, Chancellor Lias, Professor W. E. W. Collins, and Professor G. Watkin, who edited the book. They regard the present in the light of the past, emphasising the historical and progressive aspect of the Church; and they recur to "the first principles of the Reform movement in the sixteenth century" with a continual reference, in the spirit of the early Reformers, to the teaching and authority of Scripture. Applying the historical method to the theory of the Church embodied in the "Oxford movement," they believe, in the words of Mr. Llewelyn Davies, that "the Church organised itself, not on any prescribed plan, but just as organisation was called for by its nature and its task, combined with the circumstances of its history." A valuable collection of essays, somewhat more definitely "Anglican," was **Church Problems: A View of Modern Anglicanism**, in which various writers, including laymen, such as Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. C. A. Whitmore, M.P., dealt with such questions as "The Church and the Empire," "Disendowment," "Education," "Parties in the Church," "The Parochial System," "Convocation," "Anglican Theology," "The Bible and Modern Criticism"—a candid and well-balanced essay by Mr. T. B. Strong—and "The Anglican Spirit in Literature." The temper of the book throughout is that of enlightened and moderate Churchmen anxious to commend the Anglican system to popular intelligence. A similar collection of papers, but not, like the two just mentioned, professedly marked by a unity of purpose, was **The Atonement in Modern Religious Thought, A Theological Symposium** (J. Clarke). The contributors comprised many distinguished theologians, English, American and Continental, who approached the subject from different points of view. Although no common doctrine is arrived at, the book serves the useful purpose of focussing the main difficulties which the doctrine presents, and, as a more positive result, of attempting

to clear away some misconceptions, and some too crude or mechanical theories which have found favour in the past. A similar protest against formalism, a desire to simplify Christianity, was the note of a volume of essays by eminent men of different religious bodies called **Christian Conference Essays** (A. & C. Black), edited by Mr. A. G. B. Atkinson, and containing an Introduction by the Bishop of Hereford.

A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity was the title given to the Jowett Lectures for 1898-99, published last year by Messrs. A. & C. Black. The author was Professor Charles, who reveals in his lectures a wide knowledge of the literature bearing on Hebrew and Christian eschatology, and moreover writes in a lucid and agreeable style.

Pro Christo et Ecclesia (Macmillan) was an anonymous work, the insight and originality of which makes it deserve to rank among the most suggestive books of the year. Its main theme is Pharisaism. It essays to supply an answer to the difficult question why it was that men so devout and so earnest, such enthusiastic guardians of a pure Messianic hope, incurred the special condemnation of Christ. The answer is found in the want of love for and trust in their fellow-men, which was the essence of the Pharisaic Separatists. This spirit is traced in the world of to-day, in which the divine ideal is marred by the want of love, and in which the "sin of assurance" interferes with the life of fellowship and prayer.

A scholarly and complete edition of **The Works of Bishop Butler** by Dr. J. H. Bernard (Macmillan) should not pass unnoticed, forming part of a series called "The English Theological Library."

Under this head we may perhaps mention, both on account of the distinguished scholars who contribute to it, and the excellence of its purpose, a series of books (Kegan Paul) intended to popularise the results of Egyptian and Assyrian researches, well written and illustrated, and adapted to satisfy the curiosity of many who have not the time or inclination to become Oriental specialists. The volumes already published are Dr. Wallis Budge's **Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life, Egyptian Magic**, and **Easy Lessons in Hieroglyphics**, and Mr. King's **Babylonian Religion and Mythology**.

In the domain of philosophy, perhaps the only book to be mentioned which is of real importance and likely to become a standard work is Mr. Leslie Stephen's **The English Utilitarians** (Duckworth). It errs somewhat in the way of bulk: the writings of Bentham, Mill and others are summarised too copiously. But in his account of the origin and development of the doctrine, of the attacks made upon it, of its relation to politics and society, and of the *personnel* of its exponents, Mr. Stephen shows himself again a facile writer and an accurate and learned utilitarian philosopher.

A philosopher of a different school was John Grote, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. His **Exploratio Philosophica** (Cambridge University Press) was a continuation, edited by Mr. J. B. Mayor, of a work published under the same title in 1865, shortly before Professor Grote's death. Though written at a time when philosophy in England was in a very different condition from what it

is now, and when in particular utilitarianism exercised a much greater authority, these papers of Professor Grote's, particularly his criticisms of Spencerian individualism, and his discussion of the duties attaching to the exercise of private judgment, are of great value.

Another book by a Cambridge thinker is Mr. Bertrand Russell's **Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz** (Cambridge University Press).

SCIENCE.

An extensive **Treatise on Zoology** (A. & C. Black), to consist of ten volumes, has been undertaken by Professor Ray Lankester with the assistance mainly of Oxford graduates. For the first instalment, "Echinoderma," Mr. F. A. Bather is responsible. The volume traces for advanced students the development of life-forms, with admirably lucid illustrations, and bibliographies applicable to each branch of the subject. The second volume treats of the parifera and the coelentera. It is by various hands, the most important portion of it being Professor E. A. Minchin's account of the sponges.

From the Cambridge University Press came an exhaustive work on an abstruse subject, **A Treatise on Crystallography** by Professor W. J. Lewis; and the first volume of Lord Rayleigh's **Scientific Papers**, in which this publishing house follows up the work it has already done in collecting the papers of other Cambridge men of science, such as Cayley, Stokes and Lord Kelvin. The volume is mainly mathematical, but it touches a variety of allied subjects, in which Lord Rayleigh has done valuable work—optics, acoustics, hydrodynamics, heat and electricity.

An interesting investigation into the lower intelligences was made by Mr. C. Lloyd Morgan in his **Animal Behaviour** (Arnold). He may be said to have advanced in some degree our knowledge of this difficult subject by his analysis of the instances of an apparent exercise of reason in animals, in which he finds an ability to profit by experience rather than a grasp of principles; by his inquiry into the nature of animal consciousness, and by a copious collection of illustrative examples.

BIOGRAPHY.

In the Life of **Prince Charles Edward** (Goupil) Mr. Andrew Lang achieves a success as great as that which attended his "History of Scotland" already noticed. The series to which this book belongs has produced many notable lives of royal persons by distinguished historians. One feature of them has been the excellence of the illustrations, consisting of reproductions of famous portraits, or pictures of objects of antiquarian interest. In this respect the present volume compares well with the previous ones. Of Mr. Lang's work, it may be said that it is the best account we at present possess of the career of the "Young Pretender" and of the rising in 1745. He is a well-known authority on the subject, and has utilised to good purpose the large number of documents illustrative of the period which are now accessible, particularly making more use than has hitherto been made of the Stuart papers at Windsor. A delightful picture is drawn of the boy-

hood of Charles; the '45 insurrection is described with spirit, and yet with the critical care and judgment of the true historian, and the pitiful and tragic ending is recounted with power and without extenuation.

A biographical study which, on account not only of its merit but of its author, ranked as one of the chief books of the year was Lord Rosebery's **Napoleon: The Last Phase** (Humphreys). It is a study of the fallen Emperor at St. Helena; and in adding another volume to the mass of books about Napoleon, Lord Rosebery selected this particular incident in his life because "in this final phase we have some chance of seeing something of the man." This sentence gives the key to the book. It is not devoted primarily to a careful sifting of biographical documents; it is not in any degree bibliographical; it throws no new light on the subject by means of facts hitherto undisclosed. It gives a graphic description of the surroundings of the prisoner at St. Helena, and of his daily pursuits; but its main theme is the character of the Emperor and the question of his treatment at the hands of the British Government and of Sir Hudson Lowe. On the latter point, round which so much controversy has raged, Lord Rosebery takes the side of those who think that the Government, and the jailer who represented it, took too narrow a view of their responsibilities. They did not recognise sufficiently the claims of greatness. For Lord Rosebery, Napoleon was a man who "under the fiercest glare of scrutiny, enlarged indefinitely the limits of human conception and human possibility." He recognises in Napoleon the abuse, not less than the use, of super-human faculties. But he urges in eloquent language the allowances which must be made for him, when his training, and the circumstances of his career, are considered. As a character study, this volume written by a man himself versed in political affairs, and the master of an admirable literary style, must be regarded as one of the most important of contributions to Napoleonic literature.

For exactly similar reasons connected with the authorship of the book, public attention was at once called to Mr. John Morley's **Cromwell** (Macmillan). This again is a volume making no pretence to enlarge our knowledge of the facts that make up the history of the Great Rebellion. It is a study of the Protector's life and character; and more than that, it is a disquisition on the whole period embraced by his life, and on the life and character of the chief actors in the great drama. Mr. Morley writes as an ardent admirer of Cromwell, who will admit against his hero no charge of insincerity. Yet in this, as in other matters, he maintains a judicial temper, and in discussing the issues between king and people, the points of political and ecclesiastical controversy, and such questions as the Calvinistic doctrine of fatalism, to which an interesting chapter is devoted, Mr. Morley's insight and grasp of events make him an instructive guide, and his personal sympathies seldom cause him to change the rôle of the historian for that of the partisan.

Another book on the same subject and written from the same point of view belonged to "The Heroes of the Nations Series" (Putnams). This was Mr. Firth's **Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans**

in England, an able eulogy of the Protector, depicting him not only as a great soldier, but as a great statesman. A good feature of Mr. Firth's labours is his study of the military side of the Civil War; and his account of the principal actions, illustrated by plans, will be found instructive. The other volumes added last year to the same series deserve to be chronicled, *viz.*, a useful summary of the career of **Bismarck**, by Mr. J. W. Headlam; a life of **Daniel O'Connell**, by Mr. R. Dunlop, who had been selected to write on the Irish leader in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and a vigorous, and graphic sketch by Mr. James Breck Perkins of **Cardinal Richelieu and the Growth of the French Power**.

With the books we have mentioned by Lord Rosebery, Mr. Morley and Mr. Andrew Lang, we must place, though for different reasons, among the chief biographies of the year the **Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley** (Macmillan). The importance of this book, of course, arises from the fact that it is the standard, or, as it is called, "authorised" biography of a man who but recently occupied a conspicuous place in the eye of the world. It is written by his son, Mr. Leonard Huxley, who naturally devoted himself to describing the personal life of his father, rather than to any estimate or detailed account of his scientific work. It seems inevitable that a filial biography should tend to prolixity and the inclusion of trivialities, and Mr. Leonard Huxley is not wholly free from this fault. But his two volumes present a very interesting picture, drawn largely by quotations from correspondence, of the untiring industry, the geniality, the fearless self-confidence and keen intellect of one of the foremost men of his day.

It is a far cry from the keen and busy man of science to the fastidious poet, but the two volumes which Mr. Basil Champneys devoted to the **Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore** (Bell), should perhaps rank next after the Life of Huxley among biographies of men who have passed away within quite recent years. The story of Patmore is confined to the first volume, the second being occupied by letters written to and by the poet—many of them of great interest—by a spiritual autobiography, and other material. The picture given of Patmore's private life is not altogether complete, but as a whole Mr. Champney's volumes are agreeable, discreet and well written.

Another modern poet comes before us in the **Letters of Thomas Edward Brown**, edited with an Introduction by Mr. Sidney T. Irwin (Constable). Brown, the author of "Foc's'le Yarns," was not so widely known as a poet as he deserved, because of the unfamiliar Manx dialect which he employed. His letters do not labour under this disadvantage and those who read them will probably be inclined to turn to the poems, for the present volume, in the abundant evidence it gives of a playful and delicate fancy, a fresh independent literary judgment and a kindly heart, forms one of the most delightful collections of letters which we possess.

One more record of a recent life claims mention by itself, *viz.*, Mr. Kinloch Cooke's **Memoir of H.R.H. Princess Mary Adelaide Duchess of Teck** (Murray). The book presents us with a picture of an exception-

ally attractive royal personality; and, being founded mainly on the letters and diaries of the duchess herself, supplements to some extent, as a chronicle of the Court, the record of the earlier portion of the Queen's reign contained in Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of Prince Consort."

Returning to biographies of a more historical character, but rather less important than those we have already mentioned, we find in **The Love of an Uncrowned Queen** (Hutchinson) a romantic tragedy in real life, written by Mr. W. H. Wilkins, which gained much popularity. It is the story of Sophia Dorothea, the consort of George I., and of her intrigue with the Swedish Count Königsmark. It is founded upon letters deposited in the University Library at Lund, which Mr. Wilkins has, by collating them with despatches in the State Paper Office, arranged in chronological order. This enables him not only to present with much literary skill a most pathetic story, but to give a very graphic picture of life at the Hanoverian Court. Mr. Belfort Bax devoted himself to the vindication of **Jean Paul Marat, the People's Friend** (Grant Richards), a well-written book serving to correct some popular impressions concerning its hero. **The Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay** (Arnold) represented a memorial which it was fitting should be paid to the great father of a greater son, but which the authoress, Lady Knutsford, the granddaughter of Zachary Macaulay, could well have afforded to compress. **The Life of Francis Parkman**, by Charles Haight Farnham (Macmillan), a remarkable story of struggle against physical weakness, forms part of a uniform edition of the great American historian's complete works. "The founder of the American Navy" was the subject of a book by Mr. A. C. Buell, entitled **Paul Jones** (Kegan Paul), an excellent account of the adventurous life of one of the most romantic heroes of history.

Another volume of a poet's letters of a very different character from those of T. E. Brown, which we have mentioned, was the first volume of **The Letters of Thomas Gray**, edited by Duncan C. Tovey (Bell). Mr. Tovey is a well-known authority on Gray. The book covers the period from 1735 to 1757, during which Gray was most productive, and its chief feature of interest is the lively correspondence which the poet carried on with Mason. The letters are edited with an elaborate, almost excessive, abundance of textual annotation.

Autobiographies and books of reminiscences we may put in a class by themselves. The most remarkable book of this kind is **The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan** (Murray). It is edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, Secretary of State of Afghanistan, who has been educated in England, and who is understood to have given a literary form to the autobiographical reminiscences of his master. The first volume is full of those romantic adventures and intrigues that so often centre round an Oriental throne; the second gives a no less interesting picture of a monarch developing the capabilities of his kingdom with an energy and shrewdness and a self-denial rarely found among Asiatics.

We are taken back to a generation now past with **Mrs. Delany: A Memoir, 1700-1788** (Grant Richards). Mrs. Delany tells her own

story chiefly in her letters. These were very voluminous, and were published in full in six volumes at a high price in 1861. Little, however, was known to the general public of Mrs. Delany until the publication of the present selection from her papers by Mr. George Paston. There can be no doubt of the interest attaching to the picture of the household of George III., in which Mrs. Delany was received as an intimate friend, or of the reminiscences she was able to give of the literary and social celebrities of the eighteenth century; but the high quality of the book was due in a large degree to the personality of Mrs. Delany herself. In Mr. Paston's words: "She was no professional wit, no publicly toasted beauty; she never published a book, exhibited a picture, nor even made herself the heroine of a scandal." She was only a high-bred woman who impressed herself upon her age by her worth, her culture and her personal charm.

Three other books fall naturally together, as giving the story of the lives of three men of interesting personality, holding high places in the political or literary world, and strongly stamped in different ways with the culture of Oxford. One was the life, mainly autobiographical, but containing additional matter from the pen of the editor, Mr. William Stebbing, of **Charles Henry Pearson** (Longmans) a man who, through his book on "National Life and Character," acquired fame as a political thinker, but whose life-work was done as an Australian statesman. The narrative which he gives of his own career brings vividly before the reader the exceptional position which the independent and academic Fellow of Oriel gained among the colonial politicians of Victoria, and the valuable work which he performed in organising education throughout the colony. Another Oxford scholar who spent some of the best years of his life in educational work in the same quarter of the empire was Thomas Arnold, one of the sons of Dr. Arnold of Rugby. **Passages in a Wandering Life** (Arnold) was an apt title for a book which depicted a scholarly, unselfish pietist, wavering between Romanism and Anglicanism, and established now in London, now in New Zealand, now in Dublin, with many wanderings to other fields; devoid of any settled ambition, but always a reserved student with a keen interest in the study of English literature.

In striking contrast with such a career is the life chronicled in the last of the three books we have mentioned, **Memories and Impressions** (Nisbet), by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, Warden of Merton College, Oxford—the recollections of a publicist, a man of the world who has made his mark in English society as a politician (though his candidature for Parliament was unsuccessful), an author, a journalist, a member of the London School Board, a traveller, a University official and a member of important Government commissions. In all these books will be found many reminiscences worth recording of notable events and celebrated men.

The late Sir John Mowbray's **Seventy Years at Westminster** (Blackwood) began with his schooldays at Westminster School, and his connection with Westminster was only broken by his residence at Oxford; for he was at once called to the bar, and in 1853 entered the House of Commons, of which he remained a member until his death in

1899. The recollections of "The Father of the House" provide a very entertaining history of parliamentary life in the Victorian era.

Mr. Augustus Hare continued his social reminiscences in a second series of **The Story of My Life** (Allen), an entertaining if somewhat too outspoken mass of anecdotes and personal experiences collected by an indefatigable diner-out and visitor to country houses.

It is an abrupt transition to lay down Mr. Hare's book and take up the **Autobiography of C. H. Spurgeon** (Passmore & Alabaster) edited by his wife; but the wide influence of Mr. Spurgeon, and the colossal scale on which his autobiography has been prepared, call for a mention of the issue of its fourth and last volume.

Lastly we must note the completion in its sixty-third volume of the **Dictionary of National Biography** (Smith, Elder). Edited at first by Mr. Leslie Stephen, subsequently by Mr. Sidney Lee, who gathered round them as contributors some of the most competent writers and specialists of the day, and supported by the munificence of Mr. George Smith, the head of the publishing firm which issued it, the dictionary has been universally recognised as a monument of persevering, judicious, and accurate labour, the utility of which in all branches of historical research it is difficult to overestimate. It is understood that a supplement will be published containing the lives of those persons worthy of being included in such a dictionary who have died during the progress of the work.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Gardening literature is much in fashion nowadays. The two most complete and substantial works on the subject published in 1900 were probably **A Practical Guide to Garden Plants** (Longmans) by Mr. John Weathers—a truly practical and exhaustive guide for the English gardener to all forms of vegetable life suitable for cultivation in our climate in the open air, with a careful glossary of technical expressions; and **The Art and Craft of Garden Making** (Batsford), dealing more generally with the arrangement of gardens, whether they form the extensive pleasure of a mansion or are contiguous to a small house or even a cottage, and containing delightful illustrations.

The Amusements of Old London, by Mr. W. B. Boulton (Nimmo), in two volumes, provides the social historian with an abundance of well-written and well-informed matter on the gaieties of Londoners from the time of Charles II. to the accession of Queen Victoria, with many and excellent illustrations. The book affords, on the whole, an interesting picture of the softening and refinement of manners and the gradual disappearance of pastimes which a more fastidious and less brutal age would not tolerate.

TRAVEL.

Under this heading there are no very conspicuous publications to record. China has naturally occupied some space in the publishers' lists, but there has been nothing of great importance on Chinese travel coming from an English publisher.

The New Pacific, a book dealing with the far Eastern question and

the possibilities of the Pacific which might ensue from the opening up of China by the united enterprise of England and America, was, though published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, written by an American, Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft.

China, Japan and India combined with America to afford a field for the tireless and vivid observation the results of which were recorded by Mr. Rudyard Kipling in **From Sea to Sea** (Macmillan), which contained some early journalistic efforts of the writer originally contributed to an Indian journal.

A welcome relief from the numerous ephemeral books made up of the travel notes of "globe trotters," copiously illustrated by photographs, was the **Southern Arabia** of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent (Smith, Elder). Mr. Bent unfortunately died before he could complete his own share in the production of the book. Assisted by his wife, he had, without covering any vast extent of land, made at no small personal risk a thorough and painstaking study of the country for which ethnologists, archæologists, and students of comparative religion have every reason to be grateful. Another book far removed from the superficialities of the ordinary traveller was Mr. J. Ward's **Pyramids and Progress** (Eyre & Spottiswoode). It has an introduction by Professor Sayce, who says that the author is no mere tourist, but "has lived with the natives and travelled in native boats; he has visited tomb and temple far away from the tourist's track; and he has gone for his information to the best authorities, European or native, archæological or political."

The Cape to Cairo, by Mr. E. S. Grogan and Mr. A. H. Sharp (Hurst, Blackett) includes some account of Egypt, but only as part of a chronicle of a journey taken by the authors, largely on foot, along the route of the proposed railway which it is hoped may some day unite North and South Africa. It is well written and full of useful suggestions as to the development of Central Africa. It gives a description of the progress already made by the railway, on the prospects of which Mr. Rhodes has something to say in a preface. Mr. Grogan is also a sportsman, and retails his experiences in the shooting of big game.

Turkey in Europe, by "Odysseus" (Arnold) is also a book displaying a very intimate acquaintance with its subject. The author's object was "to understand what is the real condition of Turkey and of some neighbouring countries, and how that condition has arisen." This object is well attained. The author does not throw much light on the future of Turkey, but he is a close student of its history, language and religion; and is able from his long experience of Turkish ways and thought to take an impartial view of many Turkish characteristics which the Western mind finds it difficult to appreciate.

A book of travel in the other hemisphere showing evidence of close first-hand observation, and giving a graphic and complete sketch of a country not included in the common programme of travelling Englishmen, was Mr. H. A. Vachell's **Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope** (Hodder & Stoughton).

Antarctic exploration, a subject much less familiar to the public than arctic exploration, produced two books in 1900—Dr. Karl Frickers'

The Antarctic Regions (Sonnenschein), a very complete work, recounting the voyages of the principal antarctic navigators, with a full description of the known territories, a chapter on the future of antarctic discovery and a bibliography; and Dr. Frederick A. Cook's **Through the First Antarctic Night** (Heinemann), which gave a graphic but somewhat depressing account of the *Belgica* which first stimulated modern enterprise in antarctic exploration.

A travel book of a peculiar kind was Mr. Josiah Flynt's **Tramping with Tramps** (Unwin), a study scientific and descriptive of the denizens of the road, founded on the personal experiences of the writer during his wanderings in many countries, both of the new and old worlds.

SPORT.

The interest of such a book as **Notes on Sport and Travel** by George H. Kingsley, with a memoir by Mary H. Kingsley (Macmillan) lies perhaps more in its personal character than in its strict bearing on sport. George Kingsley's personality was quite as remarkable as that of either of his brothers—Charles the poet and divine, and Henry the novelist of Australia—and the life of her father added to this volume by Miss Kingsley is the work of a lady who has maintained the distinction of her family by her scientific work and her daring explorations in savage countries. But George Kingsley, a doctor by profession, was primarily an adventurous sportsman—particularly devoted to angling; and his records of sport in the most widely distant quarters of the earth are as full of interest to the fisherman or the hunter of big game as to those who can appreciate a healthy, high-spirited and generous character.

The revival of falconry in recent years gives some importance to an exhaustive and practical study of that venerable pursuit contained in **The Art and Practice of Hawking**, by Mr. E. B. Michell (Methuen), perhaps the best work on the subject which we have had in modern times.

The series called the "Haddon Hall Library" (Dent) has given us a very practical hand-book on **Hunting**, by Mr. J. Otho Paget, and a volume on a subject closely allied to sport to which too little scientific attention has been devoted, *viz.*, **Our Forests and Woodlands**. Dr. John Nisbet, the author, has much that is useful to say on the advantages, apart from the mere question of sport, of the preservation of woodlands, and the reafforestation of waste lands.

The revival of croquet in a highly scientific form has been signalled by a work edited by Mr. Arthur Lillie called **Croquet Up to Date** (Longmans), in which a number of authorities expound the strategic principles of the game, and discuss its rules and its recent developments.

In connection with another game there is a book of real importance to be noted, *viz.*, **Mr. Blackburne's Games at Chess** (Longmans). The games are selected and annotated by the veteran player himself who has for nearly forty years been one of the chief exponents of the game in England, and the book is carefully edited by Mr. P. A. Graham.

ART.

Publishers of art books have been as busy during 1900 as in previous years. Few departments of literature have received so many notable additions, especially in the way of elaborate monographs on particular painters.

Antony Van Dyck has come into prominence of late in consequence of the celebration at Antwerp in 1899 of the third centenary of his birth, which was followed by an exhibition of his works in London, and Mr. Lionel Cust the Director of the National Portrait Gallery has opportunely published an exceedingly handsome volume under the title **Antony Van Dyck: An Historical Study of His Life and Works** (Bell). The collection of photogravures from the painter's masterpieces in England and on the Continent contained in this work is of remarkable excellence. They illustrate in their rendering of texture and atmosphere the high degree of perfection to which this process of reproduction can be brought. Mr. Cust's Life is also valuable, as is his analysis of the various influences which affected Van Dyck, both in his religious pictures and his portraits executed during his residence in the Netherlands, and in the well-known series of masterpieces which he painted at the Court of Charles I. Among other studies of single artists a high place must be assigned to the series published by Messrs. Bell of "Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture." It has given us in some cases the best account we have yet had of the work of special Italian artists. Such for instance is the **Donatello** of Miss Hope Rea. This Florentine sculptor has been dealt with by foreign art critics, but not so fully or with such admirable illustrations by any English writer. Another very exhaustive monograph is that on **Fra Angelico** by Professor Langton Douglas, who very ably combats the popular conception of this artist as a reactionary, with a narrow, purely devotional conception of his art. Another instructive work is Mr. M'Neil Rushforth's book on **Carlo Crivelli**, a painter for the study of whose works we have special opportunities in the National Gallery. Other similar books, carefully compiled from the best authorities are the **Correggio** of Mr. Selwyn Brinton, the **Raphael** of Mr. Henry Strachey, the **Pietro Vanucci called Perugino** of Mr. G. C. Williamson, the **Sodoma** of the Contessa Priuli-Bon and the **Giorgione** of Mr. Herbert Cook, who is inclined to be much more liberal than are most writers on this artist in the number of Giorgiones which he accepts as genuine.

The English masters have also received attention—the most conspicuous book in this class being the **Sir Joshua Reynolds** of Sir Walter Armstrong (Heinemann). This sumptuous work is a companion volume to the same author's "Gainsborough," and is remarkable not only for the number and excellence of the illustrations of Sir Joshua's work which it contains, but for the care and lucidity with which the painter's qualities and the development of his art are discussed. Sir Walter Armstrong brings the experience of a most judicious critic to bear on the familiar comparison between Reynolds and Gainsborough. In male portraits he considers the former to be unequalled; in portraits

of women and children, he finds that the pictures of Reynolds, despite their enduring popularity and the fertility of resource which they display, are inferior in real sympathy with the subject to the pictures of his rival. Another important feature of Sir Walter Armstrong's work is his estimate of Sir Joshua's character on which many different opinions have been held. "To me" he says, "it appears indisputable that Sir Joshua's heart was very hard, but his mind just, and that his one passion, if it can be called a passion, was ambition, which, in his case, was a quiet persistent determination to fill as conspicuous a position in the society and art of his time as his abilities and the accident of his birth would allow."

Another monograph on an English artist which is worth mentioning is **Thomas Girtin** by Mr. Lawrence Binyon (Seeley). This admirable water-colourist who died at the early age of twenty-seven, and of whom Turner said "If Tom Girtin had lived, I should have starved," has been dealt with by critics writing generally on the early water-colour art of England, but Mr. Binyon supplies us for the first time with a study of his art which serves to give him that special and unique place among his contemporaries which is his due.

Sir Walter Gilbey found a good subject not hitherto dealt with separately in his **Animal Painters of England** (Vinton). Sir Walter's interest is mainly with the painters of horses and of sporting pictures who have formed a distinctive English school. He gives a careful account of them with a list of pictures in each case.

Turning to more general artistic works we have another volume from Mr. Walter Crane, following on his "Bases of Design." His new book is **Line and Form** (Bell) a detailed exposition, with many original illustrations of design on its formal and technical side, bringing out in an interesting manner the principles on which it is based, and its necessary connection with natural forms.

The Origins of Art (Macmillan), written in excellent English by a lecturer in the University of Finland, Mr. Yrgö Hirn, attempts to analyse the impulse which leads to the production of works of art. The inquiry is purely experimental, and has no connection with the æsthetic of German speculators. If Mr. Hirn's conclusion that art is due to the irresistible tendency of emotion to relieve or intensify itself by an external manifestation does not wholly satisfy the demand for a distinctive explanation of the art impulse, yet he has much that is very suggestive on the "concrete origins of art," or the particular forms taken by the externalised emotion, such as those of instruction, stimulation, propitiation and magic.

In architecture, Mr. E. S. Prior's **History of the Gothic Art in England** (Bell) is a work of importance, and is uniform with Mr. Reginald Blomfield's "History of Renaissance Architecture in England." Mr. Prior does not go much beyond the transition from the Decorated style to the Perpendicular. He protests alike against the symbolical and the ecclesiological criticism of architecture; and the value of his work lies in the learning and insight with which he traces the development of English architecture from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and the influences which acted upon it. The style of the book

is somewhat laboured and obscure, but, for the knowledge and judgment which it displays, it has some claim to be accepted as the standard work on the subject.

Lastly, we may notice a work in which the results of great research are expounded with terseness and judgment—Lady Dilke's **French Architects and Sculptors of the Eighteenth Century** (Bell). She brings out, in a manner combining a broad grasp of the subject with close attention to detail, the great advance accomplished in the architecture of private dwelling-houses during the eighteenth century in France, and also the fact that the work of the great sculptors of that age was based on an intimate adaptation to the requirements of its architecture.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

GEOGRAPHY.

THE *Stella Polare* anchored off Christiana in September, having brought back the Duke of the Abruzzi from a successful arctic expedition. The ship had been driven on to the land of Table Bay and somewhat damaged. From this point four exploring parties set out, of which one was not seen again. The most fortunate was away 105 days. The duke was compelled to surrender its command to Captain Cagni on account of a severely frost-bitten hand. Twice, owing to a scarcity of food, this expedition had to shed some of its members, not all of whom returned; and it was at last continued only by the leader and three Alpine guides. The ice was in a state of thaw. No land was observed north of Franz Josef Land; whilst Petermann's Land and King Oscar Land, as they were not seen, have not their reputed positions. The farthest north of Nansen, $86^{\circ} 14'$, was surpassed, and the record now stands at $86^{\circ} 33'$.

The *Windward* left Sydney, Nova Scotia, in July, bound for Etah, North Greenland, in accordance with instructions left by Lieut. Peary who hoped to have discovered the North Pole, and to be able to return in the ship which, in any case, would await his commands.

A Norwegian vessel called at Pendulum Island and found that the stores placed there in readiness for Captain Sverdrup, after his passage round the north of Greenland, were untouched.

In October a sledging party set out to meet Baron Toll on his expected return from a voyage through the Kara Sea.

In the antarctic regions the farthest south reached by the *Southern Cross* was $78^{\circ} 34'$ in longitude $164^{\circ} 10' W.$, from which point an advance was made by sledges to $78^{\circ} 50'$, M. Borchgrevink exceeding Ross's record by $40'$. He was also able to locate the present South Magnetic Pole, though information of its precise position has not yet been received. That calculated from Ross's observations, made sixty years ago, was situated in latitude $73^{\circ} 5' S.$, longitude, $147^{\circ} 5' E.$

The *Siboga* during its exploration of the Indian Archipelago has found a maximum depth of only 3,100 fathoms, instead of the 4,000 fathoms previously recorded. Below the depth of 900 fathoms the sea of the whole Banda basin had a uniform minimum temperature of $3^{\circ} C.$, and further soundings proved that this cold water came from the Pacific and not from the Indian Ocean.

The *Albatross* made a successful haul from the depth of 4,173

fathoms, seventy-five miles east of Tonga Tabu. Soundings showed that the Marquesas rise from a plateau having a depth of 2,000 fathoms and a width of about fifty miles. A hundred miles south-east of Guam a sounding was obtained of 4,813 fathoms. Professor Agassiz's study of the growth of atolls lends no support to the Darwinian theory that they were caused by the growth of coral upon subsiding submarine peaks.

The *Nero* between Guam and Midway Island got a sounding of 5,269 fathoms, or a depth of six miles.

The height of Mount Aconcagua, in the Andes, scaled by Zurbriggen, Mr. Fitzgerald's guide, has been reduced by calculation to 23,080 feet; but it still remains the highest point of the solid earth yet trodden by man.

Major Harding has found the source of the Zambesi to be in latitude $11^{\circ} 33' 45''$ S. and longitude $20^{\circ} 51' 0''$ E., on a plateau 4,950 feet above sea level.

Mr. Moore has visited from Lake Tanganyika the Ruwenzori Mountains, where the snow line was at 13,000 feet, and ascended the highest point, which has an altitude of 16,500 feet.

GEOLOGY.

The *Albatross* has achieved by far the deepest trawl yet made, in a depth, as already mentioned, of 4,173 fathoms, and brought up fragments of a silicious sponge, and a light brown volcanic mud mixed with radiolarians. The bottom of the Central Pacific Basin abounded with manganese in the form both of slabs from 6 to 18 inches in length, and from 4 to 6 inches in thickness, and of nodules ranging in size from that of a walnut to that of a mammillated mass $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The observation made by the *Challenger* was confirmed that this deposit occurs in those parts of the Pacific most remote from Continental areas, is associated with red-clay sediment, and is unaffected by deposits of globigerina, pteropods, or telluric ooze.

It will not, however, be forgotten that many cretaceous and portlandic beds are permeated with manganic dendrites. And it may be added that Mr. A. B. Griffiths finds manganese present in the ashes of the oak, rhatany and many other plants.

In pursuance of the subject of calcareous deposits, it may be pointed out that H. H. Cohen and Raken have made experiments which prove that sea-water is saturated with calcium carbonate when it is found to contain 55 milligrams of neutral combined carbon dioxide in a litre.

The formation of glauconite has never been satisfactorily explained. In July, Sir John Murray and Dr. Phillipi, in a preliminary note upon the deep-sea deposits collected by the *Valdivia* expedition, remarked that samples of coprolitic mud, obtained off the mouth of the Congo, were largely composed of little oval pellets which had passed through the intestines of echinoderms and were in process of being transformed into glauconitic and phosphatic concretions. And Professor Joly, noting the fact that the ratio of potash to soda is much higher in the rivers than in the sea, is of opinion that it is to be accounted for by the constant abstraction of potash from the ocean in the formation of

glauconite now in process of deposition and so extensively distributed in past sedimentary strata.

In May Mr. Teall, in his address to the Geologists' Association, maintained that the apatites of igneous rocks and mineral veins were the principal source of the phosphorus of the sedimentary strata and of the organic world. That apatites pass into solution is proved by the fact that whereas they occur in igneous rocks together with zircon they are absent from sands that contain the latter mineral in abundance. HH. Andersson and Sahlbom have analysed phosphorites from various Swedish localities and show the presence of fluorine in the proper proportion for fluor-apatite. These phosphorites occur in fossiliferous strata, and have been derived from organic remains. The shells of fossil brachiopods consist largely of calcium phosphate with some fluorine.

A fine-grained crystalline limestone has been discovered in Elba which displays, when rubbed, a strong phosphorescence.

It appears that from the oily plasma of certain diatoms a wax can be extracted which contains sulphur. Near Stettin is a bed of peaty material that consists mainly of such diatoms. Hence HH. Krämer and Spilker have, by chemical analogies, developed a theory of the formation of petroleum. They suppose these diatoms to form great lacustrine deposits, and to be subjected, by superdeposition and depression, to suitable pressures and temperatures, when the wax would be converted into low- or high-boiling petroleum. In the case of its absorption by calcareous beds it would become asphalt.

Writing about the South African coalfields, Mr. E. J. Dunn shows that the Dwyka conglomerate, if regarded as a basement bed, furnishes a valuable horizon. Its length of outcrop exceeds 2,000 miles and indicates a corresponding extent of coal seams.

In Eastern Ontario, as already in India and the Urals, corundum has been found associated with syenites, syenite-pegmatites, nephelite-syenites and anorthosites, which are massively intrusive in local gneiss.

Mr. Barns has pointed out that glass is dissolved in water heated, under pressure, to 210° C.; that if water penetrate into the earth as far as the isotherm of 200° any vitreous rock there present will become liquefied, that a hydrated silicate is virtually fluid at a depth of 8 kilometres, and that the level of aqueous fusion is five times nearer the surface than that of igneous fusion.

Professor Barbour has reported a great decline of geyser activity in the Yellowstone district. The Fountain and the Beehive Geysers are wholly extinct. The Cascade Geyser bursts forth every twenty-four hours instead of every fifteen minutes, and the Grand Geyser once a month instead of each day.

In the Quicksilver Mine of Idria, HH. Scheimpflug and Holler have discovered a region of maximum temperature of about 27° C. From this spot the temperature decreases in all directions, even downwards.

In opposition to Lord Kelvin's views, Mr. Hunt is of opinion that granite is a plutonic rock formed by hydrothermal action and pressure

out of any previously existing rock that contained aluminous soda and potash silicates. This does not greatly differ from the endomorphic theory of rock generation, which asserts that a magma rising through the earth's crust fuses and resorbs the rock it invades.

Another well-known theory, that of magma differentiation, has more adherents. It is held that the constitution of fluid granite may separate into a pale acid aplite and a dark basic lamprophyre. To such a case M. le Chatelier applies the phase rule and argues that the successive reversible changes experienced when cooling from the molten state at constant pressure must finally lead to a univariant system in which the number of phases is equal to the number of independent constituents. Thus in granite there are three constituents, silica, alumina and potash; and three phases, quartz, felspar and mica. Should a greater number of phases be in any way developed, then they are not reversible, and the complex is not in stable equilibrium.

Dr. J. W. Gregory describes Mount Kenia as presenting three zones. The long slope of the forest belt consists mostly of volcanic ash, though the remains of parasitic craters occur in it. The Alpine zone consists of coarser ash, agglomerates and tuffs, interbedded with lava-flows and traversed by numerous dykes, with the remains of a few secondary centres of eruption. The third zone, or central peak, consists of the plug which choked the central vent, of agglomerate beds, and of the thick proximal ends of the great lava-flows.

Lieut.-General McMahon shows that at one period in the elevation of the Hindu Kush the strata were thrown into a series of folds and compressed into a series of uniclinal beds with a vertical dip. The sedimentary rocks were profusely invaded by granite and diorite and profoundly metamorphosed by contact-action. He identifies the Gilgit limestones with the conformable Carbo-triassic series of the Himalaya.

As regards the curious tangle of black limestone and basaltic rocks in the Isle of Man, Mr. Lamplugh is of opinion that the former have been torn up from the underlying limestone floor by an overthrusting or sliding of the volcanic series upon it. The results of the disturbance are limited both vertically and horizontally, and were determined by the differential resistance of the component rocks.

Mr. J. E. Marr is of opinion that the rocks in the English lake district have been subjected to a disturbance of such a kind that they were moved forward at unequal rates. Thus the Skiddaw slates were thrust farthest away, leaving behind the more slowly moving green slates and porphyries which, in turn, left behind the upper slates. As a result of all this, fissures were formed which he calls "lag-faults." But, in addition, each of these great integers had itself a differential rate of movement in its various parts, causing other ruptures which he calls "tear-faults."

Evidence is accumulating of a former land connection between Australasia and South America. A new fresh-water fish belonging to the genus *Galaxias*, hitherto known only in those countries, has now been met with in South Africa. That the dissolution of this land connection took place in comparatively recent times is suggested by the discovery

that in the Patagonian deposits are congeners of the Australian Tertiary Chelonian genus *Miolania*.

Geologists have been presented with new time-gauges. Already Professor Darwin had calculated that at least 56,000,000 years have elapsed since the separation of earth and moon. Lord Kelvin had been able to allow as many as 40,000,000 years since the first consolidation of the earth's crust. And Professor Joly, having judged by the amount of sodium in the ocean, had given a limit of 90,000,000 years since rivers began to run.

M. Boussinesq now endeavours to show, by an elaborate calculation on the rate of cooling, that it may be only 4,500,000 years since the earth's surface had a temperature of 1,000° C. Happily, Professor Dubois, having estimated the rate at which carbonate of lime is carried into the sea by fluvial waters, considers that the real lapse of time since life appeared on the earth is more than 1,000,000,000 years.

Professor Chamberlin, of Chicago, has attempted to frame, on an atmospheric basis, a working hypothesis of the cause of glacial periods. He believes that they arise from a diminution of the quantity of carbonic dioxide in the air, and that this, having reached a minimum, becomes subject to a reversal by which glaciation is brought to an end.

Mr. B. K. Emerson has discovered some striated carboniferous boulders in India which he thinks ought to remove all doubt as to the former existence of a carboniferous glacial period.

Mr. Leverett's monograph on the Illinois glacial lobe recognises no fewer than fifteen glacial and interglacial stages in the great ice age.

The doubt of Professor Davis as to the ability of ice to erode deep valleys and basins has been dispelled by a study of the St. Gotthard gorges of the Ticino. And Messrs. Peach and Horne hold that the soundings of the various lakes in the basin of the Teith, above Callander, furnish strong evidence of their excavation by ice-action.

The question of a correlated depression of the land when loaded by ice gives an interest to Dr. Reusch's remarks on dredgings from the deep Norwegian Sea. Here the shells of *Yoldia Arctica* have been brought up from a depth of 500 to 1,300 fathoms. This mollusc now lives in the Kara Sea at no greater depth than from 5 to 100 fathoms. As it is highly improbable that the shells were brought to their present site by drifting ice, it would seem that since the glacial period the sea bottom has sunk some 1,350 fathoms.

Important observations have been made in Gower, South Wales. It is shown that the Pleistocene fossiliferous deposits in the caves of that promontory are newer than the raised beach, and that these bone-beds are themselves overlain by the glacial drift.

In the same drift in another part of South Wales is a transported mass of carboniferous grit 200 yards in length which rests on boulder clay.

It was said by Berzelius that reason is opposed to any theory that postulates an exception to general principles. Reason pronounces, therefore, against the dictum that there was no glaciation south of the Thames. The two requisites for the formation of a *névé* are great cold and much precipitation of snow. Greenland bears proof that mountains

are unnecessary. In this light the phenomena of deglaciation are receiving increased attention. That an appreciable number of the stones which constitute plateau gravel are striated may well indicate the action of moving ice. But the tumultuous mass of loose material that has been aggregated by neither rivers nor seas is now interpreted as one of the signs of deglaciation. During the past year many rubbed and striated stones have been found on the hills of Dorset.

METEOROLOGY.

Rain fell at Greenwich on 164 days in the year. The least number in any month was five in July, and the greatest was twenty-two in January. The total fall was 22.23 inches, which was 2.13 inches less than the mean of fifty-five years.

In July, the driest month, the deficiency was 1.05 inches, and in January, the wettest month, there was an excess of 0.30 inch. The winter was very wet, and the summer weather was marked by sharp vicissitudes.

The highest shade temperature in this country was 95° Fahr. at Cambridge, on July 20; and the lowest temperature on the grass was - 3° at Braemar, on February 12.

Mr. W. Marriott has made comparative observations of the rainfall in the west and east of England. In the west it is subject to a much greater range than in the east. In the west the maximum at all altitudes occurs in November, but in the east it is generally in October. In the west the spring months, April, May and June, are very dry, and in both west and east there is a great increase in the rainfall during June and July.

The meteorological station at Châteaudun, near Paris, recorded on July 27, 103.6° Fahr. in the screen, a temperature which was higher by two degrees than any other of the century.

Some fog studies in relation to San Francisco have been published. From May until September, when there is hardly any rainfall, great banks of fog invade that place every afternoon. During the same time, at an altitude of 1,500 feet, on the adjacent Mount Tamalpais, the air is clear and is 20° to 30° warmer, with a humidity less by 24 per cent.

The work of aerial exploration by means of kites has been continued. As determined from 1,217 ascents tabulated at Washington the mean diminution of temperature with increase of height was 5° for each 1,000 feet. The relative humidity differed little. The upper air was generally the drier; but on one occasion, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, there was at an elevation of 1,000 feet, an increase of 11 per cent. upon the humidity at the surface.

At the Blue Hill Station, on June 19, a kite reached the great altitude of 14,000 feet, where the temperature was 17° Fahr., and the wind velocity twenty-five miles an hour. On July 19 a line of six kites rose to 15,900 feet, or more than three miles above the sea, where the temperature was below the freezing point, and the air was exceedingly dry.

It has been ascertained that the atmosphere is separated by sharply marked gradients of temperature into strata, each warmer, considering

the lessened barometric pressure, than the one beneath. Between the ground and the altitude of 10,000 feet, or two miles, there are usually two and sometimes three such strata; and the boundaries between them, where clouds are chiefly found, are regions of sharp contrasts in temperature, humidity and wind. At this altitude the characteristics of the cyclonic system have disappeared. Above the height of 10,000 feet there is an entirely different distribution of pressure and wind circulation from that observed at the earth's surface.

Dr. Hergesell, of Strasburg, has reached the conclusion that such temperature distributions as occasioned the severe continental frosts on May 13, 1897, are not confined to the earth's surface, but are meteorological phenomena of great extent and importance which embrace the entire atmosphere above Europe.

From 400 photographic observations of clouds a committee of the British Association have found the mean heights to be for cirrus, 33,500 feet; for cirro-cumulus, 28,200; cumulus top, 10,000; cumulus base, 4,250; strato-cumulus, 7,200 feet.

Atmospheric electricity is generally positive. Dr. Schliep finds that if the sky is covered the potential decreases, and during rain it is often negative. The positive potential is usually higher and more regular during the night than in the day. The electrification is greater on steep and high mountains, and is especially strong after an auroral display.

Le Cadet had found that the potential decreased from 150 to 44 volts in the first kilometre of altitude, and deduced that it decreased much less rapidly at greater heights.

As a result of experiments Herr Schwalbe is unable to confirm Exner's theory of atmospheric electricity, that it is produced by the evaporation of natural bodies of water.

Whether or not evaporation from the surface of an electrified liquid produces a loss of electricity has been investigated by SS. Pochettino and Sella. They examined the rate at which an electrified plate lost its charge, both when its surface was dry and when it was covered with a layer of water; and, in either case, when it was exposed to a current of dry air and when the air was saturated with moisture. The results show that the loss of charge is more rapid in dry than in saturated air; that in saturated air the presence or absence of the layer of water makes no difference; but that in dry air the loss of electricity is more rapid when the plate is dry than when it is wet. It is inferred that evaporation does not produce loss of charge, which occurs in a dry atmosphere because the air is then ionised, whereas saturated air contains no trace of ionisation.

HH. Elster and Geitel are of opinion that normal atmospheric air contains a nearly equal number of positive and negative ions. Fog destroys the mobility of the ions by attaching them to water drops. In the earth's electrostatic field the free ions undergo a partial separation. Positive ions gather about the mountain tops and produce a discharge of negative electricity. On the other hand an unimpeded acquisition of negative electricity takes place on the earth's surface whenever the negative ions enter among foliage, and this may account for the earth's permanent negative charge.

HH. Ebert and Hoffmann have noticed the important fact that a body suspended above the surface of liquid air acquires a strong negative charge. This was due, not to the liquid air itself, but to the friction of minute particles of very cold ice suspended in its vapour. Here may be an explanation of the electric effects of polar snowstorms. Ice acquires a positive charge by friction with any metal, and imparts to the metal, and to other bodies also, a negative charge which is greater the colder and drier the ice. Ascending currents of air soon reach elevations at which all their water freezes, and the friction of ice crystals against suspended dust particles would account for part of the atmospheric electrification, and, together with solar ionisation and the consequent conductivity of the air, might produce atmospheric luminescence and even the aurora. The sun's rays, before they impinge upon the atmosphere, contain ultra-violet light which must ionise the upper strata, and the ions so produced will be dispersed by diffusion and convection. The atmosphere will therefore contain free ions of both kinds, but chiefly negative ones in the lower strata, owing to their superior mobility.

The subject of dew ponds was mooted at the meeting of the British Association. They are made on the tops of the chalk downs and supply sheep with drinking-places. They are lined with clay, and when water is once put into them, they keep more or less full for ever. The questions raised were—How much of this account is true? and What is the explanation? It is admitted by the farmers that the dew ponds do at times get dry, but their life is renewed by a further induction of water.

Mr. Marshall has noticed a pond on the South Downs which can be fed only by precipitation, that at the end of a long spell of dry weather, having all the time supplied large flocks of sheep, still contained several thousand gallons of water. He has hit upon an electrical explanation derived from an experiment with two basins suspended above the ground by silk threads. In each basin was fixed an upright piece of sheet copper, which in one case was connected to earth by means of a wire. In the morning of the next day the water in the basins was measured. That which was connected to earth contained 18.0 c.c., whilst the insulated basin contained only 15.5 c.c. It does not, however, appear how a dew pond is more connected to earth than any other pond.

Lord Rayleigh denies that the blue of the sky is due to the dispersion of light by particles of foreign matter, since the molecules of air are quite competent to effect this of themselves.

It appears that in Great Britain, during the seven years 1893-1899, the total number of recorded earthquakes was forty-two. Some of those in Scotland seem to have been related to the great faults in the Highland district. Indeed, fault-slips, in Dr. Davison's opinion, are often the cause of earthquakes. For the purpose of studying this matter, a hydraulic level with microscopic workings has been installed across the great Upwey fault in Dorset. Hitherto no change has been observed.

Sgr. Viola, while admitting that the perfected vertical pendulum will give the instant that the first seismic shock occurs, maintains that

all other motions after that vibration are illusory. He offers mathematical proof that certain important quantities are functions of the inertia of the building or support, and are therefore unobtainable.

The activity of Vesuvius was renewed on May 4. Masses of incandescent lava were hurled into the air to a height of 1,640 feet. Some rocks were ejected which were found covered with sal ammoniac and iron nitride. The rim of the crater was raised 200 feet by ejectamenta, of which some of the blocks were five cubic yards in magnitude.

ASTRONOMY.

Extensive arrangements were made to take full advantage of the opportunity to obtain photographic observations of Eros throughout the time between October 15 last and March 15, 1901, and more particularly in December during the planet's opposition. It is hoped by this means to get a fresh and more accurate determination of the solar parallax.

The total eclipse of the sun on May 28 was successfully observed at all stations. The duration of totality was less than was calculated; it was 85 seconds, according to the observers in Portugal, instead of 93 seconds. Spanish photographs show the coronal structure as almost identical with that recorded in 1889. In Argamasilla the corona seemed to M. Deslandres to have a more rapid speed of rotation than the disc, and the infra-red spectrum indicated to him that the corona was especially rich in calorific rays.

In North Carolina, on the contrary, Professor Langley found the heat reflected from the moon greater than that from the corona, which indeed gave light but without that preponderance of infra-red rays usual in the spectra of hot bodies. The coronal streamers appeared to extend to a distance of 3 or 4 solar diameters from the limb.

In Spain the shadow-bands were observed as they passed over a whitened wall.

In Algiers an important fall of the potential of atmospheric electricity took place during totality. Temperature was at its lowest about eight minutes after the middle of the eclipse, the black bulb having fallen from 67.7° C. to 35.7° , a drop of 28° ; and the white bulb from 15.6° to 3° , a fall of 12.6° . In Spain the thermometer in the shade fell 4° , and that in the sun 8° .

M. Bredikhine has endeavoured to calculate the initial velocities at which the coronal matter is ejected, and he thinks they may range from 200 miles to 500 miles a second.

The question as to the presence of carbon in the corona is still unsettled.

On the whole, the eclipse reports that have come in are discordant and contradictory. It may take much time and trouble to reconcile them.

The comets left over from 1899 were Temple II. and Holmes. Two new ones have appeared; one seen by M. Giacobini on January 31, and the other by both M. Brooks and M. Borelly, independently, on July 23. Some that were due, such as De Vico and Barnard, have not been detected.

It is not yet certainly ascertained whether Venus rotates in 225 days or in 23 h. 21 m. Professor Belopolsky, from a number of spectrograms, is now able to confirm the shorter period.

As the periods of Mars and Eros are nearly equal, and their orbits interlock, the former planet will ultimately produce large perturbations on the other, so that Eros may be subjected to a displacement by as much as 90° in mean longitude.

The sunspot of June had a diameter of 22,000 miles. Sir Norman Lockyer has drawn attention to the relation between sunspot periods on the one hand and rainfall and famine on the other.

Neptune was occultated on March 8. Professor S. J. Brown, having investigated the perturbations of the orbit of its satellite, has made a determination of the planet's axis, and of the degree of its polar compression. This flattening is considerable, being about $\frac{1}{45}$. He further obtains an indication of Neptune's mean density, which he puts at 1.83 times that of water.

Many new variables have been discovered, notably one in Taurus and another in Cygnus. Reasons have been given for the conclusion that variables of the Algol type are five or six times less dense than the sun.

Meteoric showers were insignificant. Neither Perseids nor Leonids rewarded those who looked for them. A few remarkably brilliant meteors fell in the daytime; one on January 9, which "had a nucleus and a tail of considerable length"; another on July 17; and a third on September 2, which was "pear-shaped with a distinct tail."

By the employment of photography the velocity of meteors is computed to be about twenty miles a second, but this becomes subject to an atmospheric retardation of about seven miles a second.

The zodiacal light has been considered by Mr. F. R. Moulton on the assumption that it is due to the presence of a region of meteorites. Regarding interplanetary space as strewn with these particles, he shows how they would be brought into the plane of the ecliptic with the result of a condensation at opposition at a probable distance of 930,240 miles from the earth. And the theory is that such meteors may move for long periods of time in the vicinity of the opposition point, in sufficient numbers to cause a faint glow by reflecting the light of the sun.

Whether, or not, gases are able to leave the earth is a question still in debate. Mr. Cook, of the University of Nebraska, endeavours to determine the number of molecules which would possess this critical velocity in the case of nitrogen, oxygen, hydrogen and helium, and concludes that none of these gases could escape from either the earth or the major planets, though an atmosphere like our own could not remain on the moon.

Dr. Stoney then shows that Maxwell's law, on which Mr. Cook relied and which gives the distribution of the speeds of the molecules when a gas exists in normal conditions, will not hold in the outermost layer of the atmosphere where the molecules are in striking distance of the void beyond. Mr. Cook, maintaining the accuracy of his analysis, asserts that only 26.73×10^{-23} c.c. of helium could escape from the

earth in 107 years, and this is practically no escape at all. Dr. Stoney falls back on the *a posteriori* argument, and shows that helium is actually escaping with rapidity, and therefore its molecules must possess the needful critical velocity. Professor Ramsey supplies him with data for the estimate that the helium present in the whole of the earth's atmosphere would, if reduced to standard temperature and pressure, occupy a volume somewhere between a cube of ten miles and half that space; and for the statement that at the rate helium is passing into the atmosphere, this quantity would be supplied in one or two thousand years. And Dr. Stoney takes the opportunity to remark that the dynamic relation of the vapour of water to Mars is nearly the same as that of helium to the earth.

Professor Bryan reverts to the *a priori* method, and shows that the loss of helium from the atmosphere, at the temperature of -73° C., and of a quantity sufficient to cover the surface of the planet to the depth of 1 cm., would occupy 3.5×10^{36} years.

M. Gautier, having examined sea-air, finds free hydrogen in the proportion of 2 parts by volume in 10,000; or about two-thirds of the quantity of carbon dioxide normally present.

CHEMISTRY.

Professor Dewar finds himself unable at present to liquefy helium. Neon he regards as a mixture.

Krypton has been examined by HH. Ladenburg and Krügel, who have determined its molecular weight as 59.01 and its percentage in the atmosphere as 0.00001.

In the infra-red spectrum of argon obtained from a fumerole of Vesuvius some new lines have been observed.

M. Demarçay, who has isolated samarium, considers it to be an element, and to have the atomic weight 147.5. Its oxide is of a pale yellow colour.

Aluminium has been found to burn in carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, nitric and nitrous oxides, nitric peroxide, sulphur dioxide, carbon disulphide, the halogens and halogen hydracids, and in the vapours of arsenic, antimony, phosphorus and sulphur chlorides. The metal is being largely used in lithographic printing. As leaf, beaten out into $\frac{1}{1000}$ inch in thickness, it is entirely superseding silver-leaf in decorative work.

Continued efforts are made to obtain definitive atomic weights. Oxygen being taken as 16.00, Mr. Dean has got for nitrogen 14.031; Messrs. Richards and Baxter for iron 55.883, and M. Gautier for boron 11.016. Against the latter value, M. Hinrichs protests.

It was hoped that silica would take the place of glass in laboratory work, as it undergoes sudden changes of temperature without fracture; but a serious hindrance has been found in the fact that when heated it is almost as permeable to hydrogen as platinum.

The molecular value of gaseous sulphur is given as S_8 , and that of hydrosulphurous acid as $H_2S_2O_4$ and not H_2SO_2 . M. Moissan has discovered the hexafluoride of sulphur, SF_6 . It is a colourless, odourless gas which has the unexpected property of inertness. It is unacted upon

by sodium, fused potash, lead chromate, red-hot copper oxide, arsenic and phosphorus.

M. Loiseleur has isolated the substance palladio-oxalic acid, as well as its silver, sodium and barium salts.

M. Ruff has effected a transition from glucose to *d*-erythrose and *i*-erythritol through *d*-arabinose and *d*-arabonic acid; whilst Messrs. Fenton and Jackson have found that glycollic aldehyde, in the presence of alkali, gives a mixture of α -acrose and β -acrose. Thus the way is open for a new synthesis of glucose, fructose and mannose.

Pasteur's statement, revived by Professor Japp, as mentioned last year in this REGISTER, that optically active compounds are always the result of vital processes, and that only living organisms can separate racemic substances, continues to engage attention. Sgri. Ulpiani and Condelli have experimented with microbes and find that whilst *Penicillium glaucum* destroys *l*-lactic acid, *d*-alanine and *d*-tartaric acid, the cholera bacillus attacks *d*-lactic acid, *l*-alanine and *d*-tartaric acid; and they consider that these results throw doubt on Professor Japp's biological theory. Perhaps, however, he would regard them as a confirmation. The same observers find that *sterigmatocystis niger*, growing in a solution of racemic acid, having completed the destruction of *d*-tartaric acid began to destroy the *l*-acid.

Herr Fischer's investigations are more to the point. He finds that the enzyme emulsin hydrolyses the β -methylglucoside of dextrose, but has no action on its optical opposite derived from *l*-glucose. Moreover, benzoyl-*d*-leucine, which is *l*-rotatory in alkaline solution, may be obtained from the racemic compound by means of the cinchonine salt, and the dextro-rotatory isomeride can be isolated in the form of quinidine salt. He remarks that both these processes are similar in principle to the operation of micro-organisms; but inasmuch as the work is done by an enzyme in the first case, and by an asymmetric compound in the other, the transformation is no longer vital but chemical.

According to a prevalent theory of electrolysis, some of the molecules in the fluid are dissociated into ions, upon whose activities the effects depend. The Kinetic view of osmotic pressure, with an aqueous solution on one side of a semi-permeable membrane and water on the other side, represents the molecules of water striking both sides of the membrane. But as more of them impinge on the outer side, more of them enter the vessel than leave it, and since the molecules of the salt are unable to pass at all, the inside pressure increases.

Mr. Morris points out that by applying the ordinary assumptions of the Kinetic theory of solutions to the case of a semipermeable cell depressed below the surface of the solvent, the result is deduced that the percentage composition of any solution is a linear function of its density. Moreover the form of the reaction equation for the catalysis of esters shows that the action cannot be attributed to independently moving ions. Other inconvenient facts are the occurrence of electrolytic solutions with normal molecular weights, and further of cases where the molecules would have to be broken up into a multitude of fragments to provide a sufficiency of ions, indeed in some solutions in

mercury the molecules of the dissolved metal would have to be subdivided into more ions than there are atoms. He considers that the theory is untenable.

MM. Camichel and Swyngedauw claim to have established circuits consisting wholly of liquid electrolytes and to have shown that an electrolyte may be traversed by a current without decomposition.

Herr Garrard has made some interesting experiments in high-temperature electrolysis. The salts were melted in a glass tube in a bath of molten lead, and the current was passed between two carbon electrodes. In some cases two distinct points of dissociation occurred with different strengths of current. For example, Pb I_2 at the temperature of 495°C. showed two separate phases at the voltage 0.396 and 0.705 respectively; and Cd Cl_2 at the temperature of 563°C. , at the respective voltage 0.715 and 1.225. In some of the observed cases, the first dissociation satisfies the condition of reversibility as given by Helmholtz, but not the second.

By the electrolysis of nitrobenzene in a strongly alcoholic solution aniline is produced; and by the electrolytic oxidation of aniline, dye products can be obtained, the nature of which depends upon the solvent employed, the strength of the current and the material of the electrode.

The plants *Indigofera leptostachya* and *Polygonum tinctorium* contain indican, and *Isatis tinctoria*, or woad, contains free indoxyl; and from these substances the pigment indigotin has been produced.

Indigotin has also been formed by HH. Vorländer and Koettwitz from ethyl anthranilate, and by MM. Kuhara and Chikashige from diphenyldiketopiperazine.

There are still difficulties with the periodic law. Tellurium is much too heavy for it. And sometimes when the atomic weight of a body conforms to it the chemical properties do not. Professor Ramsay had hoped that the simple nature of the molecules of the new gases would have enabled him to predict the properties of one from what was known of another; but he declares that the conundrum of the periodic table has yet to be solved.

PHYSICS.

It was held by Maxwell that an electrified body in rapid rotation would produce a magnetic field in its neighbourhood, and confirmatory experiments were made by Messrs. Rowland and Hutchinson in 1889. M. Crémieu has pursued the question by observing the inductive action of a revolving charged disc upon an adjacent circuit. The galvanometer readings, in order to accord with the theory, should have amounted to 22.3 mm. at the lowest rate of revolution and the least charge, and to 51.3 mm. at the highest. The actual readings were scarcely above zero. The effect predicted by Maxwell was not observed.

It has been asserted that when an electron, or unit of electricity, travels through a liquid it is in conjunction with an atom of matter or with a group of molecules; but that in a gas the electron travels in conjunction with corpuscles which are detachable from atoms, and which are about 500 times smaller than a hydrogen atom, and that these

corpuscles are, in fact, ions. In addition it has been maintained that negative ions are more easily detached than positive ions and move much faster. And Herr Lang endeavours to prove that in a magnetised metal the negative electrons revolve round the positive electrons with the speed of light, and so produce "electric convection currents."

Professor J. J. Thomson considers that the ionisation of a gas in an electric field is brought about by the ions already present in the field. The energy acquired by the latter is expended in ionising the gas.

During a discussion on such subjects at the meeting of the British Association Professor Armstrong, speaking on behalf of chemists, protested that atoms were permanent and stable, and that the removal of $\frac{1}{8000}$ of the mass of a hydrogen atom along with its negative charge seemed to him incredible.

Principal Lodge remarked that although in a liquid the charges apparently travelled with the atoms, whilst in a gas the electrons appeared to be free, yet in neither case was conduction by material particles excluded. He considered metallic conduction to be the handing on of the electrons from one atom to another.

Professor Fitzgerald acknowledged that the theory of electrolysis had been of service, but there were many things it could not explain. Why should water dissociate a solute into its ions? Where does the requisite energy come from? How can the separated ions wander about in the solvent without recombining? And why do some ions travel faster than others?

Elsewhere Mr. C. D. Child has exhibited photographs of the electric arc, which show, in his opinion, that the positive ions travel with greater velocity than the negative.

Contact electricity has occasioned much debate. When two metals are in contact they become oppositely charged; and when, in addition, there is an electrolytic contact a gradient of potential becomes manifest. A current passed across a zinc-copper junction does not make brass; but do copper corpuscles enter into the zinc, and zinc corpuscles into the copper? Are the effects chemical or physical? Is there chemical affinity across the metal-metal junctions or across the metal-air junctions? Or is there a reversible heat effect? And can any of these questions be answered without the help of a perfect vacuum?

But if a gaseous medium cannot be altogether excluded perhaps changes can be made in it that may solve the problem. Mr. Spiers, using for contact the metals iron and platinum which are both permeable to hydrogen at high temperatures, has tried to get rid of oxygen altogether. He thought that by repeated exhaustions followed by the admission of pure hydrogen, and by repeated heatings and coolings, oxygen would be gradually dislodged, and any residuum would be definitively burnt. His researches have established the important fact that whereas in oxygen the potential difference between iron and platinum is about 0.37, in hydrogen it is - 0.60 volt.

It was this subject of contact electricity that Principal Lodge chose for his presidential address to the Physical Society in February. He put it that the *o* controversy were both involved in contact views *chemical* views; that they were

metallists *versus* dielectricists. Mr. Spiers' experiments were promising but not conclusive. He was still for oxygen, but Lord Kelvin scouted oxygen and was for brass, though for ether also; and he himself was for ether, in some sense, if the evidence permitted. Indeed, he predicted that the theory which sought to reduce the whole material universe to electric charges, their motions and interactions, would compel the closest attention during the ensuing century.

In the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1899 mention was made of some experiments on basaltic rocks that had become permanently magnetised by lightning of a current strength not less, Herr Pockels thought, than 6,500 ampères. It has long been known that in the Isle of Skye, among the Cuchullin Hills, the compass is useless as a guide. Mr. Harker has found that the summits and salient points of the ridges were the seat of intense permanent magnetism which affected dip as well as declination. The basalt and gabbro of the district are rich in iron, and it seemed to him probable that these rocks had become affected by acting as conductors rather than by having been struck by lightning, as thunderstorms were of great rarity in the island. The stones composing the cairns erected there by the Triangulation Survey were always highly magnetic, whilst the loose stones in the vicinity were much less so.

Dr. Gamba has given an account of the magnetic properties of bricks that had been struck by lightning. In the wall of a house near Viterbo he detected magnetised portions which had been penetrated by the discharge. He considered that the affection was altogether independent of terrestrial magnetism.

Messrs. Gaze and Lawrence have been able to test some bricks used in building a laboratory in which instruments were to be protected from magnetic disturbance. All but one, which was nearly white, were found to be magnets. The poles, however, were not in the ends of the bricks, but either in the faces or the edges. The magnetic moments were not constant, and they were temporarily diminished by heat. It was supposed that the affection was due to the presence of magnetic iron oxide, either as a component of the clay or as developed by burning, and polarisation was explained by the position of the bricks in the kiln.

Messrs. Nagaoka and Honda have detected changes of volume in iron, steel and nickel in the magnetic field. Ovoids of these metals were placed in a glass tube provided with a capillary neck and filled with liquid. Nickel continues to expand with increase of field, but iron and steel, after an initial enlargement, ultimately contract.

Mr. Hart, wishing to observe the effect of light on magnetic iron, deposited very fine films of this metal on glass, and was able to perceive a small but distinct difference in the magnetic state of the iron according to the plane of polarisation of the incident light.

Herr Moser's observation has been confirmed that silver under ordinary conditions is sensitive to light. A developable image can be obtained, and by prolonged exposure an impression that can be seen without development. Blue and violet rays are the most efficient. Lead is the only other metal yet examined with a similar property.

Herr Marckwald has shown that anhydrous chloride of quinoquino-line on exposure to sunlight changes in colour from yellow to an intense green. It regains its ordinary hue at ordinary temperatures after a few days in the dark, and instantly if raised to 90° C. By fusion a non-sensitive modification can be obtained which slowly returns to the sensitive form. The more refrangible are the efficient rays in producing the effect which does not seem to depend on any chemical or crystalline change.

Mr. Kastle calls attention to the fact that, on being cooled to the temperature of liquid air, a number of substances have their colour remarkably decreased, and, in some cases, completely destroyed. Among those which he names are lead iodide, phosphorus pentabromide, mercuric bromoiodide, iodoform, sulphur, chrome alum and bromine. The colour of iodine was not affected.

M. Cantor has sent through a glowing vacuum tube a strong beam of light in order to compare its intensity with that of a beam passing through the open air. It suffered no absorption by the glowing gas. Since the temperature of a gas in such conditions is known not to be high this result disagrees with Kirchhoff's law of radiation. There is emission without absorption, so that the light-producing mechanism of electrically glowing gases is quite different from that of flames.

Professor Crew has examined the arc-spectra of various metals in an atmosphere of hydrogen, as compared with corresponding spectra in air, and finds that in the former case the lines are greatly enhanced so as to resemble those that are seen in the aerial spark. Spark-spectra in a hydrogen atmosphere he does not discuss.

To make air conductive, to produce nuclei of condensation in it, and to convert part of it into ozone are properties both of cathode rays and of the Becquerel rays. Professor Lenard has now proved that the same effects are produced, but in a less degree, by the extreme ultra-violet rays derived from the electric spark, the electric arc and the sun.

Of the rays emitted by radium only a small part, M. Curie finds, are deviated by the magnet; but those which suffer the most deviation possess the greatest penetrating power, whereas the non-deviable rays are the more easily absorbed the thicker the material they have already passed through, and in this respect they differ from all known rays. He further finds that the deviable rays bear a negative charge which they communicate to bodies on which they fall. They are therefore an emission of particles of electrified matter. Deviability and chargeability are two properties that are also possessed by cathode rays, and both kinds of rays have the same velocity. It has not been found possible to polarise them.

M. Becquerel places a fragment of radio-active barium, wrapped in aluminium foil, in the centre of an iron disc forming one pole-piece of a strong electro-magnet. A fluorescent screen is carried by the other pole-piece. When the magnet is not excited, the luminosity that appears on the screen is faint and widely dispersed. As soon as the magnet is excited the luminous area contracts and becomes more intense. Reversal of the poles does not alter the effect. A sensitive

plate may be impressed with a strongly marked negative in a minute and a half.

Professor Rutherford calculates that from a thick layer of uranium oxide the radiated energy is equivalent to 10^{-11} calories per second, which would raise 1 c.c. of water 1° C. in 3,000 years. And M. Becquerel reckons that the energy radiated per square centimetre is of the order of one ten-millionth of a watt per second; and that a loss of weight of about a milligram in a thousand million years would suffice to account for the observed effects, assuming them to be due to an actual material emission.

Mr. Cameron thinks that the Atomic theory has had its day. It provided an explanation of the laws of chemical combination as a conceivable mechanical process. But it has undergone a series of modifications to meet the demands of stereo-chemistry on the one hand and of electrical ions on the other. It is now nothing more than a working hypothesis.

And the ether is in no better plight. Sir George Stokes had likened the ether to a very soft jelly, and Mr. Larmor asks—How then can it drive tramcars by shearing stresses? The theory of pulsating spheres has lost its interest for those who prefer an ether that resembles an elastic solid. And the vortex theory that charmed many minds has been abandoned for Professor Fitzgerald's view that the ether is a perfect liquid having a rapidity of internal motion comparable with the speed of light. Lord Kelvin, at the Congrès International de Physique, explained that a positive electron condenses the ether by attraction, and a negative electron rarifies it by repulsion, so that the two attract each other. And he rejoiced that the ether, freed from the impossible task of transmitting both electrostatic and magnetic force, might yet be competent to perform the simpler duty of transmitting magnetic force alone.

PHYSIOLOGY.

Many processes that used to be attributed to the functioning of organs are now found to result from the action of enzymes, and these bodies are attracting much attention. MM. Abelous and Gérard had ascertained that the nitrate present in a liquid extract of the kidney of the horse was converted into nitrite for twenty-four hours, when the conversion began to diminish. They had found that the reducing process was the work of an enzyme, and now prove that its check is due to an oxydase normal to the renal extract. M. Sacharoff claims to have discovered an enzyme that possesses both oxidising and reducing properties.

Herr Thomson finds that seeds twenty-five years old can be made to germinate by soaking them in a solution of diastase or pepsin. Barley that had a germination percentage of 4.5 gave upon this treatment 35.0 per cent., and after the use of a stronger solution, 48.0 per cent. Seeds of other cereals yielded similar results.

Energetic digestion of starchy food occurs in the stomach of dogs though their saliva contains no ptyalin and though their food is intro-

duced through an œsophageal opening. Herr Frieden has ascertained that the starch is changed into erythrodextrin.

The formation of hydrochloric acid in the stomach has been attributed to the combination of gastric sodium ions with hydrogen ions from the blood. Herr Wesener washes out the stomach and then introduces a weak solution of sodium chloride, and no acid is formed. He then subjects the interior of the organ to mechanical irritation, and there is an immediate appearance of free hydrochloric acid which is evidently the product of cell activity.

In Herr Pflüger's opinion fat never arises from proteid in the animal body. MM. Bouchard and Desgrez relate the fact that a person receiving no food may gain weight to the extent of 600 grains in an hour. To account for this increase they assume an absorption of oxygen, above that required for the formation of respiratory carbon dioxide, whereby the fat of the organism is converted into glycogen. And they show that it is the muscular and not the hepatic glycogen that is thus formed.

Almost the whole of the creatine and of the creatinine given to human beings is found as creatinine in the urine. These bases do not serve for the building up of proteids, and, as M. Mallet tries to show, neither substance is intermediate between proteid and urea.

According to Herr Schumburg, even small amounts of sugar will in half an hour renew the power of muscles exhausted by work, and at the same time, by its action on the nervous system, it relieves the feeling of fatigue. Sgr. Mosso insists on the efficacy of sugar in raising the depressed temperature of a fasting animal. In starvation sugar is more readily assimilated than bread. In the case of dogs reduced to a perilous state of hypothermia, those that were supplied with albumen died, whilst those fed with sugar recovered.

Mr. Dixon states that spermine injected into the veins causes a fall of blood-pressure which is partly of cardiac origin, and partly due to dilatation of the splanchnic blood-vessels. Atropin prevents the cardiac depression without lessening the vascular distention under which the spleen shrinks and the testis swells.

Some interesting approximate values have been obtained by Dr. Guldberg of the temperature of cetaceans shortly after death: Sperm whale 104° Fahr., Greenland whale 101·5°, porpoise 96°, dolphin 96°.

The experiments of Du Bois-Raymond, and others, had shown that any motor nerve can be excited by its own current closed upon itself. M. Mendelssohn has studied a similar method in the case of the torpedo, and has made the important discovery that the electric organ of that fish can be excited by its own current. He found that a current at 0·015 volt closed upon itself produces a discharge of the electric organ of from eight to fifteen volts.

M. Bourcet calculates that about 0·33 mgr. of iodine is taken into the human system daily with food. But the thyroid gland contains only about 4·0 mgr., hence there must be some means of elimination; and iodine is got rid of in the case of man through the skin and by the shedding of epidermic structures. Hair contains 1·8 mgr. per 100 grams. M. Gautier shows that these facts hold good also for arsenic; so that it would seem that a function of the thyroid is to separate

metallic poisons from the body, and to retain them until they can be dealt with by the epidermic tissues which are, in an important sense, emunctories. It was pointed out in this REGISTER for 1898, page 118, that wool, hair and feathers contain urea. In addition, Mr. Mendel finds that iodine does not enter into the constitution of the formative cells of the coral *Gorgonia cavolinii*, though its horny axial skeleton contains 7.79 per cent. of it against 2.18 per cent. of chlorine.

Herr West derives from experiments that in man a duration of luminosity of about one-millionth of a second suffices to produce a distinct visual sensation.

BIOLOGY.

There are some organisms that cannot be killed by cold. Various bacilli, the *typhosus*, *diphtheria*, *phosphorescens* and others, have been retained for seven days in the temperature of -190° C. by means of liquid air. At the conclusion of Dr. Macfadyen's experiment the microbes grew freely, and though the cold had quenched the luminescence of the photogenetic bacteria they again emitted light as the temperature rose.

After this he thought he would try liquid hydrogen, and for ten hours the stubborn organisms were exposed to the temperature of -252° C., but they were absolutely nothing the worse.

It appears that photogenetic bacteria are luminescent only in the presence of oxygen. By cultivating these organisms on a large scale M. Dubois has been able to illuminate a room with the brilliance of daylight.

A barnacle infests the Southern Bight whale. It might have been thought that the growth of epidermis beneath its point of attachment would have caused the parasite to be shed, as actually happens with the dead shells. The barnacle, however, avoids this untimely fate by dissolving the epidermis as fast as it grows, so that the parasite is always close to its prey.

It appears, from some experiments by Miss Pertz, that if a "sleeping plant" is placed in a dark room after its leaves have assumed the nocturnal position, it awakes in the morning as usual, in spite of the darkness, and its leaves return to the diurnal position. Moreover, if the plant is made to assume an oblique posture by a one-sided illumination, and is then put to sleep, it is the oblique posture that it assumes in the morning when it awakes in the dark room.

The colour-changes of the prawn have long been familiar to observers, but Messrs. Gamble and Keeble have made a special study of these modifications. Twice in the twenty-four hours the depth of the tidal water in which a prawn lives is greatly varied, and then its colour changes in harmony with stronger or weaker light. But the diurno-nocturnal variations are much more striking. As the shades of evening fall the prawn acquires a reddish glow followed by a green tinge, which at night becomes a transparent azure blue. In captured specimens this change came on at the proper time independently of the amount of light, and the morning phase was resumed at daybreak, even when the animal was kept in the dark. But in such unnatural conditions the

periodicity did not last longer than a week. It was ascertained that blinded prawns passed through this colour cycle as completely as normal ones, but not so promptly. The eye is doubtless an important auxilliary to the rhythm which seems to be controlled by the general nervous system.

Mr. Distant gives an example of active mimicry. Some gardens in Hamburg have lately been planted with the white-leaved maple, and the common white butterfly has now accustomed itself to select that shrub on which to settle.

As regards selective mimicry, large numbers of mutilated butterflies have been caught which show their chief mischief on the conspicuously marked tip of the fore wings, and on the tail-like processes of the hind wings, or precisely on those parts of the insect where injury was least dangerous to life.

Mr. Kingsley is of opinion that the articulation of the lower jaw with the skull in mammals does not correspond with that in the inferior vertebrates, but is an entirely new formation.

Professor Osborn, who has been making a comparative study of the skeleton of the elephant and of the rhinoceros for the purpose of ascertaining how to mount correctly the limb bones of extinct mammals, has come to the conclusion that in all primitive ungulates these long bones were set at considerable angles to one another. The straightening of the limb enables an increased burden to be borne, since the weight is carried on a perpendicular support. This change has made necessary a shifting of the articular facet into the direct line of pressure, and an alteration of their planes from an oblique to a right angle, as regards the vertical shaft. And it follows that the erect position of the limb-bones of the elephant is an acquired one.

That the mosquito is the propagator of malarial fever has been fully established. Confidently relying on the new knowledge, Drs. Annett, Dutton and Elliott have lived and enjoyed perfect health for four months in the most malarious districts on the Niger by the aid, not of quinine, but of a proper use of mosquito-curtains. So, too, Drs. Sambon and Low went into the worst part of the Roman Campagna and built a hut on the edge of a swamp about two miles from Ostia. From an hour before sunset till an hour after sunrise their dwelling was made mosquito-proof, and they were the only persons in the district who were not fever stricken.

Some mosquitoes which had been fed on the blood of a patient in Rome were sent to London, and a son of Dr. Manson permitted himself to be bitten by them, and though he had never been in a malarious country since he was a child he soon began to suffer from a well-marked attack of the tertian form of the disease.

It ought to be recorded that in the *Muktataf*, an Arabic scientific review edited in Cairo, a letter appeared in April, 1884, from Abdella Jabbour, in which he says: "I have noticed that all those who took precautions against mosquito bites escaped fever. I therefore conclude that mosquito nets which completely cover the bed are the best preventives of fever in malarious countries."

It seems that in the native population of a malarious district,

while the adults may be free from disease, a large proportion of the children have parasites in their blood. That they suffer little in consequence is a proof that they possess some degree of congenital immunity.

Malarial parasites have been found in birds, bats and monkeys, as well as in man, all due to the mosquito. And by the utmost good fortune the parasite that causes elephantiasis, a disease notorious for producing horrible deformity, has been detected in the mosquito's proboscis. Thus two pernicious tropical maladies have been suddenly robbed of their terrors.

Professor Pearson gives a statistical demonstration that the relation between fertility and longevity does not cease with the fecund period. The factors which contribute to make a constitution fittest to survive serve also to make it most fertile. The importance of this lies in its being necessary, for a differentiation of type, that the fittest to survive should also be the most prolific.

It used to be supposed—it was taught by Romanes—that instincts were lapsed intelligence. The doing of a thing deliberately, by an act of choice, if done often enough grew into a habit; habitual actions became automatic; and when the tendency to perform automatic co-ordinated actions was transmitted by heredity, that was the same thing as instinct. Man, who has few instincts, was in a rudimentary, inchoate, lamentable state. The formation of habits was his first duty, and an ultimate social automatism was his highest hope for posterity.

Permanent habits, however, imply stable conditions, and for a changing environment of increasing complexity instincts are less useful than brains. Professor Ray Lankester thus explains the larger cerebral mass of the recent mammalia. The brain of the earlier forms was big enough for automatic response; that of a man is not too capacious for educability, for the storage of that varied armament which he needs in a strife that is without peace, or truce, or pause.

In this conflict every combatant must perish, and the only conquest to be won is a prolonged power of transmitting to others the qualities of a victor.

HY. COLLEY MARCH.

ART, DRAMA AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

The National Gallery.—By the enforced surrender of the portrait group of "Lady Cockburn and Her Children" the gallery lost one of its finest Sir Joshua's. This picture, one of the few signed canvases by Reynolds, was bequeathed to the nation in 1892, by Marianna Augusta, Lady Hamilton. She had, however, only a life interest in the picture, which was claimed by her heirs when that fact was discovered by them. Among the works acquired were "King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid," the well-known picture by Burne-Jones, which was presented by a body of subscribers; a "Madonna and Child," by Giovanni Bellini; a portrait picture by Jan Vermeer, "The Lesson"; a "Virgin and Child with St. John," by Fra Bartolommeo; and a "Landscape with Water Mill," by Allart van Everdingen.

The National Gallery of British Art.—A notable Millais, "The Boyhood of Raleigh," was presented by Lady Tate, the widow of the founder of the gallery; and Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., added two more pictures, "The Triumph of Love" and "Time, Death and Judgment," to those already presented by him. Two other interesting paintings acquired by the gallery were Wallis's "Death of Chatterton," and a "Portrait of Mrs. Mary Ann Collmann," painted by Alfred Stevens, the sculptor who designed and modelled the Wellington monument. The newly built sculpture gallery received two additions under a bequest of Mr. Henry Vaughan, a statue of Flaxman, by Weekes, and another of Sir Joshua Reynolds, by Foley.

The National Portrait Gallery acquired a number of new works during the year, including a large painting by Richard Wilson, R.A., of "George, Prince of Wales and the Duke of York"; a study in chalk, by Field Talfourd, of Robert Browning (the companion drawing to a "Portrait of Mrs. Browning," already in the gallery); a "Portrait of Lord Thurlow," by T. Phillips, R.A.; and portraits by various artists of Leigh Hunt, Phineas Pett, Samuel Prout and Captain Marryat.

The Wallace Gallery was opened in June at Hertford House, the former residence of Sir Richard Wallace in Manchester Square. Hertford House, in its partially reconstructed form is well-fitted for the display of the Wallace treasures. On the site of the stables four large rooms have been built in which are arranged the famous collections of European and Oriental arms; and on the first floor a large top-lighted gallery is devoted to the exhibition of many fine examples of Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, Italian and English pictures. Twenty-two rooms and galleries in all are filled with the paintings, furniture, arms, enamels, miniatures, and the many other objects of artistic interest which com-

prise the superb collection which was formed by two successive Marquises of Hertford and Sir Richard Wallace, and was bequeathed to the nation by Lady Wallace in 1897.

The British Museum.—The collection of arms, plate, enamels, ivories and bronzes bequeathed to the nation by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, and second only to the Wallace collection in interest and value, was exhibited in a gallery set apart for the purpose; and many new drawings were acquired by the Print Room, including Millais' "Pearl of Great Price," and studies by Michael Angelo, Primaticcio, Rembrandt and Holbein. The Duke of Northumberland was elected a trustee, and the museum and its affairs more than once attracted the attention of Parliament. The suggestion of certain Irish members that the gold Celtic ornaments discovered three or four years ago in Ireland, and now in the British Museum, should be transferred to the Dublin Museum, led to an interesting debate, which, however, left the question still unsettled; and Mr. John Morley presented a petition from the trustees asking for further aid to carry out the trusts reposed in them by Parliament.

The Victoria and Albert Museum.—Considerable progress was made with the foundations of the new buildings, the first stone of which was laid by Queen Victoria in 1899. Mr. Constantine Ionides bequeathed to the museum, conditionally, his well-known collection of pictures; and the numerous paintings and water-colour drawings comprised in the Ashbee bequest were hung in the galleries. Many drawings were acquired by the National Art Library, including a number of illustrations of London of great topographical interest, and a collection of Russian engravings executed in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. An Advisory Committee consisting of Mr. Onslow Ford, R.A.; Sir William Richmond, R.A.; Mr. T. C. Jackson, R.A., and Mr. Walter Crane, was appointed to assist the Department of Science and Art, in connection with art teaching; and Mr. Augustus Spencer succeeded the last-named artist as Principal of the Royal College of Art.

The Year's Exhibitions.—The winter exhibitions both at the Academy and the New Gallery were of more than average interest. That of the Academy was composed entirely of the works of Vandyck, and the exhibition contained some of the finest examples from our own royal collections and one from the Hermitage Gallery, a portrait of Philip, Lord Wharton, lent by the Czar. Rubens was prominent at the New Gallery, where a whole room was devoted to his pictures and studies; but the exhibition also contained a number of interesting paintings by early Flemish masters, and some fine canvases representing Reynolds, Gainsborough and Turner. Striking success attended the Artists' War Fund Exhibition, held at the Guildhall in January. It was organised by a committee of artists (under the presidency of Sir E. J. Poynter) to raise money for the wives and families of the troops killed in the South African war, and for the sick and wounded. Three hundred and twenty-eight artists, including Queen Victoria, the Empress Frederick and the Duchess of Argyll, contributed works; and about sixty others presented between them 1,085*l.* in money. The pictures were sold at Christie's, free of all charges, and the sum total received from sales and donations amounted to 10,600*l.*, which was

divided in fairly equal proportions between the Patriotic and four other funds. The summer exhibition at the Royal Academy was of average interest. Among the most prominent canvases were Mr. Sargent's great portrait group of Lady Elcho and her two sisters; Mr. Orchardson's portrait picture of Queen Victoria and her eldest son, grandson and great-grandson; Mr. Dicksee's picture "The Two Crowns"; and the large historical study by Mr. Abbey, "The Trial of Queen Katherine." Mr. Dicksee's picture was bought by the Chantrey Trustees (2,000*l.*), who also acquired a landscape by Mr. H. W. Adams, "Winter's Sleep," for 175*l.* The sales at the Academy, considering the war, were fairly good, and pictures and other works of art to the value of seventeen or eighteen thousand pounds were sold during the three months the exhibition remained open. Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch sold her "Horses Bathing in the Sea" for 1,000*l.*, Mr. Alfred Parsons' landscape, "The Green Punt," was sold for 840*l.*; and "The Ebb," by Mr. Herbert Draper, for 675*l.* Mr. Sidney Cooper, R.A., although within a few months of his ninety-seventh birthday, sold all his four pictures at prices ranging from 500*l.* to 400*l.*; but on the other hand the sales in the sculpture galleries were lamentably small. The Hanging Committee was composed of the following members: E. J. Gregory, T. Brock, P. Graham, A. Gow, E. A. Abbey and Seymour Lucas. Four Associates, Messrs. Tuke, Drury, Belcher and Farquharson, were elected during the year; Mr. Val Prinsep, R.A., was elected Professor of Painting in the place of Mr. Herkomer, R.A. (resigned), and Mr. Alfred Gilbert, R.A., was elected Professor of Sculpture. The summer exhibition at the New Gallery was poor, and there were no other exhibitions worthy of particular remark, except, perhaps, that of the Ruskin Turners at the Fine Art Society's; and the Guildhall exhibition of representative works by living British painters. The International Society held no exhibition. The award of medals and honours to British artists whose work was shown at the Paris Exhibition attracted great attention in England. Medals of honour for painting were awarded to Mr. Orchardson and Sir L. Alma-Tadema; for sculpture to Messrs. Thornycroft, Brock and Frampton; and for etching to Sir Seymour Haden. Gold medals for painting were awarded to Messrs. Stanhope Forbes, Clausen, E. J. Gregory, Lorimer, Swan, and Sir George Reid; for sculpture to Messrs. Swan, Drury, Goscombe John, Lucchesi and Allen; and for etching, etc., to Messrs. W. Nicholson, Frank Short, D. Y. Cameron and A. H. Haig. Many other awards of silver and bronze medals were made to British painters and sculptors but most critics were agreed that the collection of works shown in the British Art Section might easily have been made more representative. A protest was made by the editor of one of the English art magazines against the award of medals of honour to Mr. Whistler, M. Dagnan Bouveret and Mr. Alfred Stevens, on the ground that certain of their works were executed before May, 1889, but no official steps were taken in the matter.

Art Sales.—The year was not remarkable for its sales, although extraordinary prices were realised in two or three instances. The portrait group of "Lady Cockburn and Her Children," already referred to as having been surrendered by the National Gallery, was sold to a

private purchaser for 22,000*l.*, an unprecedented price for a Reynolds. At the sale of the Peel heirlooms the two full-length portraits by Vandyck, of a Genoese Senator and his wife were disposed of in one lot for 24,250*l.* These portraits were bought for Sir Robert Peel in 1828, by Wilkie, from the Spinola Palace at Genoa. Other notable works disposed of at the Peel sale were a portrait of Marie Antoinette, attributed to Greuze, 1,417*l.* 10*s.*; a portrait of Hoppner, by himself, 1,575*l.*; a "Winter Scene on the Thames at Richmond," by W. Collins, 2,100*l.*; "The Cannon," by W. Mulready, 1,302*l.*; a marble bust of Sir Walter Scott, by Chantrey, 2,250*l.*; and a pair of Louis XVI. candelabra, 2,700*l.* The sum total realised for the Peel heirlooms was 62,500*l.* Madame de Falbe's pictures and other artistic treasures were sold for 58,400*l.* This sum included 1,260*l.* for an Opie, "The Fortune Teller"; 1,018*l.* 10*s.* for a portrait by Boucher of Marie Leczinska, the Queen of Louis XV.; 1,575*l.* for an amboyna wood cabinet of the Louis XVI. period; 1,522*l.* 10*s.* for a set of Louis XVI. settees and two chairs; and 1,207*l.* 10*s.* for a set of three vases. In the Bloomfield Moore sale, which realised 33,400*l.*, a number of pictures by foreign painters were disposed of. Meissonier's "Standard Bearer" was sold for 2,625*l.*; a landscape by Troyon for 2,627*l.* 10*s.*; an Arab picture by Fortuny for 841*l.*; and a river scene by Corot for 735*l.* A fine Sèvres rose-water dish and ewer from the same collection realised 2,362*l.* 10*s.*

The Peel, the De Falbe, and the Bloomfield Moore, were the great sales of the season, but individual pictures were on other occasions sold for very high prices. "A View of a Water Mill," by Hobbema, was sold for 6,510*l.*; four full-length portraits by Reynolds were disposed of in a group for 11,550*l.*; a very fine Romney, a portrait of a little girl, Miss Charlotte Peirse, realised 7,350*l.*; another Romney, a portrait of Miss Lawrence, went for 3,045*l.*; and the Millais, "The Boyhood of Raleigh," which was presented to the National Gallery of British Art by Lady Tate, was purchased by her for 5,460*l.* An engraving by Dickinson of Sir Joshua's picture of "Mrs. Pelham Feeding Chickens," was sold for 483*l.*; and another by Walker after Romney's portrait of Miss Frances Woodley for 409*l.* 10*s.* Some miniatures by Smart and Plimer realised very high prices at Sir Charles Rushout's sale. Three by Smart were sold in one lot for 2,200*l.*; and a group of four portraits by Plimer for 3,045*l.*

II. DRAMA.

The chief dramatic incident of the year was the production by Mr. Beerbohm Tree at Her Majesty's Theatre of Mr. Stephen Phillips' poetical tragedy, "Herod." It was in many respects a bold experiment, but it was crowned, as it deserved to be, with marked success. Staged and produced with great skilfulness and beauty, acted, on Mr. Tree's part at any rate, with considerable power, and relieved by well-arranged theatrical effects, the drama proved strong enough to hold the interest of spectators, while its fine and graceful diction won admiration and respect. Here and there, perhaps, Mr. Phillips' verse, always musical and distinguished, tended to lapse into lyrics which, though we would not readily have missed them, were less suitable for drama than

for description. But in the main the language of the speakers was singularly direct, simple and dramatic, while never losing its high quality as verse. Mr. Tree could be congratulated on his enterprise and taste in setting such good work before the public. But it is no exaggeration to say that the English public are highly to be congratulated too on having found and welcomed a poet who possesses in a degree unknown in England for many generations the rare gift of making poetry available for drama of the highest kind. Sir Henry Irving's "Becket," as we remember it, was in many ways a beautiful and memorable performance. But "Herod" ranks above "Becket" as a play.

In less ambitious fields, but not less popular, one play of modern life stood out above the rest. Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's drama, "Mrs. Dane's Defence," admirably acted by Mr. Wyndham and his company at the new theatre which Mr. Wyndham built, was an excellent example of its author's work. We could wish for no better play for an evening's entertainment, and a better play of its kind is rarely seen. Painful as the theme was, the remarkable skill with which Mr. Jones worked out a great scene and a thoroughly interesting drama from a story not strikingly original or profound, showed once again his ever-growing mastery of stage-craft, and his assured hold of the arts and methods needed to illustrate both character and emotion on the stage. Another skilled dramatist, Mr. Grundy, was this year less successful. His play, "A Debt of Honour," produced at the St. James's failed to hold the public favour, in spite of—perhaps we should say because of—its somewhat unconventional methods. Nor was Mr. Alexander much more fortunate in one or two other ventures of the year, in Mr. Frith's "A Man of Forty," or in the comedy entitled "The Wisdom of the Wise," written by the distinguished writer who is known to fame as "John Oliver Hobbes." The last-named piece excited comment because the first-night audience expressed dissatisfaction in too audible a way, and the defenders of the play unfortunately thought it their duty to take up the cudgels for it in the press. The distinguishing feature of the piece was a ceaseless flow of small talk on the part of all the actors. But as the play contained beyond this hardly any element of drama, it failed to command popular support.

In a severer vein of drama, we cannot say of comedy, were two plays of modern manners, the latter of which, we trust, in no way represents modern manners at all—"The Wedding Guest," by Mr. Barrie, and "Mr. and Mrs. Daventry" by Mr. Frank Harris. We perhaps owe Mr. Barrie an apology for classing them together, for his work, while gloomy and in some ways inconclusive, was a remarkable and sincere study of a rather painful kind, and it certainly interested a large number of people. Mr. Harris' play, on the other hand, at the Royalty, was hardly worthy of Mrs. Patrick Campbell's art, and its theme was so repulsive, and its treatment so crude, that it had little claim to praise or to success. A pretty adaptation of "Les Romanesques" was produced at the same theatre under the title of "The Fantasticks," but without much encouragement from the theatre-going world. Much more satisfactory was a capital light comedy, "Lady Huntworth's Experiment," by Mr. R. C. Carton, which, in spite of certain bold improba-

bilities, long amused and delighted the public; and in the same class we may mention Captain Marshall's piece, "A Noble Lord," which, admirably acted by Mr. Arthur Bouchier, Mr. Weedon Grossmith and others, achieved a long and prosperous run. One curious dramatic feature of the autumn was the almost simultaneous production of two plays based upon the story of Nell Gwyn, or rather on what nineteenth century dramatists suppose that Nell Gwyn's story might have been. Mr. Edward Rose helped Mr. Anthony Hope to dramatise the latter's novel, "Simon Dale"; and although the play proved to be in all respects inferior to the novel, the many good lines and the charming acting of Miss Marie Tempest won for this version a remarkable success; while in the other play on the same subject, which originated in America, the picturesque and effective situations redeemed the faults of a rather stagey piece. Miss Marie Tempest's appearance in "English Nell" proved that a new comedian of remarkable ability had been added to the actresses of the English stage; and the unmistakable applause of the public gave to "Sweet Nell of Old Drury" a prosperous career. Mr. Anthony Hope was less successful in his dramatisation of his story, "Rupert of Hentzau," in which Mr. Alexander failed to repeat the remarkable success of the "Prisoner of Zenda."

Among revivals there was a good deal worthy of attention during the year. Mr. Beerbohm Tree gave a beautiful rendering of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," conspicuous for its charming stage effects. Mr. Benson and his company, following a company of German players, took possession of the Comedy for a Shakespearian season, and presented incidentally the complete tragedy of Hamlet, which occupied both morning and evening in its performance. At the Haymarket Mr. Maude presented capital revivals of "She Stoops to Conquer" and "The School for Scandal." Old favourites like "Olivia," "Dandy Dick," and the perennial "Private Secretary" reappeared elsewhere; and, following on the production of "The Rose of Persia," both "The Pirates of Penzance" and "Patience" were revived at the Savoy. In musical farce or medley, "Florodora" at the Lyric, and "The Casino Girl" at the Shaftesbury, rivalled the popularity of "San Toy"; while "The Messenger Boy" at the Gaiety almost challenged the run of Mr. Charles Hawtrey's curious sentimental little comedy entitled "A Message from Mars." In more legitimate comedy Captain Marshall secured another success with his play, "The Second in Command," which, helped by the acting of Mr. Maude, and by the recent memories of the war and all its interests, filled the Haymarket Theatre to overflowing in the last months of the year. Drury Lane maintained almost alone the fame of melodrama with a great scenic display, "The Price of Peace." And lesser dramas, verging into farce—"His Excellency the Governor," "Facing the Music," a bustling absurdity called "In the Soup," a Parisian imitation at the Vaudeville named "Self and Lady" helped to swell the prolific records of the year. On the whole, in spite of the shadow of the war, and the gloom in which the year opened, the theatres had little reason to complain of the want of popular support, nor was there any ground as yet for apprehending the decadence of English drama.

III. MUSIC.

In reviewing the music of the closing year of the century one is forced to the conclusion that the achievements were less remarkable than the losses. The death of Sir Arthur Sullivan is the greatest personal loss English music could have sustained. Not only was he one of the most gifted musicians we have ever had, but he was, undoubtedly, the most popular. No composer has ever given so much unalloyed pleasure to all classes of society, a fact to be borne in mind by those who are inclined to deplore the loss to the higher branches of music which his continued devotion to light opera entailed. His death took place on November 22, at the comparatively early age of fifty-eight, and on November 27 he was buried at St. Paul's Cathedral. The death of Sir George Grove on May 28 in his eightieth year, recalls to us the valuable services which he, who claimed to be only an amateur, was able to render to music. His name will probably be known chiefly in connection with his "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," and his work on "Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies"; but it should also be remembered that while secretary of the Crystal Palace Company he gave Mr. August Manns unswerving and enthusiastic support in raising the Saturday Orchestral Concerts to their high level, thereby laying the foundation of the appreciation in this country of the best orchestral compositions, both native and foreign. Sir George was also the First Director of the Royal College of Music.

The death of Mr. John Sims Reeves, the eminent tenor, on October 25, aged eighty-two, and the retirement from public life of Mr. Edward Lloyd in December remind us of our poverty in English tenors of the first class.

Satisfactory features of the year have been the continued public appreciation of good orchestral music, and the fine works produced by Edward Elgar and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, the most prominent of the younger composers. "The Dream of Gerontius" by the former and "Scenes from the Song of Hiawatha" by the latter were generally regarded as works of the highest promise, possessing qualities which stamped their authors as men of undoubted genius.

Three important provincial festivals were held, *viz.*, at Chester in July, at Hereford in September, and at Birmingham in October. At the first named was produced for the first time Dr. J. C. Bridge's "Requiem"; Saint Saëns' Cantata "The Deluge," for the first time in its entirety in this country; the "Funeral and Triumphal Symphony" by Berlioz; and Professor Horatio Parker's "Hora Novissima," performed for the first time in this country at the previous year's Worcester Festival.

At the Hereford Festival the novelties produced were a thanksgiving "Te Deum" by Sir Hubert Parry; a setting of W. E. Henley's "Last Post" by Dr. Stanford (first performed at one of the State Concerts); a setting of Psalm cvii. by Professor Horatio Parker, composed expressly for the festival; and a setting by Coleridge-Taylor of four sonnets (by Mrs. Browning) under the title of "The Soul's Expression," really a cycle of songs—"The Soul's Expression," "Tears," "Grief," and

"Comfort." Dr. G. R. Sinclair conducted, and an excellent band was led by Mr. Arthur W. Payne.

The financial success of the Birmingham Festival enabled the authorities to hand over to the General Hospital a sum exceeding 6,000*l.* Dr. Hans Richter conducted a band of 123 and a chorus of 351. For the first time in the history of the festival the chorus contained no male altos. The great feature of the festival was the production of Mr. Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius," already referred to, a sacred cantata, set to Cardinal Newman's words. Another work written specially for the festival was an orchestral song, "The Soldier's Tent," by Sir Hubert Parry, the words being from Carmen Sylva's "Bard of Dimbovitza." It was sung by Mr. Plunket Greene and conducted by the composer. Other works performed were Coleridge-Taylor's "Hiawatha"; Brahms's "German Requiem"; and Selections from William Byrd's "Mass for Five Voices."

Earlier in the year, from April 30 to May 5, Mr. Newman gave his second London Musical Festival at the Queen's Hall, consisting of six concerts, at all of which the Queen's Hall and the Lamoureux Orchestras played together. The English novelties were played by the Queen's Hall Band under Mr. Henry J. Wood, and the French novelties by the Lamoureux Band under M. Camille Chévallard, son-in-law and successor to M. Lamoureux. At each concert a symphony was played by the combined orchestras. The vocalists were Mme. Albani, Miss Clara Butt and Miss Lilian Blauvelt. M. Ysaye was the solo violinist. The English novelties were: "Le Sang des Crépuscules," a symphonic poem by Percy Pitt; "Thalaba the Destroyer," a symphonic poem by Granville Bantock; and the Overture to "Hiawatha," by Coleridge-Taylor, produced at the last Norwich Festival. The French novelties were "Le Chêne et le Roseau," a symphonic poem by M. Chévallard; a "Sicilian Rhapsody" by Charles Silver, and Léon Moreau's "Sur la mer lointaine."

The Handel Festival was held at the Crystal Palace on June 19, 21 and 23 under the usual conditions, which call for no detailed remarks, except that the days were changed to Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Numerous festivals and competitions were held in various provincial centres with encouraging success, and in this connection may be mentioned the retirement, after fifteen years' service, of Miss Wakefield from the conductorship of the Westmoreland Musical Festival.

The Royal Choral Society performed with marked success the complete trilogy "Hiawatha" by Coleridge-Taylor, on March 22; and on May 3, gave excerpts from Wagner's earlier operas. The thirtieth season began on November 8.

The Bach Choir has undergone a much needed reconstruction and active members will be required in future to undergo a triennial test. Dr. Stanford will continue to act as conductor.

The absence of enterprise in Central London in regard to choral works has been frequently referred to as exhibiting a regrettable decline in public interest in and practice of choral singing, but it is probable that so many good local choral societies now exist that amateur singers prefer as a rule to support the society in their own

neighbourhood rather than incur the trouble, expense and fatigue of a journey to town.

In the department of orchestral music much excellent work was got through. The Philharmonic Society opened its eighty-seventh season on March 8, Mr. F. H. Cowen reappearing as conductor. A new "Overture Dramatique in D Minor" (op. 2), by Otto Manns, nephew of August Manns, the veteran conductor at the Crystal Palace, was produced. Other novelties brought forward during the season were: Granville Bantock's "Jaga-Naut" scene xiv. of his orchestral drama "Kehama" (March 21); Coleridge-Taylor's orchestral *suite* "Scenes from an Everyday Romance," conducted by the composer (May 24); W. H. Thorley's symphonic poem "Macbeth" (June 14); and F. H. Cowen's "Concertstück," with Paderewski for the solo part (June 28). Mme. Teresa Carreño, Sgr. Busoni, M. Paderewski, Herren Rosenthal and Von Dohnányi were the pianists; M. Ladislas Gorski, the violinist, and A. Hobday, solo viola, in Berlioz's "Childe Harold in Italy" (May 24).

Edward Lloyd, who first appeared at these concerts in 1873, made his last appearance on April 5 and sang Beethoven's "Adelaide," Schubert's "Serenade," and the "Prize Song" from the "Meistersingers."

A series of symphony concerts was given by the Queen's Hall Orchestra, under Mr. Henry J. Wood, extending from January to May. The novelties included Wagner's "Tannhäuser's Pilgrimage" (Prelude to act iii.), performed for the first time in England; Herr Georg Liebling's Pianoforte "Concerto Eroico" (op. 22), the solo part being played by the composer (Feb. 10); a "Fantaisie Pastorale" (op. 26), for violin and orchestra, by B. Hollander, and a "Ballade" for violin and orchestra by Percy Pitt, both played by M. Ysaye, who at the same concert played Beethoven's "Violin Concerto" (Feb. 24); a symphonic poem "Viviane," by Ernest Chausson, and a "Fantaisie Russe" for solo violin and orchestra by Rimsky-Korsakoff (May 31). A further series was given later in the year, the first concert being on November 10, but no works were produced requiring special mention. A very fine series of Promenade Concerts was given at the Queen's Hall, under Mr. Henry J. Wood's direction, from August 25 to November 10. The band was further strengthened by the appointment of the brothers Belinski, principal first violin and violoncello respectively, at the Crystal Palace, and T. Fonteyne, a fine oboe player from Brussels. Beethoven's symphonies were played in order on Friday evenings. Among the novelties presented may be mentioned: Rimsky-Korsakoff's second symphony "Autar," (Sept. 19), first time in England; the overture to Edgar Tinell's sacred music-drama "Godoleva" (Sept. 27), first time in England; Intermezzo from Sgr. Spinelli's opera "A Basso Porto" (Oct. 11); Rachmaninoff's "Pianoforte Concerto" (op. 1), played by Miss Evelyn Stuart (Oct. 4); second *suite* from Edward Lalo's ballet "Namouna" (Oct. 9); Algernon Ashton's Turkish march "Bag and Baggage" (Oct. 18), first time in London; "Second Suite" by Herr Mottl, consisting of melodies from Gluck's operas (Oct. 20), first time in England; Glazounoff's ballet music "Ruses d'amour" (Nov. 1), first performance in England; "Suite de Ballet," by Landon Ronald (Nov. 3); Fantasia, "The Boy and the Butterfly," for solo flute, bassoon obbligato and orchestra, by

George Fox (Nov. 6); "Serenade in E Flat" (op. 7), for four wood wind instruments and four horns by Richard Strauss (Nov. 6), first time in England; "Variations on the Old English Air 'Three Blind Mice'" (op. 48), by Joseph Holbrooke (Nov. 8); and "Duet in G for Two Flutes" by Beethoven (Nov. 8), first time in England.

A new vocalist of exceptional promise, who appeared on October 16, was Miss Florence Schmidt, an Australian soprano. Her voice, which is of beautiful quality, is well produced, and her singing possesses much charm.

Dr. Hans Richter gave short summer and autumn series of orchestral concerts. No actual novelties were produced, but at the concert on October 22, Liszt's rarely heard symphonic poem "The Battle of the Huns," suggested by Kaulbach's famous picture, was performed. A notable feature of the first series, and indeed of the musical year, was the first appearance, at the concert on June 18, of Johann Kubelik, a young violinist who played Wilhelmj's arrangement of Paganini's "Concerto in D" (op. 6). All judges of violin playing agree in their praise of his marvellous execution, faultless intonation, and full, rich tone.

The second part of the forty-fourth series of Saturday Concerts at the Crystal Palace opened on February 24, when the first performance in England was given of Berlioz's "Ruy Blas" overture; Mme. Carrefio played the solo in Rubinstein's "Fourth Pianoforte Concerto in D Minor" (op. 70). The following novelties were also produced: A symphonic poem, "The Raven," by Joseph Holbrooke; an "Adagio" by Goldmark, played by César Thomson, and a "Passacaglia" of his own (March 3); a symphonic poem in C minor, "Walt Whitman," by Wm. H. Bell (second movement omitted) (March 10); "Concert-Overture in E Flat" (op. 35), by Herr Julius Klengel (March 17); "Pianoforte Concerto in D Minor" (op. 23), by E. A. MacDowell, played by Mme. Carrefio (April 7). At Mr. Manns's Benefit Concert on April 28, the second movement, "Humoreske," from Mr. W. H. Bell's "Walt Whitman" symphony (omitted on March 10), was performed for the first time.

In the autumn the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts were conducted on an entirely new plan. On October 13, 20, and November 3, the Queen's Hall Band, under Henry J. Wood, journeyed to Sydenham and gave performances to large audiences. The concerts on October 27 and November 10 were conducted by August Manns, and that on November 17 by Dr. Richter. The concert on November 10 included the prelude to Elgar's sacred cantata "The Dream of Gerontius," produced at the Birmingham Festival.

At the orchestral concert given by M. Ysaye on May 17, the great violinist performed three concertos, *viz.*, Bach's in E., Beethoven's and Mendelssohn's.

On November 14 and 19 M. Ysaye gave two concerts at which he appeared as the conductor of the Queen's Hall Band with great success, and introduced some new works of the French school. Sgr. Busoni gave very fine renderings of Beethoven's "Emperor" concerto and Rubinstein's "Concerto in E Flat." The novelties referred to were: the Overture to "Sancho," by Jaques Dalcroze; César Franck's "Chasseur

Maudit"; Vincent d'Indy's *Prelude to "Fervaal"* and *"Symphonic Variations 'Istar'";* and M. Duparo's symphonic poem *"Lénore."*

Orchestral concerts were given also by Mr. John Dunn who played Beethoven's *"Violin Concerto,"* and Tschaikowsky's *"Concerto in D"* (op. 35), Mr. Hamish MacCunn conducting (Feb. 20); and by Mr. Henry Such on November 16. Mention may also be made of the production on March 21, by the Westminster Orchestral Society of a new orchestral suite, *"Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales,"* by Mr. Harry Farjeon (son of the novelist and grandson of Jefferson).

In the department of chamber music several combinations did good work. At the Saturday Popular Concert on January 13, Herr Mühlfeld reappeared when a *"Sonata in G for Pianoforte and Clarinet,"* by Herr Gustav Jenner was produced. On March 5, Hugo Becker played Tschaikowsky's *"Variations sur un theme rococo for violoncello"* (op. 33), this being the first performance of the complete work in England. On March 19 was given the fifteen hundredth Popular Concert, M. Ysaye appearing as leading violinist. On the resumption of these concerts in November, the quartet was led by Herr Halir, and Lady Hallé reappeared in the same month.

Several novelties were produced at Mr. G. A. Clinton's excellent concerts, including Wm. Y. Hurlstone's *"Suite in G Minor for Clarinet and Pianoforte"* (April 2); Mr. R. H. Walthew's *"Mosaic in Ten Pieces"* for clarinet and pianoforte; and a MS. *"Grand Suite in B Flat"* (op. 14) by Herr Richard Strauss, for two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, four horns, two bassoons and contra bassoon.

Pianoforte recitals were given by Mme. Carreño, Herren Rosenthal, Dohnányi, Reisenauer and Kupferschmid, Sgr. Busoni, Leonard Borwick and Frederick Dawson. Following his success at the Richter Concert, Johann Kubelik gave six violin recitals at which he confirmed the favourable impression already made, but played only one violin concerto—Mendelssohn's. M. Ysaye combined with Sgr. Busoni in giving a violin and pianoforte recital when superb renderings were given of the works chosen.

Among the vocal recitals mention may be made of those given by Marie Brema, Blanche Marchesi, Plunket Greene and Dr. Theodore Lierhammer.

The royal opera season at Covent Garden began May 14, but the only novelty produced (July 12) was Puccini's *"La Tosca,"* founded on Sardou's play. In spite of the blood-curdling character of the story, the work, owing to the beauty of the music and the splendid rendering of the chief part by Fräulein Ternina, achieved a decided success. The opera was repeated on July 16. Performances were given of the *"Nibelungen Ring"* Cycle (twice); *"Lohengrin,"* *"Tannhäuser,"* *"Die Meistersinger,"* *"Les Huguenots,"* *"Faust,"* *"Romeo and Juliet,"* *"Carmen,"* *"La Bohème,"* *"Don Giovanni,"* *"Il Barbiere,"* *"Rigoletto,"* *"Aida,"* *"Cavalleria Rusticana"* and *"Pagliacci."*

The reformed Royal Carl Rosa Company gave first performances in London, at suburban theatres, of Sgr. Spinelli's three-act opera, *"A Basso Porto"* (Nov. 14), and Gounod's *"Cinq-Mars"* (Nov. 17), and the

first performance in England of Goldmark's "Cricket on the Hearth" (Nov. 23).

The Royal College of Music gave a revival of Weber's "Euryanthe" (Nov. 30) at Daly's Theatre; the Royal Academy produced a new one-act comic opera, "The Registry Office," by Harry Farjeon (June 29); and the Guildhall School produced a two-act romantic opera by H. Waldo Warner, entitled "The Royal Vagrants."

As regards light opera mention need only be made of the successful revivals at the Savoy Theatre of "The Pirates of Penzance" and "Patience," and the continued run of "San Toy" at Daly's Theatre.

At Her Majesty's Theatre in January Mr. Beerbohm Tree revived Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream," with Mendelssohn's music, performed in its entirety. At the subsequent production of Stephen Phillips' play, "Herod," the incidental music performed was specially composed by Coleridge-Taylor.

Cambridge University conferred honorary degrees on F. H. Cowen and Edward Elgar, while Dublin University conferred the same honour on W. H. Cummings.

An excellent musical exhibition was arranged at the Crystal Palace, in connection with which lectures were given by well-known musicians.

In addition to the names given at the beginning of this article the obituary list of the year includes Dr. E. G. Monk, formerly organist of York Minster (Jan. 3); Battison Haynes, composer, etc. (Feb. 4); Major Charles Russell Day, author of "Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan" (Feb. 18); Carl Bechstein, founder and chief of the great pianoforte manufacturing house in Berlin (March 6); Hermann Levi, eminent Wagnerian conductor (May 13); Heinrich Vogl, German tenor (April 21); Dr. C. Swinnerton Heap, chorus-master of the Birmingham Festival, and holder of the Mendelssohn Scholarship in succession to Sir Arthur Sullivan (June 11); Marie Krebs, once a favourite pianist at the Popular Concerts (June 26); John Hopkins, organist of Rochester Cathedral (Aug. 27); Friedrich Nietzsche, the distinguished philosophical writer, well known in connection with controversies in regard to Wagner's theories of operatic reform (Aug. 25); Wm. Beatty-Kingston, author of "Music and Manners" (Oct. 4); Henry Russell, popular song-writer, author of "Cheer, boys, cheer!" (Dec. 8); Jules P. Rivière, well-known conductor (Dec. 26); and Dr. Wm. Pole, F.R.S., writer on musical subjects (Dec. 30).

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1900.

JANUARY.

Dr. Martineau.—James Martineau, one of the most prominent men of the century as a theologian and a teacher, was the son of Thomas Martineau of Norwich, a camlet maker and wine merchant, of a Huguenot family which settled in Norwich after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James Martineau, who was a younger brother of Harriet Martineau, was born on April 21, 1805, and was educated first at the Norwich Grammar School (1815-9) under Dr. Valpy, whence he was transferred to Dr. Lant Carpenter's school at Bristol (1819-21), where his mind received its first impulse. At this time it was intended that he should become a civil engineer, but his love of speculative study and his desire to enter the Unitarian ministry weighed with his father, who consented to his giving up his apprenticeship and entering the Manchester New College at York (1823-5), where he devoted himself to the study of theology and philosophy. At the conclusion of his course he was for a short time an assistant master in Dr. Lant Carpenter's school; but he felt that his work lay elsewhere, and in 1823 was appointed junior minister of the Presbyterian Meeting House in Dublin, where he remained four years. He soon made his mark as a preacher, and might have had a brilliant career in Ireland had he not felt conscientious objections to taking a share of the Crown endowment known as the *Regium Donum*. Shortly after leaving Dublin he married Helen, daughter of Rev. E. Higginson of Derby, and for some time devoted himself to study; but in 1832 he accepted an offer from Liver-

pool, and was appointed second minister of Paradise Street Chapel, and some time afterwards made his reputation as a brilliant controversialist and as the champion of the more liberal and more spiritual phase of Unitarianism, of which Channing had been the earliest exponent. By 1840 his position was so fully recognised that he was unanimously appointed Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Manchester New College, and during the forty-five years of his occupancy of the Chair, by the elevation of his life and teaching, he left an indelible mark on the thought of his day. In 1848-9 he was absent for fifteen months in Germany, where his philosophical views underwent a considerable change which was especially due to the lectures of Professor Trendelenburg, a distinguished Aristotelian. He returned to Liverpool, where his chapel had been rebuilt, and remained there for ten years longer, when he was called to London to assist his friend John James Taylor in the ministry of Little Portland Street Chapel, becoming sole minister two years later, and remained there until 1872, when from failing strength he finally retired from the work of the ministry, although from time to time he occupied the pulpits of friends. During all this time he had been contributing articles to reviews, sometimes critical, sometimes controversial, but marked by comprehensiveness, suggestiveness and sweetness; and never lowered by personal or malicious feeling. In 1866 he was put forward by his friends as a candidate for the Chair of Logic at University College, London; but Mr. Grote, who swayed a majority

of the governing body, was strongly opposed to the election of a clergyman, and Mr. Croom Robertson was preferred to Dr. Martineau. Honours, however, had been heaped upon him from all sides; the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Harvard College, Cambridge, U.S.A., in 1872; of D.D. by the University of Leyden in 1875, and by the University of Edinburgh in 1884; of D.C.L. by the University of Oxford in 1888, and of Litt.D. by the University of Dublin in 1892. He was a frequent contributor to the *Westminster, National*, and other reviews, as well as to various periodicals. His later works, "Types of Ethical Theory," "The Seat of Authority in Religion" and "Endeavours after the Christian Life," together with the volumes of sermons which he published, show his mind in its maturity and the change wrought by him in the mechanical teaching of the Unitarian Church. He counted among his friends the most distinguished men in Church and State as well as in the world of letters and science, and the simplicity and sweetness of his nature were such that he attached to himself those whose views were most opposed to his own as strongly as those of whom he was the acknowledged leader. The later years of his life, which he devoted to study, were passed partly in London and partly at his cottage near Aviemore in the Scotch Highlands. He retained his intellectual powers unimpaired to the last, and no little of his vigour. He passed away at his house in Gordon Square on January 11 after a very short illness.

John Ruskin, the son of "an entirely honest merchant" was born in Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, London, in February, 1819, but removed with his family to Herne Hill in 1823, at that time quite in the country, although within four miles of his father's house of business in Billiter Street. Whilst still a boy he accompanied his father when travelling for orders, and in this way formed an early acquaintance with Wales and the north of England. Of his early life he left an ample autobiographical record, from which the details of his early training can be gathered. "On the whole the one essential part of all my education" was the Bible teaching he received from his mother, by whom he was taken through the Book every year. For some years his education was carried on under a private tutor,

but in 1834 he was sent to Peckham School, then under Rev. Thomas Dale, who was subsequently known as a leading evangelical preacher. His earliest taste was for mineralogy, but Greek and English composition were subjects which afterwards occupied his attention. His mother's desire was that her only son should be admitted to holy orders, and with this view she fostered the idea of a university course; but he had inherited more of his father's love of art than of his mother's religious ambition, and the Turner drawings which the former collected seem to have determined the bias of the son's mind. In 1836 he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, and in 1839 won the Newdigate Prize for English verse on the subject "Salsette and Elephanta." Soon afterwards his health gave way and he was unable to present himself to the examiners; but in accordance with the then-existing regulations he was admitted M.A. in 1842. During his Oxford period he had, both from choice and by the doctor's orders, spent much of his time abroad, where he had pursued his love of art by lessons in painting from Prout and others, and had found ample material for sustaining his individual views. In 1843 the limited world which then was interested in art and art criticism was startled by the appearance of the first volume of "Modern Painters" by a Graduate of Oxford; a book of remarkable eloquence, of close reasoning and delicate appreciativeness, in which the author claimed "to come forward to declare and demonstrate wherever they exist the essence and the authority of the beautiful and the true."

Two editions of the first volume of "Modern Painters" had been exhausted before the second volume was published in 1846, and two further volumes appeared in 1856, and the fifth and concluding volume was delayed until 1860, by which time the principles laid down by the author had in a great measure been accepted in theory, although the artists who could put them in practice were only beginning to obtain recognition.

Meanwhile he had brought his critical faculties to bear upon a sister art, and in his "Seven Lamps of Architecture" (1849) and in "The Stones of Venice" (1851-3), his minute observation, careful analysis and a real enthusiasm for what was true and beautiful enabled him to speak with the voice of authority, and he was recognised as a leader of an

æsthetic revival in England. His bold championship of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood was displayed in his annual "Notes on Pictures at the Royal Academy" and gave courage to the group of artists who were striving to redeem British art from the stigma of slovenliness and dull conventionality. About this time also he was brought into contact with the Rev. F. D. Maurice, arising out of the lessons in painting which Ruskin gave for several years at the Working Men's College, and in this way became mixed up with the socialist spirit which was then making itself felt. But for the time Ruskin was concerned only with art matters, and his lectures (published under the title of "The Two Paths" (1859)) at South Kensington, Manchester, Bradford, etc., were given with the object of arousing an enthusiasm for what was true and beautiful, and a dissatisfaction with what was conventional.

It would seem from his own statements that Ruskin's subsequent and predominant interest in social and economical questions was due to the influence of Carlyle. His lectures, dealing as they did with the theories of design, had obliged him to consider art in its relation both to science, education and industry, and these brought him face to face with many social problems of which he offered sometimes paradoxical solutions. To this period belong "Unto This Last" (1862), "Sesame and Lilies" (1864), "Time and Tide by Wear and Tyne" (1867), "The Queen of the Air" (1869). These works deal with every conceivable question of social economics, and if their conclusions are not generally practical the style in which the arguments are pleaded is perfect.

In 1870 the endowment of the Slade Art Professorship enabled the University of Oxford to pay a well-earned compliment to her gifted son by electing him the first holder of the Chair. The lectures delivered by Ruskin during his Professorship appeared from time to time under somewhat fantastic titles. The inaugural series was chiefly concerned with the relations of art to religion and morals (1870), "The Functions of Limelight and Colour" (1871), "Aratra Pentelici," dealing with sculpture (1872), "The Eagle's Nest" (1872), "Ariadne Florentina" (1872), "Val d'Arno" (1873) and "Love's Meirie" (1874).

At the same time he found leisure to pursue his economical teaching by means of "Munera Pulveris" (1862), and "The Crown of Wild Olive" (1871),

and in 1876 he also commenced publishing monthly letters to the workmen and labourers of England under the title of "Fors Clavigera," in which autobiographical reminiscences and politico-economical teaching were indiscriminately mingled. The publication was continued until March, 1878. It was then interrupted by Mr. Ruskin's severe illness, but a second series was commenced in 1878 and continued to appear at irregular intervals until 1884. This was followed by another series entitled "Præterita," wholly autobiographical, which appeared between 1884 and 1889. Meanwhile he had purchased a house, Brantwood, near Coniston, of Mr. W. J. Linton, the wood engraver, and subsequently, having given up his house at Herne Hill, he spent a portion of the year at Oxford and the summer in the Lake Country. In the same year, 1871, he was elected Lord Rector of St. Andrews University against Lord Lytton, but was disqualified on the ground that he was holding a professorship at another university. He was re-elected to the Slade Chair in 1874 and continued to hold it until 1878. To this period of his life must be also assigned such works as "Mornings in Florence" and "St. Mark's Rest," both intended for student-travellers; "The Ethics of the Dust," "Proserpina," "Deucalion," and the "Laws of Fesole."

He was not less interested in practical teaching than in lecturing and writing. His experiment at popularising manual labour at Oxford, where he suggested road-making as an alternative to the round of sports pursued by the undergraduates, was followed by the establishment and endowment of the St. George's Company, afterwards called St. George's Guild; a museum was founded in connection with the guild at Walkley near Sheffield, but was subsequently removed to Meersbrook Park in the same neighbourhood, and some time later the Ruskin linen industry was started at Keswick. The inheritor of a considerable fortune he spent it nobly upon deeds of usefulness. He endowed the Taylorian Galleries at Oxford with a school for drawing, and stocked it with works by Turner, Burne-Jones and himself, for he was a most accomplished painter in water-colours. His knowledge of mineralogy and geology was such that he arranged and catalogued the silicas in the British Museum.

For the last years of his life Mr. Ruskin lived in retirement and almost exclusively at Brantwood, never having

sufficiently recovered his health to mix in general society, for which he cared but little; and he died there on January 20 from an attack of influenza.

Duke of Teck, G.C.B.—Francis Paul Louis Alexander, Prince and Duke of Teck, only son of Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg and Countess Claudine de Rhedey, was born on August 27, 1837, and educated, 1849-53, at the Imperial Austrian Academy of Engineers; gazetted to the Austrian 1st Lancers, 1854, and transferred to the Guard Squadron in 1856. He accompanied Field Marshal Count Wimpffen as orderly officer throughout the Franco-Italian Campaign, 1857-9, and received the gold medal for distinguished services at Solferino. He retired from the Austrian service, 1866, and on June 12 of that year married Princess Mary

of Cambridge at the parish church of Kew. In 1882 he was attached to Sir Garnet Wolseley's staff in Egypt and was present at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir and other engagements of the campaign, and on his return to England was gazetted a Colonel in the British Army. In 1883 the Duke and Duchess of Teck left England and resided for some years in the Tyrol and Italy, chiefly at Florence. They subsequently returned to England and took up their residence at the White Lodge, Richmond Park, which the Queen had placed at their disposal. In October, 1897, the Duchess of Teck died quite unexpectedly; and from that date until his death the Duke seldom, if ever, left the White Lodge, where he died on January 21, almost immediately after a severe paralytic seizure.

On the 1st, at Stoke Edith Park, Herefordshire, aged 95, **Lady Emily Foley**, Lady Emily Graham, daughter of third Duke of Montrose. Married, 1832, Edward Thomas Foley. On the 1st, at Calcutta, aged 68, **Sir Gregory Charles Paul, K.C.I.E.**, son of Peter J. Paul, of Calcutta. Educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1853; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1855; Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, 1871-2; Advocate-General, 1872; Member of Legislative Council, Bengal, 1885-92. Married, 1861, Alice, daughter of J. John. On the 1st, at Budleigh Salterton, aged 75, **Edgar Leopold Layard, C.M.G.**, son of H. P. Layard, of Ceylon Civil Service. Entered the same service and was called to the Ceylon Bar, 1846; transferred to Cape Civil Service, 1855; Slave Trade Commissioner, 1868-72; Consul in Fiji, 1872-5; at Noumea, 1875-89. On the 1st, at Booton, Norfolk, aged 83, **Rev. Whitwell Elwes**. Educated at Caius College, Cambridge; B.A., 1839; Rector of Booton, 1849; editor of the *Quarterly Review*, 1854-67; joint editor of the "Works of Pope," etc. Married, 1840, his cousin, Miss Frances Elwes. On the 2nd, at London, aged 81, **John Nicols Valetta, D.C.L.**, a distinguished philologist. Born at Siphnos; educated at Syra; came to England, 1859; founded the Hellenic College in London, 1870-85; author of the "Epistles of Photius" (1864), "Life and Poems of Homer" (1877), etc. On the 2nd, at Putney, aged 59, **Francis Schnadhorst**. Educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham; Secretary of the Birmingham Central Literary Association, 1860-4; President, 1864-5; Secretary of the Central Nonconformist Committee, 1867-72; of the Birmingham Liberal Association, 1873-7; of the National Liberal Federation, 1877-94, and was instrumental in organising the great Liberal victory at the general election, 1880. He received a testimonial of 10,000*l.* in 1887 for his great services as a party manager. On the 3rd, at London, aged 79, **Rev. George Buckle**, son of Richard Buckle, of Bristol. Educated at Christ's Hospital and Christ Church College, Oxford; B.A., 1842 (First Class Mathematics and Second Class *Lit. Hum.*); Fellow of Oriel, 1844-52; Rector of Twerton, near Bath, 1852-76; of Weston-super-Mare, 1876-88; Prebendary of Wells, 1868; Canon Residentiary, 1887; Precentor, 1888. Married, 1852, Mary Hamlyn Earle. On the 3rd, at South Kensington, aged 81, **Hon. John Foster Vesey Fitzgerald**, son of Hon. John Leslie Foster, Baron of Irish Court of Exchequer. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1839; emigrated to Australia, 1841, and devoted himself to agriculture; sat in the New South Wales Parliament, 1846-9; returned to England, 1849-52; appointed Colonial Secretary of Victoria, 1853-7, and, on the formation of responsible Government, sat in the Legislative Assembly and was Treasurer of the first Administration, 1857; returned to England same year and assumed his mother's name by royal licence. Married, 1851, Emily, daughter of Rev. Dr. J. J. Fletcher. On the 3rd, at Radley, Berks, aged 80, **Edwin George Monk**. Born at Frome; studied music at Bath under the brothers Field; appointed Organist and Choirmaster of St. Columba's College, 1849; at York Minster, 1859; composer of much church music and editor of various chant and service books, and the author of the *libretti* of Sir G. A. Macfarren's oratorios. On the 4th, at Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, aged 59,

Vice-Admiral Richard Duckworth King, son of Colonel H. King. Entered the Royal Navy, 1851; served in the Black Sea during the Crimean War, 1854-6; in the Chinese War, 1858-9, and carried the colours at the capture of the Peiho forts; Naval Aide-de-camp to the Queen, 1889-92; Naval Superintendent at Malta, 1894-7. Married, 1873, Julia Metcalfe, daughter of Samuel Hall Egginton, of North Ferriby, Yorkshire. On the 5th, at Seaford, aged 80, **Henry Tracey Coxwell**, a distinguished aeronaut. Educated for a dentist; made his first ascent from the White Conduit Gardens, 1844, and in the course of the period 1844-60 made upwards of 400 ascents; the most noteworthy being those in 1862, when on July 17 he attained a height of four miles and on Sept. 5 of seven and a half miles. He continued to make ascents until 1885. On the 5th, at Glenside, Philadelphia, U.S.A., aged 84, **Richard Boyle Osborne**, an eminent civil engineer, son of R. B. Osborne, of Graigue, Co. Waterford. Born at London; emigrated to Canada, 1832, but migrated to Chicago; joined the staff of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, 1836; chief engineer, 1838-45; returned to Ireland and constructed the Waterford and Limerick Railway, 1846-51; designed and erected the first Howe truss roofs and bridges in the United Kingdom and in the United States; chief engineer of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad and many other lines in both Eastern and Western States; originator of the "Lyons' Tables" and other engineering works. On the 5th, at Washington, D.C., aged 71, **William A. Hammond**. Born at Annapolis, Maryland; graduated in Medicine at Newport College, 1848; entered the U.S. Army, 1849; resigned, 1860, but re-entered it, 1861; organised the hospital service during the war; appointed Surgeon-General of the U.S. Army, 1862; tried by court-martial for irregularity in connection with Army contracts, 1864; practised at New York as a specialist in nervous diseases, 1865; his case revised and the verdict reversed, 1878; restored to the Army, 1879; author of "Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion." On the 6th, at Oxford, aged 70, **Rev. Henry Furneaux, M.A.** Educated at Winchester and Christ Church College, Oxford; B.A., 1851 (First Class *Lit. Hum.*); Fellow, 1852-69; Rector of Heyford, 1868-93; edited the works of Tacitus, etc. Married, 1870, Eleanor, daughter of Joseph Severn, H.B.M. Consul at Rome, the friend of Keats. On the 6th, at Ladysmith, Natal, died of his wounds, aged 48, **Lieutenant-Colonel William Henry Dick-Cunningham, V.C.**, son of Sir William Hammer Dick-Cunningham, of Prestonfield, N.B., sixth and eighth baronet. Entered 92nd Highlanders, 1872; served through the Afghan War, 1878-80, and in the march from Kabul to Kandahar, with great distinction, earning the Victoria Cross; and served also in the Boer War, 1891; transferred to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, 1894-6; commanded 2nd Gordons, 1897; was slightly wounded in the beginning of the campaign and fatally when in command of his regiment. Married, 1888, Helen, daughter of Samuel Wauchope, C.B. On the 7th, at Kelmahall Hall, Beds, aged 43, **Captain Henry Gerard Leigh**, son of Henry Blundell Leigh, of Luton Hoo. Educated at Eton; entered 1st Life Guards, 1878; served in the Egyptian War, 1882, and in the Nile Expedition, 1884-5. Married, 1886, Marion Lindsay, daughter of H. L. Antrobus, of Lower Cheam, Surrey. On the 7th, at Monkstown, Dublin, aged 84, **Colonel Sir John Graham M'Kellie, R.E.**, son of Robert M'Kellie, of Wigtown, N.B. Educated at Woolwich Academy; entered the Royal Engineers, 1833; Chairman of the Irish Board of Works, 1864-99. Married, 1841, Sophia Caroline, daughter of Lieutenant-General H. J. Savage, R.E. On the 9th, at Portman Square, London, aged 81, **Viscount Gort**, Standish Prendergast Vereker, fourth viscount. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1840; M.A., 1843; Colonel, Limerick Militia Artillery, 1865. Married, 1847, Hon. Caroline Harriet, daughter of fourth Viscount Gage. On the 10th, at Bath, aged 71, **Colonel Sir Trevor Wheler**, eleventh baronet, son of General Sir Francis Wheler. Born in India; entered the Indian Army, 1844; served in the Sutlej Campaign, 1846; Burmese War, 1852-3; Indian Mutiny, 1857-9, with much distinction; the Eudopia Field Force, 1863 (severely wounded); and the Bhootan War, 1865-6. Married, 1852, Cordelia Mary, daughter of Major John Scott, Bengal Cavalry. On the 11th, at Theobald Park, Herts, aged 43, **Sir Henry Bruce Meux**, third baronet. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; Major, Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry. Married, 1878, Valerie Susie Langdon. On the 12th, at Surbiton, aged 83, **Robert Collum, M.D.**, son of Archibald Collum, of Fermanagh. Educated at Dublin and Glasgow University; M.D., 1837; entered the Bombay Medical Service, 1838; attached to Sir Charles Napier's staff during the conquest of Scinde, 1842-3, and in the first Afghan War, 1844-5; Superintendent of the Medical Department at Aden, 1850-3; of the Agency Jail at Hazaribagh, 1853-5; and Assay Master of the Bombay Mint, 1855-7. On the 13th, at St. Moritz, Engadine, aged 56, **Sir Harry William Gore-Booth**, fifth baronet, of Lissadell, Co.

Sligo. Educated at Eton. Married, 1867, Georgina Mary, daughter of Colonel C. J. Hill, of Tickhill Castle, Yorkshire. On the 14th, at Cheltenham, aged 86, **General Joseph Edwin Thackwell, C.B.**, son of John Thackwell, of Wilton Place, Dymock. Entered the Army, 1834; served with Connaught Rangers in Scinde War, 1842-3; South Mahratta War, 1844-5; Crimean Campaign, 1854-6; D.A.G. in Canada, 1865-70. Married, first, 1846, Ellen, daughter of Colonel Burnside; and second, 1884, Lucy Helen, widow of Canon Newlove, of Prestbury. On the 14th, at Kilmoroney, Co. Kildare, aged 72, **Sir Anthony Crosdill Weldon**, fifth baronet. Entered the Madras Artillery, 1846-54. Married, 1862, Lizzie, daughter of Colonel A. Kennedy, of Cultra, Co. Down. On the 15th, at Hove, Brighton, aged 81, **Montagu David Scott**, son of Sir David Scott, second baronet, K.H., M.P., of Duninald, N.B. Educated at University College, Oxford; B.A., 1840; called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1840; sat as a Conservative for East Sussex, 1874-85. Married, 1848, Margaret, daughter of J. Briggs, of Oaklands, Herts. On the 16th, at Thoresby Park, Notts, aged 74, **Earl Manvers**, Sydney William Herbert Pierrepont, third earl. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1846; sat as Viscount Newark as a Conservative for South Notts, 1852-60. Married, 1852, Georgine J. E. F. de Franquetot, daughter of the Duc de Coigny. On the 16th, at Ladysmith, Natal, aged 30, **George Warrington Steevens**. Educated at the City of London School and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1889 (First Class *Lit. Hum.*); Fellow of Pembroke, 1893; joined the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1893; *Daily Mail*, 1896, and became its brilliant correspondent in the United States, Germany, Egypt and India, and was War Correspondent in Greece, the Soudan and in the Transvaal. Married, 1894, Christina, daughter of Duncan Stewart, and widow of J. A. Rogerson, of Wamphray, N.B. On the 17th, at Grosvenor Square, aged 66, **The Marquess of Lothian, K.T.**, Schomberg Henry Kerr, ninth marquess. Educated at Glenalmond College, Eton and New College, Oxford; entered the Diplomatic Service, 1855; served in Persia, 1857; at Frankfort, 1862-5; Madrid, 1865; Vienna, 1866-9; Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland since 1879; Secretary for Scotland and Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1887-92; Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, 1887-8; Captain-General of the Royal Company of Archers and Colonel commanding 3rd (Militia) Battalion Royal Scots, 1878-89. On the 17th, at Worthing, aged 86, **Rev. Edward Thomas Vaughan**, son of Rev. L. T. Vaughan, of Leicester. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge; twenty-ninth Wrangler and seventh Classic, 1834; Fellow, 1837; Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester, in succession to his father and brother, 1845-59, and of Harpenden, Herts, 1859-96. On the 18th, at Hampstead, aged 81, **Vice-Admiral William Henry Haswell**, son of W. H. Haswell, R.N. Entered the Royal Navy, 1830; served at the taking of St. Jean d'Acre, 1840, where he was wounded; employed in the River Plate, Parana, etc., 1845-6, and in the Slave Trade Service, capturing thirteen slavers, 1847-9; accompanied Sir Robert McClure to the arctic regions, 1850-4; despatched with troops to China, 1857, but landed them at Calcutta in time to save Lucknow. On the 19th, at Bournemouth, aged 77, **Rev. Harry Twells**, a well-known hymn writer. Educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge; B.A., 1848; Chaplain of Stratford-on-Avon, 1851-4; Headmaster of Godolphin School, Hammersmith, 1856-70; Rector of Waltham-in-the-Wolds, 1871-90; Honorary Canon of Peterborough, 1884; author of "Colloquies on Preaching," etc. On the 20th, at Teddington, aged 74, **Richard Doddridge Blackmore**, a popular novelist, son of Rev. John Blackmore. Born at Longworth, Berks; educated at Blundell's School, Tiverton, and Exeter College, Oxford; B.A., 1847 (Second Class *Lit. Hum.*); called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1852; author of "Clara Vaughan" (1864), "Cradock Nowell" (1866), "Lorna Doone" (1868), his most successful novel; "The Maid of Sker" (1872), and many others, down to "Darial" (1897); published a translation of "The Georgics" by a "Market Gardener," and as such he cultivated a number of acres. On the 22nd, at Liverpool, aged 52, **William Edwards Tirebuck**. Educated at Hope Street School, Liverpool; some years clerk in a Marine Insurance Company; sub-editor of *Liverpool Mail* and *Yorkshire Post*; author of "William Daniels" (1879), "Dante G. Rossetti" (1882), and several novels, including "St. Margaret" (1888), "Miss Grace of All Soul's," etc. (1895). On the 22nd, at Langham Place, London, aged 69, **Professor David Edward Hughes, F.R.S.** Born at London; educated in the United States; appointed Professor of Music at Bardstown, Kentucky, 1850; of Natural Philosophy, 1854; patented his type-printing telegraph instrument, 1855, which was promptly adopted in America (1856) and France (1861), other continental countries following; received one of the ten gold medals for science at the Paris Exhibition; elected a Fellow of the Royal Society for his researches in the microphone; received the Royal Medal

of the Society, 1885, for his numerous applications and investigations of electricity. On the 23rd, at Warkworth, aged 66, **Rev. Richard Watson Dixon, D.D.**, son of a Wesleyan minister. Educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, Pembroke College, and afterwards at Exeter College, Oxford; B.A., 1854; one of the founders of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*; author of "Christ's Company and Other Poems" (1861), "Historical Odes" (1864), "Mano" (1874), etc.; appointed Vicar of Warkworth; Honorary Canon of Carlisle. On the 24th, at Downpatrick, aged 85, **General John Maxwell Perceval, C.B.**, son of Rev. William Perceval, of Waterford. Entered the Army, 1833; served with distinction with 12th Regiment in Kaffir War, 1852-3; Colonel, West Kent Regiment, 1874-88; of Suffolk Regiment since 1888. Married, 1854, Isabel, daughter of Very Rev. Hon. R. W. Maude, Dean of Clogher. On the 24th, at sea, on board ss. *Briton*, aged 41, **Edward James Gibbons**, son of Rev. Benjamin Gibbons, of Kidderminster. Educated at Eton and Corpus Christi College, Oxford; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1884; Captain of Inns of Court Rifle Volunteers; resigned his commission and enlisted as a trooper in the City Imperial Volunteers. On the 25th, at Dresden, aged 64, **Duchess Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein**, mother of the German Empress, Adelaide, daughter of Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe-Langenburg. Married, 1856, Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg-Augustenburg. who on the death of King Frederick VII. of Denmark in 1863 became heir to the duchies, which, however, in 1866 became a Prussian province. On the 28th, at White Waltham, Berks, aged 80, **Sir Henry Moore Brownrigg**, third baronet. Educated at Eton; entered the Army, 1839, and served with 52nd Regiment. Married, 1864, Ada Cicely Georgina, daughter of Sir J. Hesketh Lethbridge, third baronet. On the 29th, at Londonderry, aged 72, **Sir William Miller, M.D.**, son of Dr. Joseph Ewing Miller, of Londonderry. Educated at Foyle College and Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in classical and medical honours; Mayor of Londonderry, 1875-7 and 1888-9. Married, 1861, Mary, daughter of Robert Moat, of Moat Park, Co. Antrim. On the 28th, at Mentone, aged 67, **Captain the Hon. Arthur Hay-Drummond**, son of sixteenth Earl of Kinnoull. Entered the Royal Navy, 1836; adopted the name of Drummond, 1855. Married, 1855, Katherine, daughter of Cobbett Derby, of Horton, Bucks. On the 29th, at Hove, aged 70, **Charles Paget Carmichael, C.S.I.**, son of Hon. David S. Carmichael, Judge of the Supreme Court, Calcutta. Educated at Harrow and Haileybury; appointed to the Bengal Civil Service, 1849; Inspector of Police in North-West Provinces, 1870; Commissioner at Benares, 1877; and Member of the Board of Revenue, 1882-4. Married, first, 1853, Georgina Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Canon Lodge; and second, 1867, Annabella Violet, daughter of J. Crofton, of Lincoln's Inn. On the 30th, at Bath, aged 97, **Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Fowler MacKay**, son of Alexander George MacKay, of Bagthorpe Hall, Norfolk. Educated at Harrow; entered 6th Dragoons (Inniskillings), 1825; Chief Constable for Sussex, 1841-82. Married, 1838, Caroline Matilda, daughter of Lieutenant-General G. R. Ainslie. On the 31st, at London, aged 55, **Marquess of Queensberry**, John Sholto Douglas Douglas, eighth marquess. Educated at Eton and Magdalene College, Cambridge; served in the Royal Navy for a short time; was an authority in matters connected with the prize-ring and a supporter of Mr. Bradlaugh; sat as a Representative Peer for Scotland, 1870-80; not re-elected on account of his agnostic opinions. Married, first, 1866, Sibyl, daughter of Alfred Montgomery (divorced, 1887); and second, 1893, Ethel, daughter of E. C. Weedon, of Eastbourne (marriage annulled, 1894).

FEBRUARY.

Peter Lavrov. — Pyotr Lavrovich Lavrov, the son of a wealthy landowner and a Colonel of Artillery who had fought against Napoleon, was born in 1823 in the province of Smolensk. As a boy, under the teaching of a Swiss tutor, he showed a great aptitude for languages and mathematics. In 1837 he entered the Artillery School at St. Petersburg and received his commission in 1842; and two years later was appointed Professor of Mathematics at his

former school, and afterwards Professor of Higher Mathematics in the Academy of Artillery. At the same time he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and in 1856 began to write for the press and especially in an eclectic review. In 1860 he published a collection of essays on "Individuality," dedicated to Herzen and Proudhon, and he occasionally lectured in public on philosophy. In 1862 he joined the secret society *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and

Freedom) and became connected with some of the more restless spirits who were disappointed with the reforms expected from Czar Alexander II., and Lavrov became an object of suspicion to the Government. In 1866 after Karakozov's abortive attempt to assassinate the Czar, his house was searched but nothing compromising was discovered, beyond some old poems of which one had been printed in London in the *Goloss*, Herzen's organ. The Military Commission recommended, as sufficient punishment, a few days' imprisonment, but on Muravieff's insistence Lavrov was deprived of his rank and exiled to the province of Vologda, whence he wrote articles and letters in support of the revolutionary movement. His colleagues then determined to effect his deliverance in order that his revolutionary propaganda might be carried on with greater freedom. In 1870 this was effected by Herman Lopatin, who brought him first to St. Petersburg and then managed to pass him over the frontier, and he reached Paris in safety, where he remained during the siege and the Commune, offering his services to the latter in the Department of Public Education. He was, however, employed in trying to

obtain in Brussels and London the support of the International for the Paris workmen but failed in his mission. Unable to return to Paris he settled in Switzerland and in 1873 started at Zurich the Russian periodical *Vperyod* ("Forward") which subsequently appeared in London, and under Lavrov's editorship, 1874-6, became the principal opponent of Bakounin's social and economic views. He returned to Paris in 1876 and played a leading part in the Russian colony in that capital, but he was exiled again in 1882 for having organised an appeal for pecuniary help for the Russian Nihilists, but after passing a few months in London he was allowed to return, although the decree for his expulsion was not formally annulled. He continued to work on his great book, the "Evolution and History of Human Thought," which, however, was left unfinished, supporting himself meanwhile by writing for reviews, etc., and refusing to make any appeal against the confiscation of his large estates. He died in Paris on February 5 after a very short illness, his death being accelerated by his efforts to finish a pamphlet to which he attached much importance.

On the 1st, at Rome, aged 63, **Cardinal Domenico Jacobini**, Vicar of Rome. Of humble origin; educated at Rome; was successively Secretary of Briefs, Vice-Librarian of the Roman Church, Secretary of the Propaganda, Nuncio to Portugal; created Cardinal, 1896, and Papal Vicar, 1899. On the 1st, at Holmendale, West Australia, aged 53, **Hon. Josceline George Herbert Amherst**, son of second Earl Amherst. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1874; Private Secretary to Governor of Fiji, 1878-82; of West Australia, 1883-8; Member of Legislative Council, West Australia, 1891. On the 2nd, at Costebelle, Alpes Maritimes, aged 67, **Lady Cornewall**, an accomplished linguist and musician, Louisa Frances, daughter of Judge Bayley, of the Westminster County Court. Married, 1867, Rev. Sir G. H. Cornewall, of Moccas, Hereford, fifth baronet. On the 3rd, at Edinburgh, aged 63, **Sir Thomas Grainger-Stewart**. Educated at Edinburgh High School and University; graduated M.B., 1858, and afterwards studied at Berlin and Vienna; Pathologist at the Royal Infirmary and Lecturer at Surgeons' Hall, Edinburgh, 1862-9; Physician-in-Ordinary to the Queen in Scotland, 1882; President of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, 1889-91. On the 3rd, at Malvern, aged 59, **Colonel William Lewis Kinloch Ogilvy, C.B.**, son of J. B. Ogilvy. Entered the Army, 1857; served with 60th Rifles in the Zulu War, 1879; the Boer War, 1881; the Egyptian War, 1882; and Soudan Expedition, 1884. Married, 1889, Lucy, daughter of W. Wickham, M.P., of Binsted Wyck, Hants. On the 4th, at Ripley House, Surrey, aged 79, **Hon. Mrs. Stuart Wortley**, Jane Lawley, daughter of first Lord Wenlock. Married, 1846, Right Hon. James Stuart Wortley, M.P., Recorder of London, 1881-7. She was a distinguished leader of society and an active philanthropist, especially in the cause of East London misery. On the 6th, at Monaco, aged 81, **Major-General Sir Charles Louis**, fourth baronet, son of Admiral J. S. Louis. Entered the Royal Marines, 1837; served in the Syrian War at the taking of Sidon, 1840, and in the Baltic, 1854, when he was severely wounded. Married, first, 1856, Jane, daughter of J. M'Kay; and second, 1880, Georgiana, daughter of Rev. J. C. Napleton. On the 6th, at Hampstead, aged 86, **Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., D.D.** Educated at Inverness Academy and King's College, Aberdeen, and at Edinburgh University; Pastor of Blackfriars Church, Aberdeen, 1836-46; of Stepney Meeting House, 1846-82; Professor of Apologetic Theology at New College, South Hampstead, 1872; author of

numerous theological works; took an active part in organising charity in the East-End of London. Married, 1846, a sister of Professor Blackie. On the 7th, at Misarden Park, Cirencester, aged 71, **Edward Aldam Leatham**, son of William Leatham, of Heath, Yorkshire. Educated at University College, London; B.A., 1848; M.A., 1851; sat as a Liberal for Huddersfield, 1859-65 and 1868-86. Married, first, 1851, Mary Jane, daughter of John Fowler, of Elm Grove, Melksham; and second, 1894, Lucy, daughter of Rev. John Constable. On the 7th, at Oaken Holt, Oxford, aged 59, **Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I.**, son of William Hunter, of Glasgow. Educated at Glasgow Academy and University; B.A., 1840; entered the India Civil Service, 1861; served in Lower Bengal and Orissa; appointed by Lord Mayo as Director-General of Statistics, 1869-81, and compiled the "Indian Gazetteer" in sixteen volumes; Member of Supreme Council, 1881-5; author of "Annals of Rural Bengal" (1868), "Orissa" (1870), "A Brief History of the Indian Peoples" (1881), and many other important works. Married, 1863, Jessie, daughter of Rev. Thomas Murray, LL.D., of Edinburgh. On the 7th, in Curzon Street, aged 70, **Admiral Leveson Eliot Harvey Somerset**, son of Lord Granville Somerset, M.P. Entered the Royal Navy, 1843; served as Gunner Lieutenant, H.M.S. *Duke of Wellington*, in the Baltic, 1854-5. Married, 1872, Efah, daughter of Colonel Hon. H. T. Rowley. On the 7th, at St. Petersburg, aged 70, **Henry Harrison**. Born at London; educated at King's College, London; appointed Tutor to the children of Sir Andrew Buchanan, H.B.M. Ambassador, 1856; English Tutor at the Imperial Naval School, St. Petersburg, 1861; author of "Tolstoi as a Preacher" and translator of Kriloff's Fables and other works. On the 8th, at Abercrombie House, Merthyr Tydvil, aged 81, **Thomas William Lewis**. Educated at Taliesin School; apprenticed as mechanical engineer at the Plymouth Ironworks; chief millwright, 1843-63; returned to South Wales, where he was one of the most prominent engineers in connection with mining in the Principality. On the 9th, at Aberdeen, aged 72, **Sir William Duguid Geddes, LL.D.**, son of John Geddes, of Huntly. Educated at Elgin Academy and Aberdeen University; Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School, 1853-5; Professor of Greek at Aberdeen University, 1855-85, when he became Principal and Vice-Chancellor; author of a Greek grammar and other works. Married, 1859, Rachel, daughter of William White, of Aberdeen. On the 9th, at Uckfield, aged 85, **General George Calvert Clarke, C.B.**, son of J. Calvert Clarke. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1834; served with the Scots Greys in the Crimea, 1854-5; Colonel of the Carbineers, 1880-91, and of Scots Greys, 1891. On the 9th, at London, aged 53, **William Ewart Lockhart, R.W.S., R.S.A.**, a prominent artist. Born at Dumfries; studied art in Glasgow and Edinburgh; elected an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, 1870; Fellow, 1878; Royal Water Colour Society, 1887; was commissioned by the Queen to paint the Jubilee Service in Westminster Abbey, 1887. On the 10th, at Dingwall, N.B., aged 67, **Sir Kenneth Smith Mackenzie**, of Gairloch, great-great-great-grandson of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, eighth Baron of Gairloch, said to have been created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 1703. His grandfather, Sir Hector Mackenzie, assumed the baronetcy, 1770. Married, 1860, Eila Frederica, daughter of Walter F. Campbell, of Islay, N.B. On the 10th, at Buxted Rectory, aged 77, **Rev. George Purves Pownall**, son of Henry Pownall, Chairman of Middlesex Quarter Sessions. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1844; Dean of Perth, Western Australia, 1858-64; Vicar of St. John's, Hoxton, 1865-98. On the 10th, at Princeton, U.S.A., aged 74, **Rev. William H. Green, D.D.** Educated at Princeton; graduated, 1841; appointed Instructor in Hebrew and Pastor, 1846; Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, 1852; Chairman of the American Committee for the Revision of the Bible, 1891. On the 12th, at Ashburnham Place, Sussex, aged 88, **Countess of Ashburnham**, Emily, daughter of R. Chaplin. Married, 1888, fifth Earl of Ashburnham. On the 12th, at Brixworth Hall, Northants, aged 88, **Richard Lee Bevan**, son of David Bevan, of Belmont, Herts, and Forbury House, Wilts. Educated at Harrow; a member of the banking firm of Barclay, Bevan & Co. Married, 1840, Isabella Judith Maria, daughter of Rev. L. Loraine-Smith, of Enderby Hall, Leicestershire. On the 14th, killed in action, at Koodoosberg, Cape Colony, aged 30, **Lieutenant Frederick Guthrie Tait**, son of Professor O. G. Tait, of Edinburgh. Educated at Sedburgh and Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1890; served with 42nd Regiment (Black Watch); was for a time golf champion of Scotland, and made at St. Andrews, on January 11, 1893, a drive of 341½ yards, the longest on record. On the 15th, at Southsea, aged 89, **Vice-Admiral George Wodehouse**, son of Rev. the Hon. William Wodehouse. Entered the Navy, 1823; was present at the battle of Navarino, 1827; served in the Baltic, 1854; Deputy-

Controller of Coastguard, 1860; Captain-Superintendent of Haslar Hospital, 1866. Married, 1848, Eleanor C., daughter of A. M. Drummond. On the 15th, at Tenby, aged 61, **Major-General George Ward Chichel Plowden**. Entered the Bengal Cavalry, 1854; served with great distinction through the Indian Mutiny, 1854-5, at Delhi, Agra (where he was severely wounded), Lucknow and Cawnpore; held civil appointments at Bareilly, Meerut, etc, 1874-84. On the 16th, at Cheltenham, aged 74, **Colonel the Hon. William Stuart Knox**, son of second Earl of Ranfurly. Entered 51st Regiment, 1844; Groom-in-Waiting to the Queen, 1852-3; sat as a Conservative, 1851-74. Married, 1856, Georgina, daughter of John Bonfoy Rooper, of Ripton Hall, Hunts. On the 17th, at Stella Hall, Blaydon-on-Tyne, aged 68, **Joseph Cowen**, son of Sir Joseph Cowen, M.P., of Newcastle. Educated at Edinburgh University; took an intense interest in politics from an early age; was a friend of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Kossuth, and gave shelter to Orsini; sat as a Radical for Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1874-85, but heartily supported Disraeli's foreign policy and opposed in 1881 and 1884 Mr. Gladstone's policy towards the Boers; was an eloquent speaker who commanded the attention of the House, and advocated Home Rule for Ireland. On his retirement he devoted himself to the management of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, of which he was the proprietor. Married, 1854, Jane, daughter of J. Thompson, of Farfield, Durham. On the 18th, at Dessau, aged 73, **Princess Louisa of Anhalt**, daughter of Prince George of Anhalt-Dessau, and Princess Caroline of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. On the 20th, at Paris, aged 65, **Madame de MacMahon**, Duchesse de Magenta, daughter of Comte Armand de la Croix de Castries. Married, 1854, Comte de MacMahon, afterwards Marshal and President of the Republic, 1877-9. On the 20th, at Ipswich, aged 89, **Admiral Thomas Henry Mason, C.B.**, son of Rev. Thomas Mason, of Culpero. Entered the Royal Navy, 1882; served in Chinese War, 1842-3. On the 21st, at the Great Western Hotel, Paddington, aged 57, **Henry Duff Traill, D.C.L.**, son of James Traill, of Rattar, N.B., and Metropolitan Police Magistrate. Born at Blackheath; educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford; B.A., 1865 (Second Class History); Fellow of St. John's, 1863-76; called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1869; employed on the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1873-80; *St. James's Gazette*, 1880-2; *Daily Telegraph*, 1882-96, when he became editor of *Literature*; author of several biographies in various series, "The New Lucian" (1884), "Life of Sir John Franklin" (1896), "Lord Cromer" (1897) and several volumes of poetry and criticism. On the 21st, at Clova, near Ripon, aged 81, **Charles Piazzi Smyth**, son of Admiral W. H. Smyth. Born at Naples; from an early age applied himself to science; appointed Assistant at the Cape Royal Observatory, 1835-44; Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, 1845-87, having spent the greater part of his official life in efforts to obtain a suitable installation of his office and instruments; elected F.R.S., 1850; resigned his Fellowship, 1874, in consequence of the controversy aroused by his work, "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid" (1864); in addition to many scientific papers on the solar spectrum, etc., he was the author of "Teneriffe" (1859), "Three Cities of Russia" (1862), "Life and Work in the Great Pyramid" (1867), etc., etc. Married, 1856, Jessie, daughter of A. Duncan. On the 22nd, at Bath, aged 85, **General Henry Alexander Carleton, C.B.**, son of Francis Carleton, of Clare, Co. Tipperary. Entered the Bengal Artillery, 1830; served with distinction through the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, while commanding the siege train at Lucknow, etc. Married, 1855, Elizabeth, daughter of Armor Boyle, of Dundrum. On the 23rd, at Bedford Square, London, aged 85, **William Butterfield, F.S.A.**, a distinguished ecclesiastical architect. First became widely known by All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, Oxford Street (1859), which was followed by St. Alban's, Holborn (1863), the new Chapel at Balliol College, Oxford (1866), Keble College (1869), and many other churches, chapels and school buildings at Fulham Palace, Rugby, Exeter and elsewhere. He was also responsible for the destruction of the seventeenth century stalls in Winchester College Chapel. On the 24th, at Paris, aged 66, **Madame Brohan**, a distinguished French actress and Member of the Comédie Française, 1852-85. Married, 1854, Mario Uchard, a dramatist, from whom she obtained a divorce, 1884. On the 24th, at Stormberg, South Africa, aged 33, **Captain the Hon. Raymond Harvey Lodge Joseph de Montmorency, V.C.**, eldest son of Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency, K.C.B. Educated at Marlborough School and Sandhurst; entered the Lincolnshire Regiment, 1887; exchanged to 21st Lancers, 1889; served in the Soudan, 1898, gaining his Victoria Cross by returning to assist Lieutenant Grenfell, who was wounded and surrounded by Dervishes; despatched on special service to South Africa, where he organised a body of scouts. On the 24th, at Campden Hill Square, aged 61, **Andrew White Tuer**.

Educated at Newcastle-on-Tyne and York Grammar School; studied medicine at Guy's Hospital, but abandoned it and entered a publishing firm, which under his management became known as the "Leadenhall Press"; author of "Bartolozzi and His Works" (1881), "Old London Street Cries" (1884), and other works. On the 25th, at Cavendish Park, Barrow-in-Furness, aged 65, **Rear-Admiral John Barker Barnett**. Entered the Royal Navy, 1848; served with the Naval Brigade throughout the Crimea War, 1854-5, with great distinction; Commander of the Steam Reserve, 1867-70; Manager of the Barrow Docks and Harbourmaster, 1876-99. On the 26th, near Paardeberg, South Africa, from wounds received in action, aged 39, **Major Charles Russell Day, F.S.A.**, son of Rev. Russell Day, Rector of Horstead, Norfolk. Educated at Cheam School and Eton College; joined 3rd Royal Lancashire Militia, 1880; Oxford Light Infantry, 1882; served with great distinction in the Malabar Campaign, 1885; studied the musical systems of India and wrote several important works and treatises thereon. Married, 1892, Katherine, daughter of J. S. Scott-Chad, of Thursford, Norfolk. On the 26th, at South Kensington, aged 75, **Lord Lyveden**, Fitzpatrick Henry Vernon, second baron. Educated at Eton and University College, Durham; was in Diplomatic Service, 1846-50. Married, first, 1853, Lady Albretha Wentworth, daughter of fourth Earl Fitzwilliam; and second, 1896, Julie Katie, daughter of Albert Emary, of Hastings. On the 26th, at Marchwood, Hants, aged 50, **Sir Morgan George Crofton**, fourth baronet, son of Colonel Hugh Denish Crofton. Educated at Eton; was in North Somerset Yeomanry and Leitrim Rifles; contested Sligo as a Unionist, 1895. Married, 1897, Mabel Earle, daughter of Burton Archer-Burton, of Southampton. On the 27th, at Heidelberg, aged 59, **Georg Meyer**. Born at Detmold; educated at Marburg; appointed Professor of Constitutional Law at Jena, 1875; transferred to Heidelberg, 1889; represented Jena in the Reichstag as a National Liberal, 1881-90.

MARCH.

Edward John Phelps, the son of a New England Senator who had taken a prominent part as an Abolitionist, was born at Middleburg, Vermont, in 1822, and was educated at Yale College, where he graduated in law. He commenced practising in 1848, first at Middleburg and afterwards at Burlington. He attached himself to the Democratic party and for a short time held an official position in the Treasury during President Fillmore's Administration. On resigning this office he threw himself actively into political life, and although during the Civil War and for some years afterwards his party was in the background, Mr. Phelps' strong anti-slavery views kept him prominently before the public. He was classed by his opponents as a "Copperhead," or, in other words, as one who, even in the reconstruction of the Union, obstinately clung to constitutional methods. In the course of a few years, however, party feeling became less accentuated and Mr. Phelps was sent in 1870 as a delegate to the Vermont Constitutional Convention. A year or two later he was appointed lecturer on medical jurisprudence at the University of Vermont, and subsequently was elected President of the American Bar Association. In 1877 he was unsuccessfully run by his party for the State Governorship; but he was partially consoled in 1881 by being

chosen as Professor of Law at Yale College. During these years, however, the Democrats had been gathering strength, and Mr. Cleveland's election to the Presidency in 1885 gave their party the spoils of office, and Mr. Phelps was appointed to succeed Mr. Lowell as minister in England. He at once showed himself as desirous of cultivating friendly relations with this country as his predecessor had been. His public speeches showed the interest which he took in his profession, and his desire to raise the tone of international relations. On his return to America, Mr. Phelps resumed his practice of the law, and at one time it was thought he would have been promoted to the Supreme Court of the United States, but the Irish-American party opposed the promotion of any one who had been on friendly terms with the British Government. He, however, appeared as one of the counsel for the United States in the proceedings of the Behring Straits Arbitration held in Paris in 1893. Subsequently he lived much in retirement and died after a short illness at Newhaven, Conn., on March 8, leaving the reputation of having been one of the most successful diplomatists of his country, who never shrank from unpopularity and never retreated from a position he had once taken up.

Sir William Lockhart, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., the third son of Rev. L. Lockhart of Milton Lockhart, and nephew of John Gibson Lockhart, author of "The Life of Scott," was born in 1841 and entered the 44th Bengal Light Infantry in 1858. His first service was in Oudh during the pacification of that kingdom after the mutiny, but he was not actively engaged until the Bhootan Campaign, 1864-6, when he distinguished himself as adjutant to 14th Bengal Cavalry. In the Abyssinian Campaign, 1867-8, where he acted as aide-de-camp to General Merewether and for his conduct at Magdala he was mentioned in despatches. His next active service was with the Hazara Field Force in the Black Mountain, 1874-5, and the leave which he took after the close of that campaign was spent at Acheen, where he took part with the Dutch in storming Lambada. He thereby gained the Dutch war medal, but was struck down by fever and given up by the doctors, but was carried on board a British steamer and recovered. On the breaking out of the Afghan War in 1879, he was appointed Road Commandant of the Khyber, his duty being to hold the Afridis in check, but he subsequently was attached to Sir F. Roberts in his march to Cabul, as Assistant Quartermaster-General. On the close of the campaign Colonel Lockhart resumed his regimental duties until he was selected in 1884 to conduct a diplomatic mission on the Chitral frontier, which he managed with great skill and success. He was next appointed to command a division in the Burmese Campaign, 1888-9, and for his services received the thanks of the Government of India and was made K.C.B., and for a short time acted as Assistant Military Secretary. In 1891 he was again sent on active service as Chief-in-Command of two Miranzai expeditions, and in the following year of the Isazai Field Force, and at its close was appointed to the chief command in the Punjab, and during its tenure he conducted the campaign in Waziristan. After a comparatively long period of rest the rising of the Afridis and the closing of the Kyber Pass in 1897 gave Sir William Lockhart his first opportunity of showing himself as Commander-in-Chief of a large force. With an army of 40,000 troops he attacked the mountain tribes in their almost impregnable positions, won the severely contested battle of Dargai and brought the Tirah campaign to a rapid and successful conclusion. On the appointment of Sir George White to the command of the

troops in Natal in the summer of 1899, Sir William Lockhart succeeded as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, but his health, which had been for some time very precarious, gave way and he died somewhat suddenly on March 18 at Calcutta.

Earl of Harrowby.—Dudley Francis Stuart Ryder, third Earl of Harrowby, was born in 1831. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church where he graduated in 1853. As Viscount Sandon he entered Parliament as a Conservative and sat for Lichfield, 1856-9. In the following year he unsuccessfully contested Stafford, but in 1868 was returned for Liverpool and retained his seat until 1882, when he succeeded to his father's peerage. In 1874 he was appointed Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education in Lord Beaconsfield's Administration, and was subsequently offered the Secretaryship of Ireland, which he twice refused, and in 1878 was made President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the Ministry and held that post until 1880. Meanwhile he had sat for Westminster on the first London School Board from 1873-4, resigning on entering the Ministry. In Lord Salisbury's first Administration, he was Lord Privy Seal, 1885-6, but subsequently took no active part in politics, devoting himself chiefly to religious and educational work, especially in connection with the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and generally to the Evangelical works with which Lord Shaftesbury had identified himself during his lifetime. He was in this way the cause of Dr. Ryle being appointed in 1880 first Bishop of Liverpool in preference to Dr. Bickersteth, to whom Mr. Disraeli had promised the preferment. Lord Harrowby married in 1861 Lady Mary Frances Cecil, daughter of the second Marquess of Exeter, and died on March 26, at Sandon Hall, Staffordshire, after a very short illness.

Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L.—Donald Martin Stewart, son of Robert Stewart of Mount Pleasant, near Forres, Morayshire, was born in 1824, was educated first at a school at Findhorn and afterwards at the Parish School of Dufftown until 1839, when he was entered at Aberdeen University with a bursary gained in open competition. In the following year he received a cadetship in the Honourable East India Company's service and was appointed to

9th Bengal Native Infantry. His first active service was against the tribes on the Afghan frontier in 1854-5, when he so much distinguished himself that he was mentioned in despatches. When the Mutiny broke out, his regiment, which was stationed at Aligarh, joined the movement, but offered no violence to the officers, who reached Agra in safety, where Captain Stewart was appointed Commandant of the Volunteer Cavalry. He soon afterwards volunteered to carry despatches to the British force before Delhi and managed to reach that city after a journey beset with many dangers. He was at once appointed Assistant Adjutant-General to the Delhi Field Force and served there as well as at Cawnpore and Lucknow and in the Rohilkand Campaign with great distinction, as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army. He continued to hold this post at headquarters for the next five years, 1857-62, and that of Deputy Adjutant-General from 1862-7, during which time the re-organisation of the Indian Army was being carried out, and the conspicuous ability which Colonel Stewart had shown in bringing his first regiment (9th Bengal Infantry) to a state of unwonted efficiency was now applied to a larger field with equal success.

In the expedition to Abyssinia in 1867 Colonel Stewart was given the command of the Indian Brigade, which, although it took no part in the march to Magdala, effectively supported Lord Napier's tactics by the manner in which Senape and the surrounding country was held. For the ability displayed on this service, Stewart was mentioned in despatches, received a C.B. and promoted to be a Major-General. Meanwhile he had been appointed to the command of the frontier division at Peshawar, with instructions to watch the Khyber Pass. On vacating this command he was sent in 1871 by Lord Mayo to reorganise the Penal Settlement in the Andaman Islands, who also placed under his management the Nicobar Islands and their dependencies. The murder of Lord Mayo, when visiting the islands in the following year, was so great a shock to General Stewart that he was invalided home to recruit his health.

He returned to India in 1875 and shortly afterwards assumed the command at Lahore. On the outbreak of the Afghan War in 1878, he was appointed to the command of the Kandahar Field Force and in the face of extraordinary difficulties and

with defective supplies he forced his way through the Bhootean and Khojah Passes, dispersed the enemy and established himself at Kandahar, and devoted the greater part of the following year to settle and administer the district. In the midst of his peaceful work the news of the murder of the British Agent at Cabul, Sir Louis Cavagnari, precipitated events, and a further campaign against the Afghans became inevitable. Early in 1880 General Stewart with two brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, in all about 5,000 men, began his famous march from Kandahar to Cabul. The difficulties of transport impeded his movements and weakened his fighting force, so that at the battle of Ahmad Kel (April) General Stewart could only put 1,400 men into line to repel the attack of the Afghan forces. He was, however, able to completely crush those who sought to bar his road, and on the next day marched to Ghazni and shortly afterwards entered Cabul, where he exercised supreme civil and military command until the country was evacuated by order of the Indian Government, and the disaster at Maiwand had been completely avenged.

At the close of the campaign General Stewart received the thanks of Parliament, was appointed Military Member of the Viceroy's Council and received the G.C.B., and in the following year, 1881, was created a baronet and was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. During his five years' tenure his main object was to place the North-West Frontier in an efficient state of defence by means of roads and railways as well as fortifications. He urged the increase of the Indian Army by 10,500 British and 21,000 native troops, and he was in office throughout the war which added Burmah to the Indian Empire. He resigned his command in 1885, returned to England and was appointed Member of the Indian Council, a post which he retained for fifteen years. In 1894 he was advanced to the grade of Field-Marshal, and in the following year was made Governor of Chelsea Hospital.

In private life Sir Donald Stewart showed the most charming simplicity. He was a good talker, a keen genealogist and ardent fisherman, and after his return to England several times crossed the Atlantic to enjoy salmon fishing in Canada, where he had leased with his old schoolfellow, Lord Mount-Stephen, two splendid rivers. Sir Donald Stewart married in 1847, Marina, daughter of Commander T.

Dymock Dobnie, R.N., and died at Algiers on March 26 from an attack of asthma, from which he had long been a sufferer.

General Joubert. — Petrus Jacobus Joubert, was born at Cango in the district of Oudsthoorn, Cape Colony, in 1834, of Boer parents of Huguenot descent, who were small traders. At an early age he settled in the Wakkerstroom district near Laings Nek, where for many years he was a successful farmer and cattle-dealer. In 1861 he became a law and land agent and shortly afterwards, on the close of the first civil war, he was elected to the Volksraad, then under the presidency of Pretorius. He did not, however, take any very prominent part in politics until 1870, when having been re-elected to the Raad he became Attorney-General of the South African Republic, and during the absence of President Burger in Europe Joubert was made Acting President and associated himself with Kruger as leaders of the Conservative burghers. During the period of the annexation of the Boer State, Joubert held aloof from office, declining to serve under the British Government, and during this period gained the sobriquet of "Slim Piet" on account of his opportunism and craftiness. In the revolt of 1880 he was one of the triumvirate who conducted the war of independence, commanding the Boers at Laings Nek, Ingogo and Majuba Hill, and acquired thereby the right to conduct the peace negotiations which ended in the Pretoria Convention.

On the re-establishment of the Transvaal Republic Joubert was ap-

pointed Commander-in-Chief and Superintendent of Native Affairs, and was entrusted with the defence of Bechuanaland (western) and Basutoland (eastern) borders. He was also drawn into parliamentary intrigue and allowed himself to be regarded as the representative of the more advanced party. He visited England in 1890 and expressed himself in favour of granting liberal privileges to the foreigners who were being attracted by the recently discovered gold mines. In 1893 he was a candidate for the Presidency, but, notwithstanding doubts thrown upon the regularity of the election, he was defeated by Mr. Kruger by 7,881 to 7,009 votes. From that time onwards his popularity waned and at the next Presidential election in 1898 he polled only 2,001 votes against 12,858 given to Mr. Kruger. He still, however, continued a member of the Executive Council, and on the outbreak of war resumed his position as Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces, and he was regarded by friends and foes alike as a true patriot, a gallant General, and an honourable opponent, who gave many proofs throughout the campaign of his clemency and kindly disposition. During the operations before Ladysmith he was slightly wounded by a piece of a shell, but he so far recovered as to be able to take the command of the operations which ended in the raising of the siege. He returned hurriedly to Pretoria, where he was struck down by an internal disorder, and after a short illness of only four days died at Pretoria on March 27, where his loss was keenly felt.

On the 1st, at St. John's, Newfoundland, aged 80, **Hon. Sir Frederick Bowker Terrington Carter, K.C.M.G.**, son of Peter Weston Carter, of St. John's. Educated there; called to the Bar of Newfoundland, 1842; Member of Legislative Assembly, 1855-78; Speaker, 1861-5; Premier and Attorney-General, 1865-70 and 1874-8; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 1880. Married, 1846, Eliza, daughter of James Bayly, Controller of Customs. On the 1st, at Morristown, N.J., aged 61, **William Henry Gilder.** Born at Philadelphia; enlisted in a New York regiment and served through the Civil War, 1861-4, and rose to the rank of Major, having shown conspicuous bravery and having been twice wounded; joined the Franklin Search Expedition, 1878-80; the De Long Expedition, 1881, of which he conveyed the news 2,000 miles across Siberia; served with the French Army in Tongking, 1882-3; author of "Schwarka's Search" (1881) and several books of travel. On the 1st, at Skelton Castle, Yorkshire, aged 90, **John Thomas Wharton,** eldest son of Rev. William Wharton, of Gilling. Educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge; M.A., 1830. Married, 1854, Charlotte, daughter of H. W. Yeoman, of Woodlands, York. On the 1st, at Mecklenburgh Square, aged 87, **John Thomas Bedford,** a London merchant. Elected to the Common Council, 1855-96; to his energy was due the recovery of 3,000 acres of illegally enclosed land in Epping Forest, 1874, after a protracted lawsuit costing the Corporation 600,000*l.* On the 2nd, at Woodstock, Co. Kilkenny, aged 97, **Lady Louisa Madelina Tighe,** daughter of fourth Duke of Richmond. Married, 1825, Right Hon. W. F. F. Tighe. Was present at the famous Brussels ball, June 15, 1815.

The legend that she girded on the sword of the Duke of Wellington before starting for Waterloo she declared apocryphal. On the 2nd, at Dover, aged 80, **Thomas Guy, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, Inspector-General of Hospitals. Born at Chichester; educated at Guy's Hospital; entered the Army Medical Service; served with distinction in the Crimea, 1854-5, and Abyssinia, 1867-8; Director-in-Chief of English Ambulances in the Franco-German War, 1870-1. On the 2nd, at Nice, aged 77, **Dowager Lady Rayleigh**, Clara Elizabeth Latouche, daughter of Captain Richard Vicars, R.E. Married, 1842, second Baron Rayleigh. On the 3rd, at Carlisle, aged 61, **Richard Saul Ferguson, F.S.A.**, son of Joseph Ferguson, of Carlisle. Educated at Shrewsbury and St. John's College, Cambridge; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1862; practised for ten years and then devoted himself to archaeology and local affairs, clearing up many important points connected with the old Roman wall; Mayor of Carlisle, 1881-3; Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1885; author of several works on county worthies and many papers on antiquarian subjects. On the 4th, at Luxor, aged 71, **William Marcet, M.D., F.R.S.**, son of Professor François Marcet, of Geneva. Born and educated there; studied medicine at Edinburgh University; M.B., 1859, with high honours; came to London and devoted himself specially to the study of laryngology; subsequently he devoted himself to physical science, meteorology, climatology and mountaineering, and was the author of several works on these subjects. On the 5th, at Roffey, Sussex, aged 71, **Robert Tennant**, of Chapelhouse, Yorkshire, son of John Tennant, Stansfield. Educated at Leeds Grammar School; admitted a Solicitor, 1848, but afterwards became a flax spinner; sat as a Conservative for Leeds, 1874-80; author of "Sardinia and Its Resources" (1883). Married, 1850, Harriette, daughter of J. Garnett, of Mount Broughton. On the 6th, at Pau, aged 65, **Henry Fraser Curwen**, of Workington Hall, Cumberland. Entered the Army, 1852; served with 56th Regiment in the Crimea, 1854-5, and in the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1864. Married, 1863, Mary Ann Susan, daughter of Colonel Charles Johnson, Seigneur of Argenteuil, Canada. On the 7th, at Bardowie, Co. Dublin, aged 39, **Thomas Preston, F.R.S.** Born at Kilmore; educated at the Royal School, Armagh, Trinity School, Dublin, and Royal University of Ireland; B.Sc., 1884; appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy at University College, Dublin, 1891-5; Science and Art Inspector for Ireland, 1895; author of several works on light and heat. Married, 1895, Katharine Mary M'Ewen, M.A. On the 9th, at Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, aged 56, **Right Hon. Sir Charles Hall, K.C.M.G., Q.C., M.P.**, Recorder of London, son of Vice-Chancellor Sir Charles Hall. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1866; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1866; practised in the Admiralty Court; Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, 1877-92; Q.C., 1881; Bench of the Middle Temple, 1884; sat as a Conservative for the Chesterton Division of Cambridgeshire, 1885-92, and for Finsbury from 1893; British Delegate at the Maritime Conference at Washington, 1889; Recorder of London, 1892. He was an excellent sportsman and an accomplished amateur actor and conjurer. On the 9th, at Castle Bellingham, Co. Louth, aged 91, **Sydney Robert Bellingham**, son of Sir Alan Bellingham, second baronet. Emigrated to Canada at an early age and rendered distinguished services to the Canadian Government, 1837-8; sat for seven Parliaments as the representative of Co. Argenteuil, Province of Quebec, in the Canadian Parliament; returned to Ireland, 1874. Married, 1834, Arabella, daughter of William Holmes, of Quebec. On the 10th, at Ventnor, Isle of Wight, aged 70, **Sir Henry Bouchier Wrey**, tenth baronet, of Tavistock Court, Devon. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford; B.A., 1851. Married, 1854, Hon. Marianne Sherard, daughter of ninth Lord Sherard. On the 10th, at Copenhagen, aged 95, **Emil Hartmann**, a celebrated Danish composer and Organist of Our Lady's Church, Copenhagen. Author of the opera "Liden Kirsten" and the cantata "Völuspa," etc. On the 10th, at Camden Square, aged 61, **George James Symons, F.R.S.**, son of Joseph Symons, of Pimlico. Educated at St. Peter's School, Eaton Square; appointed Meteorological Reporter to the Registrar-General, 1857, and afterwards was an assistant to Admiral Fitzroy in the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade; devoted himself chiefly to collecting records of the rainfall of the United Kingdom, which he published annually, 1860-98, with returns in the last volume from 3,404 stations. On the 10th, at Shirenewton Hall, Chesham, aged 74, **Edward Joseph Lowe, F.R.S., F.G.S.**, son of Alfred Lowe, of Highfield House, Nottingham. Devoted his life to scientific study; kept a daily record of meteorological observations, 1840-82; was the author of several scientific works on meteorology, botany, etc., including "The Natural History of British and Exotic Ferns," "The Chronology of the Seasons," etc. Married, 1848, Annie, daughter of G. Alcock, of Nottingham. On the 12th, at Verona, aged 90, **Cardinal**

Luigi di Canossa, Bishop of Verona. Created Cardinal Priest, 1877. On the 12th, at Douglas, Isle of Man, aged 65, **Sir Alured Dumbell**, son of G. W. Dumbell, a banker. Chief Magistrate of Ramsey, 1873-80; Northern Deemster of the Isle, 1880-3; Clerk of the Rolls, 1883; Deputy-Governor, 1899. Married, 1875, Mary, daughter of Major Rolston, H.E.I.C.S. On the 12th, at Spottiswood, Berwickshire, aged 90, **Lady John Scott Spottiswood**, Alicia Anne, daughter of John Spottiswood. Married, 1836, Lord John Montagu Douglas Scott, son of fourth Duke of Buccleugh. She was the author of the modern version of "Annie Laurie" and many other Scottish songs and melodies. On the 13th, at Toulouse, aged 59, **Henri Didon**, the greatest French preacher of his day. Born at Touret, Dauphiné; educated at the Seminary of Grenoble under the direction of Lacordaire and at the Minerva College, Rome; ordained Priest, 1862; Preacher at St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris, 1865; Prior of the Dominicans at Paris, 1872; forbidden to preach by Archbishop of Paris, 1879; banished by the General of the Order to Corvara, Corsica, 1880-1; after his release, sent to Germany and afterwards to Palestine; appointed Headmaster of the Ecole Albert le Grand at Arcueil; author of several theological works, of which the most important was "L'homme selon la Science et la Foi" (1875) and "La Science sans Dieu" (1876). On the 13th, at Moreton, North Devon, aged 88, **Sir George Stucley Stucley**, first baronet, son of Lewis William Buck, of Moreton and Hartland Abbey. Assumed the name of Stucley, 1858; educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; served with the Royal Horse Guards, 1834-48; sat as a Conservative for Barnstaple, 1855-9 and 1865-8; a keen sportsman and an active landlord and magistrate. Married, first, 1835, Lady Elizabeth O'Bryen, daughter of second Marquess of Thomond; and second, 1872, Louisa, daughter of Bernard Granville, of Wellesbourne Hall, Warwickshire. On the 15th, at Berlin, aged 70, **Robert Victor von Puttkamer**. Began life as a Prussian official of subordinate rank in the Civil Service; gradually rose until he became Minister of Education, 1866-70; President of the Provincial Government of Lorraine, 1874-5; of Silesia, 1875; Minister of the Interior and Vice-President of the Prussian Ministry, 1886; took a lead in the crusade against Socialist ideas; resigned soon after the accession of the Emperor Frederick, 1888; Chief President of Pomerania, 1890; was regarded after Bismarck, as the most powerful of the Prussian Conservatives and an eloquent debater. On the 16th, at Kensington, aged 83, **Sir Frederic William Burton, F.S.A.**, son of Samuel Burton, of Mungret, Co. Limerick. Educated at Dublin; studied drawing under the brothers Brocas, always using his left hand; painted a considerable number of portraits; was elected Associate of the Royal Hibernian Academy, 1827; Member, 1829; studied at Munich, 1851-8; Associate, Royal Water-Colour Society, 1853; Member, 1856; resigned, 1870, when he ceased painting professionally; appointed Director of the National Gallery, 1874, and during his twenty years' tenure of office purchased upwards of 450 foreign and nearly 100 English pictures for the Gallery, including those from the Blenheim and Longford collections. On the 17th, at Hertford Street, Mayfair, aged 66, **Sir Geers Henry Cotterell**, second baronet. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church; sat as a Conservative for Herefordshire, 1857-9. Married, 1865, Hon. Katherine Margaret, daughter of Lord Airey, G.C.B. On the 20th, at Naples, aged 62, **Admiral Sir Henry Fairfax, K.C.B.**, son of Colonel Sir Henry Fairfax, first baronet. Entered the Navy, 1850, and served first in the Arctic Sea and afterwards on the south-east coast of Africa with conspicuous gallantry; he sat on a Foreign Office Committee on the South African slave trade, 1869-70; was Naval Attaché to Sir Bartle Frere on his mission to Zanzibar, 1872-3; commanded H.M.S. *Britannia*, 1877, whilst the Dukes of Clarence and York were on board, and H.M.S. *Monarch* at the bombardment of Alexandria, 1882; Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Station, 1887-9; Naval Lord of the Admiralty, 1889-92; Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Squadron, 1892-4; at Devonport, 1899. Married, 1872, Harriet, daughter of Sir David Kinloch, ninth baronet. On the 20th, at Copenhagen, aged 62, **Sir Edmund Douglas Veitch Fane, K.C.M.G.**, son of Rev. Prebendary Arthur Fane, of Boyton Manor, Wilts. Educated at Merton College, Oxford; appointed Attaché in the Diplomatic Service, 1858; served at Teheran, Turin, St. Petersburg, etc.; appointed Secretary of Legation at Copenhagen, 1879; Madrid, 1881; Brussels, 1885; Constantinople, 1885-93; Minister-Resident at Belgrade, 1893-8; Minister-Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen, 1898. Married, 1875, Constantia Eleanor, daughter of Major-General Robert Blucher Wood, C.B. On the 22nd, at Bala, aged 62, **Rev. Thomas Charles Edwards, D.D.**, son of Dr. Lewis Edwards, the founder of Bala Theological College. Graduated at University of London and subsequently at Oxford, having been a scholar of Lincoln College, 1863; First Class *Lit. Hum.*, 1866; Pastor of the Calvinistic Methodist Church, Liver-

pool, 1868-72; Principal of Aberystwith University, 1872-94, when he became Principal of the Bala Theological College; author of a commentary on the Corinthians, etc. On the 23rd, at Curzon Street, London, aged 64, **Senhor João Arthur de Souza Corrêa**, Brazilian Minister in London. Began life in the Brazilian Navy; as Member of the Foreign Legion went through the Crimean War; entered the Brazilian Diplomatic Service, 1859; served chiefly at London and Paris; Minister-Resident at Madrid, 1889; at London since 1890. On the 23rd, at Mooi River, aged 54, **Major-General Sir Edward Robert Prevost Woodgate, C.B., K.C.M.G.**, son of Rev. H. A. Woodgate, of Belbroughton, Worcestershire. Educated at Radley and Sandhurst; entered the 4th (King's Own Royal Lancaster) Regiment, 1865; served through the Abyssinian Expedition, 1867-8; Ashanti War, 1873-4, with great distinction; Zulu War, 1878-9, having passed the Staff College, 1877; served in the West Indies, 1880-4; East Indies, 1885-9; sent on special service to Sierra Leone, 1897-9; appointed to command a brigade in South Africa and was severely wounded at the battle of Spion Kop. On the 25th, at Canterbury, aged 80, **Venerable Benjamin Frederick Smith**, son of Benjamin Smith, of Great Lodge, Tonbridge. Educated at Blackheath Proprietary School, King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1842 (seventeenth Wrangler); Curate-in-Charge, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells, 1850-64; Vicar, 1864-74; Diocesan Inspector of Schools, 1851-75; Rector of Crayford, 1874-87; Hon. Canon of Canterbury, 1867; Archdeacon of Maidstone and Canon-Residentary, 1883. On the 26th, at Rome, aged 67, **Cardinal Camillo Mazzella**. Born at Benevento; Principal of the German College at Rome and chief representative of the Society of Jesus in the Sacred College; Professor of Philosophy and Theology at Lyons and in the United States; created Cardinal, 1886. On the 26th, at Paris, aged 75, **Vice-Admiral Baron Duperré**, son of Admiral Duperré. Entered the French Navy, 1842; served in the Baltic, 1854-5; Governor of Cochin China, 1874-7; Admiral in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, 1882-7; Vice-President of the Admiralty Council, 1887-90. On the 27th, at Constantinople, aged 84, **Edward Dalzel Dickson, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, son of John Dickson, R.N., at one time Nelson's surgeon. Born at Tripoli; educated at the University of Malta; Physician to British Consulate at Erzerûm, 1837-40; Physician to the Embassy at Constantinople from 1861. On the 27th, at Leytonstone, aged 78, **John Henry Pepper**. Educated at King's College, London; was appointed Assistant Chemical Lecturer at the Granger School of Medicine and was afterwards associated in the management of the Polytechnic Institution, London, where he introduced "Pepper's Ghost," an optical illusion; he was the author of "The Boys' Handbook of Science" and many other popular works on science. On the 28th, at Paris, aged 83, **Count Vincent Benedetti**, son of a Corsican judge. Studied law at Paris; entered the Diplomatic Service, 1840; served as Consul in Egypt, 1840-8; Palermo, 1848-52; and afterwards in the Diplomatic Service at Constantinople, 1852-5; Secretary to the Paris Congress, 1856; Minister at Turin, 1856-62; Ambassador at Berlin, 1864-70, when the war broke out. On the 29th, at Clarence Terrace, Regent's Park, aged 61, **Archibald Forbes**, a famous war correspondent, son of Rev. Dr. Forbes, of Morayshire. Educated at Elgin and Aberdeen University; enlisted and served in the Royal Dragoons, 1857-63, during which time he wrote articles on military life in the *Cornhill Magazine* and *Morning Star*; was editor of the *London Scotsman*, 1865-8; first distinguished himself as War Correspondent of the *Daily News* in the Franco-Prussian War, 1870; afterwards in the Russo-Turkish Campaign, 1877-8; and also visited India, United States and Australia as correspondent and lecturer. Married, 1882, Catherine, daughter of General H. Meiggs, U.S.A. On the 29th, at Norval's Pont, South Africa, aged 47, **Colonel the Hon. George Hugh Gough, C.B.**, son of second Viscount Gough. Graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1873; entered the 14th Hussars, 1871; served in the Transvaal Campaign, 1881; the Egyptian Expedition, 1882 (mentioned in despatches); commanded the Mounted Infantry in the Nile Expedition, 1884-5; Colonel commanding 14th Hussars, 1891-6; Private Secretary to Commander-in-Chief, 1897; Assistant Adjutant-General to General French, commanding the Cavalry Division in South Africa, 1899. Married, 1884, Hilda Eva, daughter of George Moffatt, of Goodrich Court, Hereford. On the 31st, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 66, **William Knighton, LL.D.**, son of Richard Ingham Knighton, of Oldham. Educated at Manchester; successively Headmaster of the Normal College, Colombo, and Professor of History and Logic at the Hindu College, Calcutta; author of "History of Ceylon," "The Private Life of an Eastern King," etc. Married, 1883, Charlotte, daughter of Sir William Drake, M.C.C., Cape of Good Hope. On the 31st, at Danby, Yorkshire, aged 86, **Rev. John Christopher Atkinson, D.C.L.**, an eminent archaeologist. Born in Essex; edu-

cated at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1835; appointed Rector of Danby in Cleveland, 1847; Honorary Canon of York, 1887; author of "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish" (1891), "History of Cleveland" (1894), etc.; was a distinguished antiquarian, philologist, naturalist and sportsman; was married three times. On the 31st, at Balham, aged 84, **Captain Peter Astle Scott, R.N.** Joined the Navy, 1829; served in the Antarctic Expedition of Sir James Ross, 1839; Naval Surveyor of Tasmania under Captain Franklin, 1840-5; employed on the Marine Survey of the Canadian Atlantic Coast, 1846-66; Naval Adviser of the Dominion of Canada, 1869-89.

APRIL.

Duke of Argyll, K.G., K.T.—George Douglas Campbell, eighth Duke of Argyll, "MacCallum More," was born on April 30, 1823, at Ardencaple Castle, Dumbartonshire. He was educated privately and grew up amid the controversy which led to the disruption of the Scottish Church, and although he sided much with Dr. Chalmers and the General Assembly, he was unable to go so far as secession from the National Church. In 1842 he published anonymously on the subject "A Letter to the Peers by a Peer's Son," which five years later was followed by a historical work, "Presbytery Examined." In 1847 he succeeded to his father's peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords, adopting his father's political opinions as a supporter of Sir Robert Peel, but he soon began to attract attention by his speeches, chiefly in support of Lord John Russell's more liberal policy. Ultimately he came to be recognised as one of the most accomplished orators in the Upper House, and throughout his career he maintained the traditions of moderate Liberalism. He supported the removal of Jewish Disabilities and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. In the Coalition Ministry formed by the Earl of Aberdeen in 1852, the Duke of Argyll, who had had no previous experience, was appointed Lord Privy Seal with a seat in the Cabinet, and on the breaking up of the Ministry in 1855 retained the same office in Lord Palmerston's first Cabinet, but exchanged it a few months later for the office of Postmaster-General, which he held until 1858. During his tenure of office, he gave no proof of administrative ability or desire for reforms, and when, after the fall of Lord Derby's Administration in 1859, Lord Palmerston returned to office, the Duke of Argyll resumed his place as Lord Privy Seal, discharging the duties of Postmaster-General during the months of the Earl of Elgin's absence in China. He retained his office until 1866, making himself chiefly conspicuous by his warm support of the Northerners in the American Civil

War. He was, moreover, the only member of the Cabinet who supported the proposal to detain the *Alabama* at the first British port she entered. He thus obtained greater appreciation with the public than with his colleagues. In 1868, when Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry was formed, the Duke of Argyll was appointed Secretary of State for India. In his Indian administration he followed the traditions of the Dalhousie School, having already in 1865 published a book, "India under Dalhousie and Canning," in which he defended the annexation policy. He held the post of Secretary of State for India for six years and under him Lords Mayo and Northbrook were capable Viceroy, and before quitting office in 1874 he made adequate preparations for the imminent famine which followed.

During the period of Opposition he was not less eloquent and earnest in denouncing the Eastern policy of Mr. Disraeli and the Bulgarian atrocities, and later on the Indian policy which led to the troubles in Afghanistan and the Cabul disaster. On the return of the Liberals to office in 1880 the Duke was again appointed Lord Privy Seal, but his political connection with Mr. Gladstone was broken in the following year, when he resigned in consequence of a difference of opinion on certain clauses of the Irish Land Bill, which, when it came up for discussion, he attacked with great vigour. On other points he gave a general support to the Government, but took very little part in public affairs. The breach between him and Mr. Gladstone grew wider as time went on, and after Mr. Gladstone's adoption of Home Rule his opposition to his former colleague culminated in moving in 1888 a vote of no confidence in the Irish policy of their opponents, which was carried *nem. con.*, no Liberal peer attempting to answer the Duke's vigorous attack. In 1893 he denounced the second Home Rule Bill as vigorously as he had denounced that of 1886, and he was equally hostile to Mr. Gladstone's and

to Lord Rosebery's opportunism in their speeches against the House of Lords. His political career practically closed with a meeting at Glasgow in January 1895, where he was suddenly seized with illness, and although he sufficiently recovered to move the rejection of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill in 1896, he only on rare occasions took any prominent part in the debates of that House. As a man of science, as well as of literary ambition, the Duke had many claims to urge. In 1866 he published his "Reign of Law," which was followed in 1869 by a more polemical work "Primeval Man," attacking the theories of the advanced school of naturalists. The sequel of his first book was published in 1884 under the title of the "Unity of Nature," and both volumes enjoyed considerable popularity. His other works included "Scotland as It was and as It is," "The Unseen Foundations of Society" and "A History of Iona," besides an enormous mass of "campaign" literature in magazines, reviews, newspapers,

etc., and in 1894 he published a volume of poems, "The Burden of Belief," which attracted but little notice.

Until 1892, when he was created a Duke of the United Kingdom, he sat in the House of Lords as Baron Sundridge; he was allowed to hold the Orders of the Garter and the Thistle, a rare favour; he was Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews in 1851, Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, 1854, and President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1861. In 1844 he married Elizabeth, daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland; in 1881, Amelia Maria, daughter of Bishop Claughton, and widow of Colonel the Hon. Augustus Anson, V.C.; and in 1895, the Hon. Ina Erskine, daughter of A. McNeill, of Colonsay, Argyllshire. His death, which occurred at Inverary Castle on April 24, resulted from a severe attack of gout, by which he had been seized on Christmas Eve, and from which he had only partially rallied when he caught a chill and his strength gradually gave way.

On the 1st, at Inverness Terrace, Bayswater, aged 72, **St. George Jackson Mivart, M.D., Ph.D., F.R.S.**, son of the owner of Mivart's Hotel, Brook Street. Educated at Clapham Grammar School, Harrow and King's College, London; joined the Roman Church, 1844, and went to St. Mary's College, Oscott; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1851, but devoted himself to science; appointed Lecturer at St. Mary's Hospital, 1862; Fellow of the Royal Society, 1867; Vice-President of the Zoological Society, 1869; Professor of Biology at University College, London, 1874, and of the Philosophy of Natural History at Louvain 1886; author of "The Genesis of Species" (1871), in opposition to Darwin's theory, "Nature and Thought" (1883), "Origin of Human Reason" (1889), and many other scientific works. Shortly before his death he engaged in a religious controversy as to the relations of science and authority, and was finally excommunicated by Cardinal Vaughan. On the 1st, at Brighton, aged 63, **Colonel Frederick Knowles**. Served through the Indian Mutiny as Assistant Field Engineer, 1854-5; wounded at Azmighur; given a Commission, 1860, and as Lieutenant-Colonel of 2nd Bengal Lancers in the Egyptian Campaign, 1882-4, earned great distinction. On the 2nd, at Pakenham Lodge, Bury St. Edmunds, aged 63, **Sir Thomas Thornhill**, first baronet, son of Thomas Thornhill, of Riddlesworth Hall, Norfolk. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; sat as a Conservative for West Suffolk, 1875-85; Junior Whip, 1882-5. Married, 1863, Katherine Edith Isabella, daughter of R. Hodgson Huntly, of Carham Hall, Coldstream, N.B. On the 3rd, at Kennet, Allox, aged 85, **Dowager Countess of Aberdeen**, Mary, daughter of George Baillie, of Jerviswood. Married, 1840, fifth Earl of Aberdeen. On the 3rd, at Mapledurham, Berks, aged 75, **Dowager Viscountess St. Vincent**, Lucy Charlotte, daughter of John Baskerville-Glegg, of Withington Hall, Cheshire. Married, 1848, third Viscount St. Vincent. On the 4th, at Highgate, aged 86, **William Peter Bodkin**, son of Sir William H. Bodkin, M.P. Educated at Highgate Grammar School; Chairman of the Middlesex Sessions, 1856-86. Married, 1842, Elizabeth, daughter of S. Clowser, of Hampstead. On the 4th, at Constantinople, aged 63, **Ghazi Osman Pasha**. Born in Asia Minor; educated at the Military Academy at Constantinople; served under Omar Pasha in the Crimean War, 1854-5; in the Lebanon, 1860; in Crete, 1867; and in the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8, when he distinguished himself by the five months' defence of Plevna, when he finally surrendered; was for some time Minister of War. On the 4th, at South Kensington, aged 84, **General Henry Renny, C.S.I.**, son of Alexander Renny-Tailyour, of Borrowfield, Forfarshire. Entered the Army, 1833; served with 81st Regiment through the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; commanded Brigade in Sittana Expedition, 1858, and was mentioned in despatches; in command at Lucknow, 1861-3; Aldershot, 1865-9; Ceylon, 1869-74; Colonel,

31st Regiment, 1875-9; 81st Regiment from 1879. Married, 1862, Margaret, daughter of Robert Rickart Hepburn, of Rickarton, Kincardineshire. On the 6th, at Edinburgh, aged 88, **Sir Douglas MacLagan, M.D.**, son of David MacLagan, M.D. Born at Ayr; educated at Edinburgh High School and University; M.D., 1843; Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Edinburgh University, 1862-96; and, like his father, was successively President of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and of Physicians, Edinburgh, and President of the Royal Society, Edinburgh. Married, 1836, Elizabeth Allan, daughter of Andrew Thomson, of Glasgow. On the 6th, at Bournemouth, aged 74, **Lieutenant-General Henry Wray, R.E., C.M.G.**, son of C. Wray, Chief Justice of British Guiana. Educated at Woolwich Academy; entered the Royal Engineers, 1843; Acting Controller of Convicts in Western Australia, 1852-8; Boundary Commissioner, Guatemala, 1861; served with distinction in the Japanese War, 1864-5; commanded Royal Engineers at Malta, 1874-9. Married, 1875, Mary, daughter of T. Drinkwater, of Gibraltar. On the 6th, at Ransdon House, Blandford, aged 79, **Rev. Sir Talbot Hastings Bendall Baker**, third baronet. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1843; Vicar of Preston, Dorset, 1848-77; a keen archaeologist. Married, first, 1850, Florence, daughter of John Hutchings, of Ludlow; and second, 1875, Amy, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Marryat. On the 7th, at Cairo, aged 76, **Sir Alonzo Money, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, son of George Money, Accountant-General and Master of the Supreme Court, Calcutta. Educated at Haileybury; entered Bengal Civil Service, 1843; Commissioner of Patna and Member of Legislative Council and of Revenue Board, 1869; English Commissioner of the Public Debt of Egypt from 1890. Married, 1856, Eliza Maria, daughter of Lieutenant-General H. Boddam. On the 7th, at New York, aged 74, **Frederic Edwin Church**, a distinguished American landscape painter. Born at Hartford, Connecticut; studied under Thomas Cole; travelled much in South America; amongst his chief works were "The Heart of the Andes" (1858), "The Great Fall, Niagara" (1868), "Tropical Scenery," a series of sketches (1873), etc. On the 8th, at Cairo, aged 71, **Richard Harvey Combe**, of Pierrepont, Farnham, son of C. J. Fox Combe, a prominent breeder of race-horses. Married, 1857, Esther Frances, daughter of J. H. Hollway, of Gunby, Lincolnshire. On the 8th, at Ipswich, aged 59, **Rev. Francis Hazlewood**, son of Rev. F. Fitzherbert Hazlewood, of Smardon, Kent. Educated at King's College, London; Rector of St. Matthias', Ipswich, 1875; author of "Antiquities of Smardon" (1866) and other archaeological works. On the 8th, at Torquay, aged 66, **John Graham Cordery, C.S.I.**, son of J. Cordery, of Blackfriars, London. Educated at Rugby, where he was head of the School and Captain of the Eleven, and at Balliol College, Oxford; entered the Indian Civil Service, 1856; served in the Punjab, 1857-64; Berar, 1864-72; Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, 1872-82; Resident at Hyderabad, 1883-8; author of a translation of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." On the 8th, at Beyrout, aged 83, **Temple "Bey,"** said to be a relative of Archbishop Temple. Studied medicine at London; entered the Army Medical Service; served in the Crimea and afterwards became the medical attendant of Sultan Abdul Aziz, on whose death he was exiled to Asia Minor, and afterwards lived as an Ottoman subject at Aleppo, Damascus and Beyrout. On the 9th, at Dromoland Castle, Co. Clare, aged 61, **Lord Inchiquin**, Edward Donough O'Brien, K.P., fourteenth baron. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; first Representative Peer. Married, first, 1862, Hon. Emily Holmes-A'Court, daughter of second Lord Heytesbury; and second, 1874, Hon. Emily Harriet White, daughter of second Lord Annaly. On the 9th, at Dublin, aged 55, **Joseph Edward Kenny, M.D.** Educated at Edinburgh University; M.D., 1870; conspicuous in combating the smallpox epidemic at Dublin, 1872; was arrested as "a suspect," 1881, and dismissed from his post as Medical Officer of the North Dublin Union, and confined in Kilmainham Gaol; sat as a Nationalist for South Cork, 1885-92, and as a Parnellite for the College Green Division of Dublin, 1892-6; was one of the founders of the *Independent* newspaper. On the 11th, at Mayfair, London, aged 70, **Sir William Overend Priestley, M.P., M.D., LL.D.**, son of Joseph Priestley, of Morley Hall, Leeds, and grand-nephew of Joseph Priestley, theologian, chemist and discoverer of oxygen. Educated at Edinburgh University (M.D., 1853), King's College, London, and Paris; practised at Edinburgh, 1853-6, when he came to London; Professor of Obstetric Medicine and Physician-Accoucheur at King's College Hospital, 1863-7; acquired great reputation as a Physician; elected as a Conservative for the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, 1896. Married, 1856, Eliza, daughter of Robert Chambers, LL.D., of Edinburgh. On the 11th, at Thirlmere, Leamington, aged 85, **General John William Sidney Smith, C.B.** Entered the Army, 1832; served with 88th Regiment at St. Juan de Nicaragua, 1848; in the Crimea, 1854-5, with

great distinction; Colonel of the Gloucestershire Regiment, 1883-7, when he was transferred to the South Staffordshire Regiment. On the 13th, at Allerton Tower, Woolton, Liverpool, aged 79, **Sir Thomas Earle**, second baronet, son of Sir Hardman Earle, first baronet, of a family connected with Liverpool for two centuries. Educated at Rugby. Married, 1853, Emily, daughter of William Fletcher, of Liverpool. On the 13th, at Lee, Kent, aged 74, **Rear-Admiral Hubert Campion, C.B.**, son of T. Campion, of Exeter. Entered the Navy, 1848; served during the Crimea War as Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Vesuvius*, the only ship which took part in the battle of the Alma. Married, 1860, Elizabeth, daughter of Commander Gilmore, R.N. On the 14th, at Belgrave Square, aged 75, **Dowager Viscountess Downe**, Mary Isabel, daughter of Right Rev. Hon. R. Bagot, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. Married, first, 1843, seventh Viscount Downe; and second, 1863, Sydney Leveson Lane, of Baldersby Park, Yorkshire. On the 15th, at Old Burlington Street, W., aged 80, **Viscountess Lismore**, May, daughter of J. George Norbury. Married, 1839, second and last Viscount Lismore. On the 15th, at Edinburgh, aged 65, **Colonel William Mathew Dunbar**. Entered the Army, 1853; served with 34th Regiment in the Crimea, 1854-5, and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, and with 24th Regiment in Kaffir War and Zululand, 1878-9; Member of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, 1882-92. On the 17th, at Knockdrin Castle, Mullingar, aged 51, **Sir William Henry Levigne**, ninth baronet, son of W. J. Levigne. Captain, 9th Battalion (Militia) Rifle Brigade, 1879-86; Hants Volunteers, 1888-90. Married, 1876, Emily J., daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, fourth baronet. On the 18th, at Paris, aged 69, **Jean A. J. Falquière**, an eminent sculptor. Born at Toulouse; studied under Jouffroy; first exhibited at the Salon, 1857; Prix de Rome, 1859; Professor at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, 1882; produced several famous statues, including "La Musique" at the Grand Opera, Paris. He was also a successful painter. On the 19th, at Grosvenor Square, aged 66, **Earl of Londesborough**, William Henry Forester Denison, first earl and second baron. Educated at Harrow; sat as a Liberal for Beverley, 1857-9, and for Scarborough, 1859-60. Married, 1863, Lady Edith F. W. Somerset, daughter of seventh Duke of Beaufort. On the 19th, at Eastbourne, aged 62, **Sir Jacobus Petrus de Wet**, son of J. C. de Wet, of Cape Town. Educated at the South African College, Cape Town, and University College, London; B.A., 1860; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1863; Solicitor-General at the Cape, 1873; Judge of the Supreme Court, 1878-80; Chief Justice of the Transvaal, 1880-1; Acting Chief Justice of Ceylon, 1882-3. Married, 1877, Emma, daughter of James Fuller, of Thornlands, King William's Town, Cape of Good Hope. On the 21st, at Paris, aged 66, **Alphonse Milne Edwards**, son of Henri Milne Edwards, a distinguished zoologist, and grandson of Bryan Edwards, M.P., a West India planter and historian. Born and educated at Paris; graduated in Medicine, 1859; Professor at the School of Pharmacy, 1865-76; acted as deputy to his father as Professor of Zoology, 1876; Professor of Zoology and Director of the Jardin des Plantes; author of numerous scientific works relating to his travels in Madagascar and to palæontology. On the 21st, at Hans Crescent, Chelsea, aged 62, **Colonel Sir Francis Arthur Marindin, K.C.M.G.**, son of Rev. S. Marindin, of Chesterton, Salop. Educated at Eton and Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; entered Royal Engineers, 1854; Adjutant of Chatham School of Engineering, 1866-72; Inspecting Officer of Railways for the Board of Trade, 1877. Married, 1860, Kathleen Mary, daughter of Sir William Stevenson, K.C.B. On the 23rd, at Whitestaunton Manor, Chard, aged 81, **Charles Isaac Elton, Q.C., F.S.A.**, son of Frederick Bayard Elton. Educated at Cheltenham School and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1861 (Second Class *Lit. Hum.* and First Class Law and History); Fellow of Queen's College, 1862-3; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1865, and devoted himself chiefly to real property law, and became a leading authority on manorial and other rights; he was an accomplished scholar in many branches of knowledge; sat as a Conservative for West Somerset, 1884-5 and 1886-92; author of "Norway, the Road and the Fell" (1864), "Tenures of Kent" (1867), "Copyholds" (1873), etc. Married, 1863, Mary Augusta, daughter of Richard Strachey, of Ashwick Grove, Somerset. On the 24th, at Hall Lands, Surrey, aged 69, **Thomas Backhouse Sandwith, C.B.**, son of Humphry Sandwith, M.D., of Hull. Graduated at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 1853; entered the Consular Service, 1855; was H.M. Consul in Crete, 1870-85; Tunis, 1885-8; Consul-General at Odessa, 1888-91. Married, 1865, Alicia, daughter of Rev. F. Fuller, of Lingfield, Sussex. On the 25th, at Kiev, aged 61, **Grand Duchess Alexandra Petrovna**, Princess of Oldenburg. Married, 1856, Grand Duke Nicolas Nicolovitch, and on his death in 1891 retired to a convent and became a nun. On the 25th, at Dublin, aged 74, **Colonel Edmund Yates Peel**, son of General

Jonathan Peel. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst; entered 85th Regiment, 1848; served with the Turkish Contingent at Kertch during the Crimea War, 1854; British Consul at Oran, 1858-60; Mahon, 1860-1; Resident Magistrate, Co. Donegal, 1864-94. Married, 1848, Maria Frances Knighton, daughter of R. Chadwick. On the 26th, at Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, aged 76, **Sir John Bridge**, son of J. H. Bridge, of Dover. Graduated at Trinity College, Oxford, 1846 (First Class Mathematics); called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1850; joined the Home Circuit; appointed Metropolitan Police Magistrate, 1872; Chief Magistrate at Bow Street, 1890-9. Married, 1857, Ada Louisa, daughter of George Bridge, of Merton, Surrey. On the 26th, at Shanghai, aged 58, **Sir Nicholas John Hannen**, son of James Hannen, of Kingswood, Dulwich. Educated at City of London School and University College, London; B.A., 1862; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1866, and of China and Japan, 1868; Judge of the Consular Court for Japan, 1881-91; of the Supreme Court for China and Consul-General for Shanghai since 1891. Married, 1869, Jessie, daughter of James Woodhouse, of Henley-on-Thames. On the 26th, at Combe Park, Bath, aged 78, **General John Alexander Matthew Macdonald, C.B.**, son of Colonel A. Macdonald, C.B., 45th Regiment. Entered the Indian (Bombay) Army, 1843; served in the Persian War, 1857, and the Central India Campaign, 1859; Secretary to the Government of Bombay, 1872-81. Married, first, 1856, May, daughter of General W. B. Goodfellow; and second, 1871, Agnes A., daughter of Major-General W. E. Macleod. On the 27th, at Toronto, aged 84, **Sir John Hawkins Hagarty, D.C.L.**, son of Matthew Hagarty, of Dublin. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; joined the Canadian Bar; was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Ontario, 1873-8; of Queen's Bench, 1878-84; Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal, 1884-97. On the 28th, at Brauditsdorf, Germany, aged 64, **Baron Saurma von der Jeltsch**. Entered the Prussian Diplomatic Service, 1850; Consul-General at Belgrade, 1876-7; at Alexandria, 1877; Ambassador at Washington, 1893-5, and Constantinople, 1895-7. On the 29th, at Edinburgh, aged 56, **Most Rev. Angus Macdonald, D.D.**, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, son of Macdonald, of Glenfinnan. Ordained Priest, 1872; Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, 1878-92, when he became Archbishop and Head of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland. On the 30th, at Rode Hall, Cheshire, aged 89, **General Sir Richard Wilbraham, K.C.B.**, son of Randle Wilbraham. Entered the Rifle Brigade, 1828, and served with 7th Fusiliers in Sir J. McNeill's Persian Mission, 1837-9; in the Syrian Campaign, 1840-1; the Crimea War, 1854-5; Governor of Netley Hospital, 1863-70. Married, 1846, Elizabeth F., daughter of William Egerton, of Gresford Lodge, Denbigh. On the 30th, at Much Hadham, Herts, aged 70, **Rev. Stanley Leathes, D.D.**, a learned divine, son of Rev. E. S. Leathes. Educated privately; graduated at Jesus College, Cambridge, 1852; "Clerk in Orders," 1860-5, and "Priest Assistant," 1865-9, in St. James's, Westminster; Incumbent of St. Phillips, Regent Street, 1869-80; Rector of Cliffe-at-Hoo, Rochester, 1880-9, when he was appointed Rector of Much Hadham; Professor of Hebrew at King's College, London, 1860-99; a Member of the Old Testament Revision Committee, 1878-84; author of several theological works.

MAY.

On the 1st, at Endewich on the Rhine, aged 55, **Michel de Munkácsy**, a distinguished painter. Born at Munkacs, Hungary, of humble parentage; apprenticed to a carpenter and house-painter at the age of ten years, and after enduring much ill-treatment was taken up by the portrait painter Szamorsy, and subsequently studied painting at Buda-Pesth, 1863; Munich, 1865; and Düsseldorf, 1867; exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1870, and made his first success by "Milton dictating 'Paradise Lost'" (1878), and afterwards by "Christ before Pilate" (1881), "Calvary" (1883), and many other religious works, and at the same time several smaller *genre* pictures. His mental health broke down about 1896, and he passed his later years in a sanatorium. On the 2nd, at Feodorina, South Russia, aged 82, **Ivan Alivazowski**, a distinguished Russian marine painter, son of a poor Armenian. Was sent to study art at the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg; endowed his native town with a museum, picture gallery and a water supply. On the 3rd, at London, aged 84, **Very Rev. Benjamin Morgan Cowie, D.D.** Graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1839, as Senior Wrangler and second Smith's prizeman; elected Fellow, 1841; Principal of the College of Civil Engineers, Putney, 1844-51; Minor Canon of St. Paul's, 1856; Vicar of St. Lawrence,

Jewry, 1857-72; Chaplain to the Queen, 1871; Dean of Manchester, 1872-83, when he was transferred to the Deanery of Exeter. Married, 1844, May, daughter of T. Carnsew, of Flexbury Hall, Cornwall. On the 3rd, at Paris, aged 66, **Edouard Grimaux**, an eminent chemist. Born at Rochefort and began life as a navy doctor; afterwards studied at Paris and acted as deputy to Professor Wurtz, 1872, in his Chair of Chemistry; Professor of the Ecole Polytechnique, 1878-84; at Cahors, 1884-96; author of several scientific works. On the 4th, at Rushmore, Salisbury, aged 73, **Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers, D.C.L., F.R.S.**, son of W. A. Lane-Fox, of Hope Hall. Educated at Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1845; served in the Crimea War as D.A.Q.M.G., 1854; was from an early age a great collector of antiquities illustrative of embryo civilisation, which were presented to the University of Oxford in 1876, and subsequently excavated many of the barrows round Rushmore, etc. Assumed in 1880 the name of Pitt-Rivers on the death of his great-uncle, the last Lord Rivers. Married, 1853, Hon. Alice Margaret Stanley, daughter of second Lord Stanley, of Alderley. On the 5th, at Kensington, aged 61, **Sir Roger Tuckfield Goldsworthy, K.C.M.G.**, son of Thomas Goldsworthy, K.C.M.G., of Calcutta. Educated at Sandhurst; served in Havelock's Volunteer Cavalry during the Mutiny and afterwards in 17th Lancers, and was Assistant Field Engineer in the defence of Lucknow, with great distinction, 1857-8; Inspector-General of Police in Sierra Leone, 1870-3; Collector of Customs on the Gold Coast and commanded the native force in the war with the Ahmahs, 1873; President of the Island of Nevis, 1875-7; Colonial Secretary of Western Australia, 1877-81; Administrator of St. Lucia, 1881-4; Governor of British Honduras, 1884-91; of Falkland Islands, 1891-7. Married, 1869, Eliza, daughter of John Gawler Prior, of Sunderland, and widow of Captain Egan, R.A. On the 8th, at Eaton Place, S.W., aged 87, **Sir Gabriel Goldney**, first baronet, son of Harry Goldney, of Chippenham. Practised as a Solicitor, 1835-64; sat as a Conservative for Chippenham, 1865-85; Past Grand Warden of English Freemasons. Married, 1839, Mary Anne, daughter of R. H. Alexander, of Corsham, Wilts. On the 11th, at Winchester, aged 55, **Major-General Hugh Richard Hope, C.B.**, son of Major-General A. H. Hope, Madras Staff Corps. Entered the Madras Cavalry, 1863; served in the Afghan War, 1879-80, and in the Burmese War, 1886-9, in command of 1st Madras Lancers, and was mentioned in despatches; Military Secretary to Governor of Madras, 1891-5. Married, 1865, Frances Georgina, daughter of Sir Thomas Pycroft, K.C.S.I. On the 12th, at Ealing, aged 94, **Frederica Elizabeth Perceval**, daughter of Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, who was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons on May 11, 1812. On the 13th, at Morocco, aged 60, **Sid Ahmed Ben Musa**, Grand Vizier of Morocco, who had ruled Morocco with a rod of iron for six years in the name of the young Sultan. On the 14th, at Leith Hall, Kennethmont, Aberdeenshire, aged 82, **Colonel Alexander Sebastian Leith Hay, C.B.**, son of Colonel Sir Andrew Leith Hay, K.H., M.P. Entered the Army, 1838; served with 93rd Regiment in Canada during the Rebellion; in the Crimea Campaign, 1854-5, commanding his regiment at the assault of Sebastopol, as well as at the relief of Lucknow, 1857, during the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; and commanded the Highland Brigade in the Oudh Campaign, 1858-9. Married, 1861, Christina, daughter of W. C. W. Hamilton, of Craiglaw, Wigtownshire. On the 17th, at Buckingham Gate, aged 83, **General Lord Mark Ralph George Kerr, G.C.B.**, son of sixth Marquess of Lothian. Educated at Harrow; entered the Army, 1835; commanded 13th Regiment during the Crimea War, 1854-5, and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, and the Poona Division of the Bombay Army, 1874-7. On the 17th, at Norwood, aged 78, **Major-General Joseph Fletcher Richardson, C.B.** Entered the Indian Army, 1841; served in the Sind War, 1848-9, and received seventeen wounds at the siege of Mooltan; appointed to the 10th Irregular Cavalry, 1849; served in the Burmese War, 1856, and in the Indian Mutiny raised the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry, which did good service in Oudh; commanded 6th Bengal Cavalry, 1858-78. On the 17th, at Frampton Hall, Lincolnshire, aged 73, **Charles Thomas John Moore, C.B., F.S.A.**, son of Rev. Charles Moore, of Wyberton, Lincolnshire. Educated at Lincoln College, Oxford; Honorary Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant, Royal South Lincoln Militia, 1851-89, which he raised to a high state of efficiency; Chairman of Quarter Sessions and of Eastern Sea Fisheries Board. Married, 1849, Frances Mary Vassal, daughter of H. R. Roe, of Gunton Hall, Devon. On the 18th, at Woodcroft, Edinburgh, aged 88, **Colonel Sir David Davidson, K.C.B.**, son of H. T. Davidson, of Haddington. Entered the Bombay Army, 1827, and during his service planned the system of survey of the Bombay Presidency; took an active part in forming the Queen's Edinburgh Volunteer Rifle Brigade, which he commanded, 1860-83. Married, 1849, Margaret, daughter of Charles Todd.

On the 18th, at Paris, aged 74, **Eugène Louis Lambert**, "le Watteau des chats," a popular painter of animals, especially cats. Born at Paris; a pupil of Delaroche; first exhibited at the Salon, 1852. On the 19th, at Munich, aged 60, **Hermann Levi**. Studied under Lachner at Mannheim, 1851-5, and at the Leipsig Conservatorium, 1855-8; appointed Court Kapellmeister at Munich, 1872; identified himself with the Wagner cause and produced his "Parsifal" at Bayreuth, where he was Chief Conductor, 1882-7 and 1889-94. Two years later his mental health gave way. On the 19th, at Paris, aged 87, **Ravaisson Mollieu**, an eminent archæologist. Born at Namur; educated at Paris; Professor of Philosophy at Rennes, 1838-40; Inspector-General of Public Libraries, 1840-70, when he was appointed Curator of Antiquities at the Louvre; author of numerous works on philosophy and æsthetics. On the 20th, at London, aged 67, **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick Thomas Arthur Hervey-Bathurst**, fourth baronet. Educated at Eton; a notable cricketer; entered the Grenadier Guards, 1851; served through the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5; sat as a Conservative for South Wilts, 1861-5. Married, 1869, Ada, daughter of Sir John Ribton, third baronet. On the 20th, at Chislehurst, aged 73, **Rev. William Flemming**. Entered the Army, 1845, and served in the first Boer War and the Kaffir War, 1852-3; left the Army, 1854; was elected Scholar of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge; graduated, First Class Law Tripos, 1857; Chaplain to the Home and Colonial Training Institute, 1858-62; Vicar of Christ Church, Crouch End, 1862-72, when he was appointed Vicar of Christ Church, Chislehurst, and in 1880 Secretary to the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, and held both appointments until his death. On the 20th, at St. Peter's, Thanet, aged 49, **Rev. Herbert Francis Chenevix-Trench**, son of Archbishop Trench. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1873; Vicar of St. John's, Liverpool, 1884-92; of Orpington, Kent, 1892-8, when he was transferred to the Isle of Thanet; established the "Orpington Scheme" for giving religious teaching to Board School children. Married, 1883, Isabel, daughter of Henry Trench, of Cangort Park, King's County. On the 21st, at Dublin, aged 71, **Rev. John Henry MacMahon, LL.D.** Graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was Senior Moderator, 1851; author of several philosophical works and translator of Aristotle's metaphysics and the works of Hippolytus; Chaplain of Mountjoy Convict Prison from 1890. On the 22nd, at Blackheath, aged 92, **William Lindley**, son of Joseph Lindley, of Heath, Yorkshire. Educated at Croydon and Hamburg; articled to Mr. Giles, engineer, 1827, whom he helped to plan the Newcastle and Carlisle, the London and Birmingham and the London and Southampton Railways and various other engineering works. After doing much railway work in Italy he was appointed Engineer-in-Chief of the Hamburg-Bergedorf Railway, 1839, and having been instrumental in staying the progress of the great Hamburg fire, 1842, designed much of the rebuilding of the city, where he constructed the water and gas works, and at Frankfort designed the central station, remodelled the railway system and the city drainage. On the 25th, at Chester Square, S.W., aged 71, **John Archibald Shaw-Stewart**, son of Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart, M.P., sixth baronet. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1851; Bursar of Keble College, Oxford; one of the founders of the House of Charity, Soho, and was connected with the leading Church movements of the time and an active philanthropist. Married, first, 1857, Helenora Margaret Angela, daughter of Boyd Alexander, of Ballochmyle, Renfrewshire; second, 1881, Isabella Barbara, daughter of T. C. Hume, and widow of Captain J. H. T. Alexander, C.B., R.N., of Southbar; and third, 1886, Constance Mary, daughter of Edward Johnston. On the 28th, at Lower Sydenham, aged 80, **Sir George Grove, C.B., D.C.L., LL.D.**, son of Thomas Grove, of Charing Cross. Educated at Clapham Grammar School; articled to an engineer; employed in erection of Morant Point Lighthouse, Jamaica, 1841, and of Gibb's Hill Lighthouse, Bermuda, 1845; employed in the construction of the Britannia Tubular Bridge, 1847-8; Secretary of the Society of Arts, 1849-52; of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, 1852-82, and founder of the Crystal Palace Concerts; Director of the Royal College of Music, 1882-94; editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1868-85; editor of the "Dictionary of Music and Musicians" (1878-89). Married, 1851, Harriet, daughter of Rev. Charles Bradley, of Clapham. On the 29th, at Compiègne, aged 56, **Comte de Massy**, Director of the Society of Archaeology. Educated at the Ecole des Chartes; one of the chief promoters of the law for the protection of ancient buildings and monuments in France. On the 30th, at Twickenham, aged 41, **Clifford Henry Craufurd, C.M.G.**, son of Thomas Craufurd, of Baidland, Ayrshire. Served with the Nile Expedition, 1884-5, and with the River Column under General Earle, 1885-6; commanded the troops against the Witu rebels, 1889-90, and against the Somalis,

1893-5; appointed Vice-Consul in the East African Protectorate, 1896, and Political Officer with the troops in the operations against the Ogaden Somalis, 1898. Married, 1881, Ellen, daughter of Thomas Chapman, of Salisbury. On the 31st, at Cairo, aged 45, Colonel John Rogers, C.B., A.S.C., Director of Supplies of the Egyptian Army, son of J. Rogers, a famous woodcarver. Served in the Commissariat Department, 1874-86, and afterwards in the Army Service Corps; served in the Egyptian War, 1882; the Soudan Expedition, 1884; and the Dongola Expedition, 1896.

JUNE.

Duke of Wellington.—Henry Wellesley, third Duke of Wellington, son of Lord Charles Wellesley, was born in 1846 and was educated at Eton. In 1864 he entered the Grenadier Guards, but saw no active service and retired in 1882. From 1874 to 1880 he sat in the House of Commons as Conservative member for Andover, but neither there nor in the House of Lords, to which he was raised in 1884 on the death of his uncle, did he take any prominent part. In 1885 he was sent to Spain as Ambassador-Extraordinary to represent Great Britain at the funeral of King Alfonso XII., he having also succeeded to his grandfather's title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. His tastes were those rather of a landowner and squire than of a politician or leader of fashion, and he showed himself an excellent landlord of the Strathfieldsaye estate, where he passed the greater portion of the year. He devoted much time also to practical philanthropy and for many years was the active chairman of the Mendicity Society. He married in 1882 Evelyn Catherine Gwenfra, daughter of Colonel T. P. Williams of Temple House, Great Marlow, and died at Strathfieldsaye on June 8, very unexpectedly, for although he had been seriously out of health for some time, he had recently made such improvement that no immediately fatal results were anticipated. With the third Duke of Wellington a portion of the national rewards granted to his grandfather for his eminent services ceased.

Bishop Ryle.—John Charles Ryle, eldest son of John Ryle, M.P., of Park House, Macclesfield, was born there on May 10, 1816, and was educated at Eton, where he played in the Eleven, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where having won the Craven Scholarship, 1836, he graduated, 1837, in the First Class *Lit. Hum.*, in the same year as Dean Stanley. After leaving college, Mr. Ryle was for a short time associated with his father's banking business and was also Captain in the Cheshire Yeo-

manry. In 1841, however, he took orders, and after two years as a curate in the New Forest he was appointed in 1843 to the Rectory of St. Thomas', Winchester, which he exchanged in the following year for that of Helmingham, Suffolk, and remained there until 1861, when he became Vicar of Stradbroke in the same county. During this period he had identified himself with the Evangelical party and advanced its special views by the means of tracts, which appealed strongly to a very large section of the religious world, not only in England and Europe but throughout India and China. It was said that the circulation of these 200 tracts in every language amounted to more than twenty millions. In 1872 he was appointed Honorary Canon of Norwich and in 1880 Lord Beaconsfield offered Mr. Ryle the Deanery of Salisbury, vacant by the death of High Church Dean Hamilton. Although the offer was accepted by Mr. Ryle he was not called upon to undertake the duties of the post, inasmuch as the Bishopric of Liverpool, created by the Act of 1878, had by this time been constituted and endowed, and the appointment of an Evangelical to be the first bishop was strongly urged by Lord Sandon (afterwards Lord Harrowby) and Mr. Whitley, the members for that borough. An earlier selection of Dr. Bickersteth, Dean of Lichfield, was consequently set aside, and Mr. Ryle was appointed on April 19, 1880, and was consecrated at York Minster on June 11 following.

He was soon called upon to prove how far it was possible or expedient to carry out his own personal views on the impolicy of prosecutions in matters of ritual. In the matter of St. Margaret's, Liverpool, the incumbent (Rev. J. Bell-Cox) had aroused considerable agitation by his adoption of extreme Ritualism. Bishop Ryle was called upon to sanction proceedings and allowed himself to be guided by his Metropolitan (Archbishop Thomson); but although Mr. Bell-Cox was prosecuted and imprisoned by the Ecclesiastical Courts he was released

by the Court of Queen's Bench. The Bishop's work in Liverpool and the neighbourhood was marked by constant activity in providing for the spiritual needs of the ever-increasing population, and during the twenty years of Dr. Ryle's episcopate forty-two new churches and forty-eight mission-halls were opened, and at the same time he effectually improved the position as well as the number of the clergy in his diocese. He retained his bishopric until early in the present year, when from failing health he thought it advisable to retire, and withdrew to Lowestoft. Dr. Ryle married first in 1845 Matilda Charlotte, daughter of John Pemberton Plumtre, M.P., of Fredville, Kent; second, 1850, Elizabeth, daughter of John Walker, of Crawfordton, Dumfriesshire; and third, 1861, Henrietta Amelia, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Clowes, of Broughton Ord Hall, Lanc.; and died at Lowestoft on June 10, after a protracted illness.

Prince de Joinville.—François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie d'Orleans, third son of Louis Philippe "roi des Français," was born on August 14, 1818, and entered the French Navy in 1821, to which profession he devoted the whole period of his active life. In 1837, when serving with the Mediterranean Squadron, he endeavoured to take part with the land forces in the Algiers expedition but failed to reach Constantine before it was captured. In 1838 he was sent in command of a corvette to obtain reparation from the Mexican Government and took a prominent part in the bombardment of St. Juan d'Ulloa and subsequently in the storming of Vera Cruz. Although an honest admirer of England and of the English Navy, he was not above declaiming against the one and defying the other. On the occasion of his conveying from St. Helena to France the body of Napoleon in *La Belle Poule*, he excited the admiration of his countrymen by the threat to blow up his ship rather than surrender, if he was attacked by the countrymen of those who had just delivered up the precious freight. He continued for some years actively engaged in his profession, and in 1843, during a cruise to Brazil, married at Rio de Janeiro Donna Francesca de Braganza, sister of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. On his return he became Rear-Admiral and a member of the Admiralty Council, and as such greatly helped in the introduction of steamships as vessels of war.

On the outbreak of the war with Morocco in 1845 the Prince de Joinville was given the command of the naval squadron which bombarded Tangiers and captured Mogador.

On the outbreak of the Revolution, which he had predicted as the result of the King's support of M. Guizot, he was at Algiers with his brother, the Duc d'Aumale. They both took the course of resigning their commands and joining the other members of their family at Claremont in England, refraining from any participation in the parliamentary intrigues of the time. In 1850 a political party was anxious to bring forward the Prince de Joinville as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, but he refused to be a party to any conspiracy. Notwithstanding this attitude Prince Louis Napoleon, as President and afterwards as Emperor, was unremitting in his hostility to and fear of the fallen dynasty, and his uneasiness culminated in 1852 in the confiscation of its private domains and properties.

For several years the Prince de Joinville lived, like the other members of his family, in seclusion in England, but shortly after the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861 he found himself in the United States accompanied by his nephews, the Comte de Paris and Duc de Chartres, who took service under General McClellan in the Army of the Potomac and went through the Virginian campaign. The French intervention in Mexico, however, having raised much hostile feeling against France in the United States, the members of the Orleans family decided to quit the country and returned to England. In 1870 on the outbreak of the Franco-German War, Prince de Joinville offered his services to General Trocha, and although they were declined he managed to serve as "Colonel Lutherod" with the Army of the Loire in the operations before Orleans. He was, however, recognised and after a short detention was sent back to England by order of Gambetta, returning to France in 1871, when the National Assembly repealed the law pronouncing the exile of the Orleans family. The Prince was almost immediately afterwards elected to the National Assembly as Deputy for the Haute Marne and took his seat, although M. Thiers declared that by so doing he had committed a breach of engagement. Like his brother, the Duc d'Aumale, he seldom spoke or voted on political questions, but in 1873 he voted against M. Thiers. In

1876 he retired from public life, for which his almost complete deafness rendered him unfitted. In the negotiations which led to a fusion between the Legitimists and the Orleanists, the Prince took no open part, but in 1883 he accompanied the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf to render homage to the Comte de Chambord and "thus to save the sacred deposit of legitimacy". This step, leading as it did to a considerable strengthening of the Monarchist party in Parliament, induced the Republican majority to resort to strong measures. A fresh law exiling the heads and direct heirs of families which had reigned in France, was passed in 1886 and remained in force for nearly ten years. Upon its relaxation the Prince returned to Paris, where, after a lingering illness, he died on June 15, his last public act being to reprobate strongly the conduct of his great-nephew the Duc d'Orléans, who by his felicitations to the caricaturist Willette had shown a hostile feeling to the English royal family.

Lord Loch, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.—Henry Brougham Loch, son of James Loch, M.P., of Drylaw, Midlothian, was born in 1827. Entered the Royal Navy, 1841, and after little more than two years' service exchanged in 1844 into the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, and as Aide-de-Camp to Lord Gough went through the Sutlej Campaign, 1844-5. On the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 he was sent to Bulgaria to organise the Turkish auxiliaries and subsequently sailed from Varna to the Crimea, passing through the campaign without accident. On the outbreak of the troubles with China in 1856, arising out of the *lorcha Arrow*, he was sent with Lord Elgin in a military capacity and as such was present in the expedition against Canton which resulted in 1858 in the Treaty of Tien-tsin, by which the opening up of China to outside nations was assured. The closer relations with China thus established led to Lord Elgin being appointed British Envoy and Minister, and Mr. Loch went as his private secretary.

The Chinese authorities, however, refused to ratify the treaty and offered an armed resistance to the clause under which European Governments had a right to maintain Residents at the Court at Peking. A joint expedition was consequently undertaken by the French and British troops, and in

August, 1860, after a sharp fight the Taku forts at the entrance of the Peiho River were captured, and the Chinese made pretence of negotiating, but only upon terms which confirmed the intention of the military commanders to advance upon Peking. The Chinese again appeared willing to come to terms and it was arranged that the ambassadors and their escorts should proceed to Peking. Whilst arranging some minor details, Mr. Loch and Mr. Parkes (afterwards Sir Harry Parkes) discovered that the Chinese forces were lying in ambush, and they were at once surrounded. Mr. Loch managed to escape and to give notice of the impending treachery, returning with a flag of truce to obtain the release of his companions. The flag was disregarded. Mr. Loch and Mr. Parkes were made prisoners and subjected to the horrors and tortures of a Chinese prison for upwards of three weeks and only by ten minutes escaped the imperial order for their execution. The storming of Peking and the burning of the Summer Palace followed, and Mr. Loch was sent home with the Convention of Peking and the signed Treaty of Tien-tsin, which had been forced from the Chinese Government.

Shortly after his return to England Mr. Loch was appointed secretary to Sir George Grey, and for a short time was the Duke of Sutherland's agent in the North of Scotland. In 1863 he was made Governor of the Isle of Man, having in the previous year married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. Edward Ernest Villiers and niece of the Earl of Clarendon. After a long residence in the Isle of Man he was appointed in 1882 Commissioner of Woods and Forests, but after two years' tenure he was offered and accepted the Governorship of Victoria, and during his five years of office showed himself in every way admirably suited for colonial life in a constitutional country. His transfer in 1889 to Cape Colony as High Commissioner brought him to a post of which the duties were more complex and the difficulties required a man of greater decision and initiative. His efforts to reconcile the conflicting elements in South Africa were unappreciated by either the English or the Dutch colonists. On his retirement in 1895 he was created a peer, but took little part in parliamentary life. He died on June 20 in Lowndes Square, after a long and painful illness borne with great fortitude and patience.

On the 2nd, at Worthing, aged 75, **Charles Barry**, son of Sir Charles Barry, R.A., the architect of the Houses of Parliament. Educated at Sevenoaks

Grammar School; articled to his father; President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1876; designed Burlington House, Dulwich College and the Institution of Civil Engineers. Married, 1854, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas May, of Exeter. On the 3rd, at Upper Brook Street, W., aged 59, **Earl of Radnor**, William Pleydell-Bouverie, fifth earl. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; Captain, Wilts Yeomanry, 1875-86; sat as Viscount Folkestone as a Conservative for South Wilts, 1874-85; for Middlesex (Enfield Division), 1885-9; Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household, 1885-6 and 1886-91. Married, 1866, Ellen Matilda, daughter of Rev. Henry Chaplin, of Ryhall, Rutland. On the 3rd, at Simonstown, Cape of Good Hope, aged 39, **Mary Kingsley**, a popular writer, daughter of George Henry Kingsley, M.D., and niece of Charles and Henry Kingsley. Born at Highgate; studied natural history. After the death of her parents, 1892-3, made her first expedition to West Africa, and in 1896 explored the hinterland of the Niger Coast; author of "Travels in West Africa" (1896) and "West African Studies" (1898). On the 3rd, at Buxton, aged 82, **William Coare Brocklehurst**, son of J. Brocklehurst, of Hursfield, Cheshire. Captain, Cheshire Yeomanry, 1865-95; sat as a Liberal for Macclesfield, 1868-80, and on his re-election was unseated. Married, 1849, Mary, daughter of William Worthington, of Brockhurst, Cheshire. On the 4th, at Pall Mall, London, aged 74, **Admiral Henry John Blomfield**, son of Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London. Entered the Navy, 1840; was present at the taking of St. Jean d'Acre, 1840; in the Baltic during the Russian War, 1854-5. On the 4th, at Berlin, aged 60, **General Carl von Villauny**, Director of the Berlin Staff College. Served in the Prussian (German) Artillery during the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870-1) Wars; Military Attaché at Rome, 1879; at Paris, 1882; and Military Plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg, 1886; Director of Berlin Staff College, 1896. On the 5th, at Badenweiler, Black Forest, aged 29, **Stephen Crane**, a popular novelist, son of Rev. Dr. Crane. Born at Newark, New Jersey; educated at Syracuse University, U.S.A.; author of "The Red Badge of Courage" (1893), "Maggie," etc.; newspaper correspondent during the Greco-Turkish War, 1896-7, and Cuba, 1898-9. On the 5th, at Dean's Yard, Westminster, aged 90, **Charles St. Clare Bedford**, son of George Bedford, of Bedford Row. Coroner for Westminster, 1845-88; Steward of the Manorial Courts of the Dean and Chapter, 1851; Chapter Clerk, 1854; Registrar of the Abbey and Keeper of Records, 1854. Married, first, 1850, Mary Margaret, daughter of George Giles Vincent; and second, 1861, Harriet Emma, daughter of Robert Edwards Broughton, F.R.S., Metropolitan Police Magistrate. On the 6th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 93, **Rev. John Medows Rodwell**. Graduated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1830; Rector of St. Peter's, Saffron Hill, Holborn, 1834-43, when he was appointed Rector of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, and during the last twenty-five years of his life was non-resident. On the 7th, at Harlesden, aged 72, **Professor Charles Adolphus Buchheim**. Born in Moravia; studied at the University of Vienna; came to England, 1852; translated several of Dickens' works into German and was the author of several critical works on German writers; Professor of German at King's College, London, from 1863; Examiner in German in the University of London, 1875-90; and for some years German Tutor to the children of the Prince of Wales. On the 7th, at Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., aged 85, **Jonas Gilman Clark**, son of a farmer in Eastern Massachusetts, where he worked on the land until 1853, when he was apprenticed to a carriage-maker in Boston, and became ultimately a leading carriage-builder in Boston, where he made a large fortune. In 1887 he endowed the University of Worcester, Mass., to the extent of \$2,000,000, and was much interested in the education of all classes. On the 8th, at Eaton Place, S.W., aged 70, **Sir Frederick Marshall, K.C.M.G.**, son of George Marshall, of Broadwater, Godalming. Educated at Eton; entered the 2nd Lifeguards, 1849; served in the Crimean War, 1854-5; in the Zulu War with great gallantry, 1879; appointed Colonel of 1st Royal Dragoons, 1890. Married, 1861, Adelaide Laura, daughter of Captain E. Gyles Howard. On the 9th, at Glen Tana, Aboyne, aged 80, **Sir William Cunliffe Rugby**, first baronet, son of Samuel Brooks, banker, of Manchester. Educated at Rugby and St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1842 (twelfth Senior Optime); called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, but afterwards entered the family banking firm; sat as a Conservative for East Cheshire, 1869-85, and for the Altrincham Division, 1886. Married, first, 1842, Jane Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Orrell, of Southport; and second, 1879, Jane, daughter of Colonel Sir David Davidson, K.C.B. On the 9th, at Alexandria, aged 59, **Alfred Caillard, C.M.G.**, son of C. C. Caillard, of Leicester. Clerk in General Post Office, London, 1863-75; Postmaster-General of Egypt, 1876-89, when he was made Director-General of Customs and a Pasha

in Egypt. On the 9th, at Freiburg, in Breisgau, aged 69, **Dr. Adolf Holm**, a distinguished Greek. Successively Professor of Ancient History at Palermo and Naples; author of "*Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*" (1870-98) and a "*History of Greece*." On the 10th, at Bath, aged 88, **Henry Ralph Francis**, son of Philip Francis, of London, and grandson of Sir Philip Francis, K.C.B. Graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1837, as Third Classic; Fellow of St. John's College, 1837-9; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1844; went to Australia, 1856; was District Court Judge in New South Wales, 1861-83; author of "*The Fly-fisher and His Library*" (1856) and many essays and works on angling, "*Junius Revealed by His Grandson*" (1894), etc. Married, first, 1839, **Beata Mary Lloyd**, daughter of D. Jones, of Plas Mador, Denbighshire; and second, 1862, **Anne**, daughter of Rev. Joseph Cooke, D.D., of Newart-on-Trent. On the 11th, at Queen Anne Street, W., aged 67, **Julius Althaus, M.D.** Born at Detmold in Germany; educated at Bonn and Göttingen Universities and subsequently at Heidelberg and Berlin, where he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine; came to London, 1837, and was admitted a Member of the Royal College of Physicians, 1860, devoting himself especially to the treatment of diseases of the nervous system; founded the Regent's Park Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis, 1866; author of numerous scientific works, and was the recognised authority on the use of electricity in medical practice. He was an accomplished musician and enjoyed great social popularity in London. On the 11th, killed in action, near Pretoria, aged 44, **Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Airlie**, David William Stanley Ogilvy, eighth earl. Educated at Eton; entered the Army, 1875; served with 10th Hussars in the Afghan War, 1878-9; in the Soudan Expedition, 1884; and the Nile Expedition, 1884-5, with great distinction, and was twice wounded; gazetted Lieutenant-Colonel of 12th Lancers, 1897; attached to Lord Methuen's force in South Africa, 1899; distinguished himself at the Modder River, where he was again wounded, and was killed in the engagement subsequent to the taking of Pretoria. He was elected a Scotch Representative Peer, 1881. Married, 1886, **Lady Mabele Frances Gore**, daughter of Earl of Arran. On the 11th, killed in action, near Pretoria, aged 43, **Major the Hon. Hugh William Fortescue**, son of Earl Fortescue. Educated at Harrow; entered the Army, 1878; served with 17th Lancers in Zulu War, 1879; Assistant Military Secretary to the Officer commanding in Canada, 1898; joined his regiment in South Africa. Married, 1895, **Emily Elizabeth**, daughter of Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P., of Blair Adam, Kinross-shire. On the 13th, at Rastede Castle, aged 73, **Grand Duke of Oldenburg**. Grand Duke Peter succeeded to the Duchy, 1853, and in 1864 unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain the recognition of his claims to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein; concluded a treaty with Prussia, 1866, and joined the North German Confederation. Married, 1852, **Princess Elizabeth of Saxe-Altenburg**. On the 15th, at London, aged 76, **Major-General Herbert Dawson Slade**, son of General Sir John Slade, first baronet. Entered the Army, 1842; served with the King's Dragoons in the Crimea, 1854-5, and in the Chinese War, 1860. Married, 1851, **Harriet Augusta**, daughter of Chichester Francis Bolton, of Tillydonnel, Co. Louth. On the 18th, at Raigmore, Inverness, aged 81, **Aeneas William Mackintosh**, son of Lauchlan Mackintosh. Sat as a Liberal for Inverness-shire, 1868-74. Married, 1856, **Grace Ellen Augusta**, daughter of Sir Neil Menzies, baronet. On the 18th, at Florence, aged 70, **Lord Monson**, Debonnaire John Monson, eighth baron. Entered the Army, 1848; served with 52nd Light Infantry through the Indian Campaign; Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, 1862; Sergeant-at-Arms to the Queen. Married, 1861, **Augusta Louisa Constance**, daughter of Colonel the Hon. Augustus Ellis. On the 19th, at Berlin, aged 87, **Dowager Princess of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen**, Princess Josephine, daughter of Grand Duke Charles of Baden and Josephine Beauharnais. Married, 1834, **Charles Antoine**, Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. On the 19th, at Southsea, aged 90, **Major-General Sir Stanhope William Jephson, C.B.**, fourth baronet, son of Sir Mounteney Jephson, first baronet. Entered the Army, 1830; served with the 2nd "Queen's" in the Afghan War, 1838-42; the Mahratta War, 1844; and the Chinese War, 1860. Married, 1849, **Sophia**, daughter of Edward Hawes, of Woodford. On the 21st, at St. Petersburg, aged 55, **Count Michael Nikolaievitch Muraviev**, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Born at Grodno; educated at Pultava; entered the Russian Foreign Office, 1863; appointed Attaché at Stuttgart, 1866; served afterwards at Stockholm, Berlin, the Hague and Paris; Minister at Copenhagen, 1881; appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1897, and favoured an aggressive and anti-British policy in China. On the 21st, at South Kensington, aged 79, **Sir Charles Sarjent**. Graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge (fifth Wrangler),

1843; Fellow of Trinity, 1845-54; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1848; Member of the Council of Justice in the Ionian Islands, 1858-60; Chief Justice, 1860-6; Judge of the High Court of Bombay, 1866-82; Chief Justice, 1882-95. Married, 1854, Geraldine, daughter of John Unwin, H.M. Treasury. On the 22nd, at Ore, Sussex, aged 69, **Major-General John Granville Harkness**. Entered the Army, 1853; served with 53rd Regiment through the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5; with 5th Fusiliers in Mauritius, 1862-4; South Africa, 1864-7; and the Afghan Campaign, 1878-80, commanding the column which cleared the entrance to the Khyber Pass, and in many important actions; was twice wounded and mentioned in despatches. On the 22nd, at Cheltenham, aged 72, **Rev. Flavel Smith Cook, D.D.** Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1853; Vicar of Liskeard, 1863-72, and of Christ Church, Clifton, 1872-6, when he resigned in consequence of the issue of the legal proceedings in the case of *Jenkins v. Cook*, for refusing to administer the Holy Communion to the appellant; Chaplain of the Lock Hospital, 1876-91. On the 22nd, at Nantyr, Ontario, aged 57, **Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Tyrwhitt**. Born in Simcoe County; was a prominent farmer and militiaman; served on the Niagara Frontier, 1866, and North-Western Campaign, 1885; represented South Simcoe in the Dominion Parliament from 1882. Married, 1870, Emma, daughter of Archdeacon Whitaker, of Toronto. On the 23rd, at South Kensington, aged 70, **Sir James Dixon M'Kenzie**, ninth baronet of Tarbat and seventh of Scatwell, son of Major Lewis Mackenzie, of the Scots Greys. Educated at Rugby; entered the Army, 1849; served with 79th and 14th Regiments. Married, 1858, Julia Stanley, daughter of Samuel Clutsam, M.D. On the 22nd, at Elberon, New Jersey, U.S.A., aged 64, **Benjamin Howard, M.D.** Graduated at New York University, 1858; entered the Army Medical Service; served through the Civil War and became Acting Medical Director of the United States Army; was the inventor of "the Howard" system of artificial respiration and of an improved ambulance waggon. On the 24th, at the Yellow River, China, aged 53, **John Grant Birch**, son of Colonel J. F. Birch. Educated as a civil engineer. He drew up the plans of the desert railway from Wadi-Halfa to Alou-Hamed and was engaged in planning the opening up of the Yang-tsze Valley when he lost his life by the wrecking of the raft on which he was travelling from Lanchow. On the 25th, at Knightsbridge, aged 67, **Admiral Frederick Augustus Maxse**, son of James Maxse, of Arncliffe, Bristol. Entered the Navy, 1847; was Naval Aide-de-Camp to Lord Raglan in the Crimea and distinguished himself by important service; unsuccessfully contested Southampton in 1868 and Tower Hamlets in 1874 as an advanced Liberal. Married, 1862, Cecilia, daughter of Colonel Steele.

JULY.

King Humbert I.—Umberto Ranieri Carlo Emanuele Giovanni Mario Ferdinando Eugenio, eldest son of King Victor Emmanuel, *il Re galantuomo*, was born on his father's own birthday, March 14, 1844, and for the first eleven years of his life was carefully educated, together with his brother Amadeo, by their mother, Queen Marie Adelaide, daughter of the Archduke Regnier of Austria, sometime Viceroy of Lombardy and Venice. At the age of fifteen he followed his father to the battlefield and took part in the War of Liberation of 1860, and two years later was actively engaged in the reorganisation of the new kingdom. In 1866 he was sent on an important diplomatic mission to Paris to ascertain the sentiments of the French Government with regard to the alliance of Prussia and Italy. In the war which ensued, the Prince of Piedmont, by which title he was known, served under General Cialdini and at the battle of Custoza was nearly taken

prisoner by the Austrians. He, however, managed to rally his men in square, to beat off the attack and to hold his ground until reinforcements arrived. For this action he received the gold medal for military valour. In 1868 Prince Humbert married his cousin Princess Margherita of Savoy, daughter of the Duke of Genoa, and after a tour of the principal towns of Italy settled in Turin until 1870, when with the rest of the Court he removed to Rome.

On the death of Victor Emmanuel in 1878, King Humbert's first aim was to discharge his father's heavy debts, the result in great measure of indiscriminate charity. He set himself to effect reforms in the royal establishments and by rigid economy to face the burdens he had inherited and accepted without making an appeal to Parliament. At the same time the flow of his own charity was not lessened and he associated himself with his people

in all their troubles and distress. He displayed not only his charity but his personal courage at the Verona floods in 1882, the Ischia earthquake in 1884 and in the cholera epidemic at Naples in the same year, where he visited the sufferers and personally superintended the relief arrangements. After the reverse at Adowa in the Abyssinian Campaign in 1896 he showed his sympathy with the sick and wounded by contributing a large sum for their relief. The burden of taxation on his subjects, which he would gladly have reduced, was due to his sense of the necessity of maintaining the alliance with Germany and Austria, which entailed a larger expenditure on the Army and Navy than the resources of the kingdom justified. He set the example to his Court of simple living, caring little for ceremonial or state display. He was fond of outdoor life, and passed several weeks of each autumn under canvas whilst chamois-hunting among the Alps. His favourite summer retreat was Monza, the ancient capital of the Lombards, where he mixed freely with the people. His simple life and homely ways, although they won for King Humbert the titles of *il Re cittadino* and *il Padre del suo Popolo*, did not protect him from attempts on his life. In 1879, on the occasion of his state entry into Naples, he was attacked by a cook named Passanante, who, however, only injured the Prime Minister, Cairoli, who received the blow of the knife. In 1897 a similar attempt was made upon him in Rome by Acciarito, but was equally unsuccessful. On both occasions King Humbert displayed the greatest self-possession, remarking on the second attempt that this was one of the "perquisites of his trade." Politically King Humbert was a strictly Constitutional King, only one out of the seven Ministries which held office under him having been led by a politician, Marquis di Rudini, with whose views the King was believed to sympathise. He showed a respectful deference to the Pope without in any degree compromising his own position or the interests of his country. He was spending the summer as usual at Monza, when returning after dark from the distribution of prizes at the Monza Athletic Club, on July 29, he was fired at whilst entering his carriage by a man named Bresci, a Tuscan by birth, who had recently returned to Italy from the United States, having, it was surmised, been chosen by lot to be the victim of a decree of banishment decreed by the Italian Government.

of whose rallying places was at Paterson, New Jersey. The first shot struck the King in the heart and he died before he reached the palace.

Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.—Alfred Ernest Albert, reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland, Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Ulster and of Kent, Duke of Jülich, Cleve and Berg, of Engern and of Westphalia, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, Count of the Principality of Henneberg, Count of Mark and of Ravensberg, and Lord of Ravenstein and of Tonna, was the second son and the fourth child of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. He was born at Windsor Castle on August 6, 1844, and was educated, after having been under private tutors, at the Universities Bonn and Edinburgh, and in 1857 he was placed under Lieutenant (afterwards Sir John) Cowell, R.E., to prepare for the Royal Navy. In 1858, having passed a most creditable examination, he was appointed to H.M.S. *Euryalus*, Captain Tarleton, and made his first cruise in the Mediterranean. In 1860 he went in the same ship, but still as a midshipman, on a long voyage, touching at Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Natal, etc., being the first member of the royal family to visit South Africa. In 1861 he made a cruise in the *St. George*, Captain Hon. F. Egerton, to the West Indies, and subsequently accompanied his parents to Ireland. In 1863 he passed his examination as lieutenant and in 1866 hoisted his flag as Captain of H.M.S. *Galatea*, in which he visited Australia, Japan, China and India. During this voyage, everywhere he was received with great enthusiasm by the colonists and residents, but an attempt was made at Port Jackson, N.S.W., on March 12, 1868, to assassinate him by a man named O'Farrell. The Prince was slightly wounded in the back. During his stay in Japan the Prince was received with high honour by the Mikado.

Meanwhile, in 1865, he had attained his majority and was created Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Ulster and Kent, Parliament granting him an allowance of 15,000*l.* per annum, with a further allowance of 10,000*l.* on his marriage, which took place in 1873, when he was married at St. Petersburg to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, only daughter of the Czar Alexander II., Dean Stanley performing the English

ceremony. In 1876 the Duke was again afloat, and hoisted his flag on the ironclad *Sultan* attached to the Mediterranean Squadron under Admiral Sir G. Hornby, and after two years on his return home he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral. His devotion to his profession had suffered no abatement with time. As Superintendent of Naval Reserves he showed very considerable administrative talents, and in command during the annual summer cruise he took his ships to the Baltic. In 1881 he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and a little later found himself for about a year senior officer in command of the Channel Fleet, hoisting his flag on H.M.S. *Minotaur*. In 1886 having become a full Admiral he obtained the command of the Mediterranean Fleet, making H.M.S. *Alexandra* his flagship. In this position he displayed very noteworthy abilities as a fleet leader. In 1889 the Duke gave up his command and was appointed Port Admiral and Commander-in-Chief at Devonport, a post which he held until 1893, when on the death of his uncle, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, he succeeded to the Duchy, the Prince of Wales having renounced his rights. He subsequently took the oath of loyalty in the presence of the German Emperor and paid a state visit to Potsdam to his suzerain. On his succession to his German dukedom, he relinquished his original allowance of 15,000*l.* from the British Parliament, retaining his marriage allowance in order to keep up his residence in London, Clarence House, where he spent several months of each year.

The Duke of Edinburgh devoted himself not only to his profession but took a lively and intelligent interest in numerous subjects. He was an accomplished musician and one of the promoters of the Amateur Orchestral Society, performing as a violinist on several occasions in public. The customary distinctions accorded to a Prince of the Blood were also conferred on him. He was sworn in as Master of the Trinity House in March, 1866, and he received the freedom of the City of London in the following June. He received at various times honorary degrees from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh. The Queen conferred on him the Knight-

hoods of the Garter, the Thistle and St. Patrick, as well as the Grand Crosses of the Bath, the Star of India, St. Michael and St. George, the Indian Empire and the Royal Victorian Order. In addition he possessed all the principal foreign orders, such as the Black Eagle, the Golden Fleece, the Annunziata, the Legion of Honour, St. Stephen of Austria, St. Andrew of Russia, and the Osmanieh. He was hon. colonel of the Edinburgh Artillery, the Royal Marines, the 3rd Black Watch, and the 84th Austro-Hungarian Infantry Regiment.

The death of his only son in 1899 was a severe blow to him, from which he never fully recovered, but the immediate cause of his death, which took place at the Rosenau Palace, Coburg, on July 30, was failure of the heart's action.

Like the Emperor Frederic, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg had fallen a victim to cancer in the throat. The first symptoms of this disease made themselves felt in January, 1898, when he sought and obtained temporary relief in Egypt. He was prevented by a recurrence of his rheumatic trouble from being present in Berlin at the festivities connected with the coming of age of the German Crown Prince in May of the present year. He went instead to Herkulesbad, in Hungary, and there the throat disease again manifested itself and developed with alarming rapidity. On June 22 a consultation was held in Vienna with the most distinguished authorities on the subject, and cancerous growths were discovered at the root of the tongue and in the throat. An operation was deemed to be out of the question. He returned on June 27 to Coburg from Herkulesbad. The disease then developed with startling rapidity, and the worst was already feared on the following night, when the patient was several times threatened with suffocation. Arrangements were made to make an incision in the wind-pipe, but the operation finally proved unnecessary. Owing to affection of the tongue the patient was only able to speak with the utmost difficulty, but he is believed to have passed away painlessly, and was thus saved from a long and terrible illness. His relatives were informed of his critical condition, but he himself was kept ignorant of the approaching end.

On the 2nd, at Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, aged 71, **Sir Thomas Farrell, P.R.H.A.**, son of Terence Farrell, an Irish artist of repute. Devoted himself to sculpture and executed numerous works for the city of Dublin, etc.; elected President of the Royal Hibernian Academy, 1893. On the 3rd, at Edinburgh, aged 65, **Sir Robert Murdoch Smith, K.C.M.G.**, son of Dr. Hugh Smith, of Kilmarnock. Edu-

cated at Woolwich Academy; entered Royal Engineers, 1855; assisted Sir Charles Newton in his explorations at Halicarnassus, 1856-9, and of Cyrenaica, 1860-1; Director of Indo-Persian Telegraph, 1863-85, when he was appointed Director of the Edinburgh Science and Art Museum. Married, 1869, Eleanor, daughter of Captain J. Robinet Baker, R.N. On the 4th, at Durham, New Hampshire, U.S.A., aged 60, **Hamilton Smith**, a distinguished mining engineer. Born at Louisville, Kentucky; in 1870 was already a recognised authority on hydraulic mining in California; came to London, 1885, and his reports on the Transvaal mines led to the formation of the deep-level mining companies. On the 4th, at Amherst, Nova Scotia, aged 46, **Hon. Arthur Rupert Dickey**, son of Hon. R. B. Dickey, Senator of Nova Scotia. Educated at Windsor College, Nova Scotia, and University of Toronto; B.A., 1875; called to the Bar of Nova Scotia, 1878; represented Cumberland in the Dominion Parliament as a Conservative, 1888-96; Secretary of State in Sir M. Bowell's Cabinet, 1894; Minister of Militia and Defence, 1895, and of Justice, 1896. Drowned whilst bathing. On the 7th, at Upper Norwood, aged 90, **Rev. William Fletcher, D.D.** Graduated at Trinity College, Oxford, 1833 (First Class *Litt. Hum.*); Fellow of Brasenose, 1834-8; Headmaster of Derby Grammar School, 1835-42; of Southwell Collegiate School, 1842-5; and of Wimborne Grammar School, 1846-71; Rector of Minterne Magna, Dorset, 1872-6; Vicar of Uckby, Lincolnshire, 1876-90; edited "*Bengelii Gnomon*," etc. On the 7th, at Hamm, Westphalia, aged 73, **Paul Ludwig Falk**, son of a clergyman. Born at Metsekau, Silesia; studied law at the University of Breslau; elected as a Member of the Liberal Party for Lyck, East Prussia, 1858; held office in the Ministry of Justice, 1861-4; Prussian Plenipotentiary in the Federal Council, 1867-72; Prussian Minister of Education, 1872-9; was Prince Bismarck's colleague in his conflict with the Catholic Church; introduced the School Inspection Bill, 1872; the May Laws, 1873; Civil Marriage Law, 1874; Member of the German Reichstag, 1879-82, when he was appointed President of the Supreme Court of Westphalia. On the 11th, at Newlands, Blandford, aged 78, **Major-General Sir Charles Walter D'Oyly**, ninth baronet. Educated at Addiscombe; entered the Indian Army, 1842; served through the Punjab Campaign, 1848-4. Married, first, 1855, Emily Jane, daughter of Major-General George Norton, H.E.I.C.S.; and second, 1867, Eliza, daughter of James Winter Scott, M.P., of Rotherfield Park, Hants. On the 14th, at Wheathampstead House, Herts, aged 61, **Earl of Cavan, K.P.** Frederick Edward Gould Lambart, ninth earl. Entered the Navy, 1848; served in the Black Sea during the Crimean War, 1854-5, and in China, 1859-60. As Lord Kilburn he unsuccessfully contested Taunton, 1882, and West Sussex, 1884, but was returned as a Liberal for South Somerset, 1886-90. Married, 1864, Mary Spradley, daughter of Rev. John Spradley. On the 15th, at Evesham, Lancs, D. 82nd, aged 81, **Sir Walter Rockliffe Parquhar**, third baronet. Educated at Eton; member of the banking firm of Parquhar, Parquhar & Co. Married, 1847, Lady Mary Anne, daughter of sixth Duke of Beaufort. On the 17th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 65, **Sir Thomas M. Ewraith, K.C.M.G., LL.D.** Born in Ayr; educated at Glasgow University; graduated in Victoria, 1884; and served as an engineer on the Government railways. In 1891 he became a barrister and went to Queensland, where he served in 1871 as a young man elected to the Legislative Assembly. Member of New South Wales, 1874. Served as Colonial Treasurer, 1875-8, when his Administration carried the Land and New Forests Bill, which was widely the most important and successful measure of his Administration. He was afterwards a member of the progressive Government of the late Sir John Robertson, and also the right hon. Sir John Robertson, who succeeded him as Premier. Colonial Treasurer, 1891-2, December 1892-3. Married, 1884, Susan Mary, daughter of Dr. W. Murray of Bangor, Ireland, and second, 1891, Mary, daughter of Hugh Musman of Australia, N.S.W. On the 19th, at Toronto, aged 44, **Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Hamilton Russell**, son of the late Col. Russell. Entered the Army, 1846; served with Lord Raglan in the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5; 1844-5 and with Sir John Pakenham in the New Orleans Campaign, 1845; served in that capacity and was killed at Fort Mifflin, New Orleans, 1845, at the age of 21. Native Affairs. On the 21st, at New Kensington, aged 55, **Lieutenant-General Craven Hidesley Perkins**. Educated at King's College, London; entered the Army, 1845; served through the Indian Mutiny, 1848-50, as a Surgeon. Colonial Secretary, 1859-60. Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces, 1860-6. Surgeon-General, Punjab, 1866-7. Married, 1855, Anne F. Lambart, daughter of Col. W. Lambart, 44th Regiment. On the 22nd, at Bath, Wilts, aged 60, **St. Richard Wood, G.C.M.G., C.B.** son of George Wood of Exeter. Appointed Student Officer at Constantinople

noble, 1824; employed on special service in Syria, 1832-3 and 1840-1; assisted at the surrender of Beyrout and the capture of Sidon and Acre; Consul at Damascus, 1844-55; Agent and Consul-General in Tunis, 1855-79. Married, 1850, Christina, daughter of Sir William Duncan Godfrey, third baronet. On the 22nd, at New Haven, Connecticut, aged 89, **Henry Barnard, LL.D.** Graduated at Yale College, 1830; studied law, but never practised; elected Member of the State Legislature and took an active part in educational reform; Secretary of the State Board of School Commissioners, 1839-43; State Superintendent of Education of Rhode Island, 1843-58; President of Wisconsin University, 1858-61; First United States Commissioner of Education, 1867-70; greatly improved the architecture of schoolhouses; inaugurated teachers' institutes and normal schools. On the 23rd, in the action at Retref's Nek, South Africa, aged 45, **Sir Walter George Bartlelot**, second baronet. Educated at Eton; entered the Army, 1873; served with 5th Dragoon Guards; Captain, Sussex Yeomanry Volunteers, 1900. Married, 1879, Georgiana Mary, daughter of G. E. Balfour, of Sidmouth Manor, Devon. On the 24th, at Paris, aged 80, **Jules Zeller**, a distinguished historian. Born and educated at Paris, but of Alsatian parents; was successively Professor of History at Bordeaux, Rennes, Strasbourg and at the Ecole Polytechnique at Paris; author of "*L'Histoire de France racontée par les contemporains*" in sixty volumes. On the 28th, at New York, aged 60, **John Clark Ridpath**, an American historian. Born in poor circumstances in Indiana; graduated at De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind., 1863; appointed Professor of English Literature, 1869, and of History and *Belles Lettres*, 1871; author of numerous popular historical works. Married, 1862, Hannah, daughter of R. Smythe. On the 29th, at South Kensington, aged 66, **Major-General Noel Hamlyn Harris, R.A.** Educated at Woolwich; entered the Royal Artillery, 1854; served in the Crimea, 1854-5, and in the Afghan War, 1879-80. Married, 1892, Isabella, daughter of Rev. George Thompson, of Bournemouth. On the 29th, at Hawkhurst, Kent, aged 66, **Henry Spencer Ashbee, F.S.A.**, a city merchant and a noted bibliographer. Under the pseudonym of "*Pisanus Fraxi*" compiled an "*Index Librorum*" of out-of-the-way books in three volumes (1877-85); joint author of "*Travels in Tunisica*" (1888) and an "*Iconography of Don Quixote*" (1900). On the 30th, at Wynberg, South Africa, aged 40, **Horace N. Hildyard**, of Welham House, Castle Cary, Somerset, son of Rev. H. S. Hildyard, Rector of Loftus, Yorks. Educated at Rugby; emigrated to the United States and had a ranch in Montana; served throughout the Riel Rebellion with the Canadian troops in the Scouts' Corps, 1885. On the outbreak of the Transvaal War he offered to organise a body of scouts, but it was declined by the War Office, and he then joined Roberts' Horse and served through the war until he succumbed to enteric fever. On the 31st, at Hampstead, aged 68, **Charles Nicholas Warton**, son of Charles Warton, of Burwash, Sussex. Educated at University College School and Clare College, Cambridge; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1861; sat as a Conservative for Bridport, 1880-5, and acquired notoriety as a "bill blocker"; Attorney-General for Western Australia and Member of the Legislative Council, 1886-90. Married, 1864, Eliza, daughter of Lieutenant G. A. Wood, 67th Regiment.

AUGUST.

Lord Russell of Killowen, G.C.M.G.—Charles Russell, son of Arthur Russell, of Seafeld House, Killowen, was born at Newry, Co. Down, 1832, of a well-known Catholic family. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, where he distinguished himself more in athletics and riding than in the class-rooms. He was admitted a solicitor at Belfast, 1854, and practised there and at Liverpool for a short time, but renouncing that branch of the law he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1859, and on settling in London obtained a place in the Reporters' Gallery of the House of Commons and devoted a portion of his time to journalism. He joined the

Northern Circuit at a time when Mr. Herschell, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Gully, Speaker of the House of Commons, were his colleagues and contemporaries. He soon made a reputation at Liverpool in commercial cases, which followed him to London, and in 1866 Lord Westbury, then Chancellor, offered him a County Court Judgeship. This he declined, and by degrees began to acquire a large practice, his first great case as a junior being that of *Saurin v. Starr* (1869) in which the habits of convent life were revealed. In 1872 he took silk, and was recognised not only as the leader of his own circuit but as one of the

foremost men at the Common Law Bar. In 1890 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for Dundalk, holding the seat until its disfranchisement in 1885, when he was elected for South Hackney. In 1886 he was appointed Attorney-General in Mr. Gladstone's Administration, and in 1889 he was engaged for the defence in the Parnell Commission case which extended over 128 days, in which he displayed his powers of cross-examination and made a magnificent speech which the presiding judge, Lord Hannen, described as "a great speech worthy of a great occasion." On the return of Mr. Gladstone to office in 1892 Sir Charles Russell was again appointed Attorney-General, and in the following year he was appointed counsel to support the British claims before the Behring Sea Commission, and for his services was made G.C.M.G. On the death of Lord Bowen in 1894 he was appointed a Lord of Appeal, as Lord Russell of Killowen, and a few months later he succeeded to the vacant post of Lord Chief Justice of England, being the first Roman Catholic appointed to that office since the Reformation, and the verdict of his colleagues and contemporaries was that he was as great a judge as he had been a great pleader. His most famous case was the trial at bar of the Queen *v.* Jameson and others, in which his decision and grasp of the points raised enabled him to bring the case to a prompt decision. Throughout his life Lord Russell retained his interest in sport. He was a member of the Jockey Club and for many years its legal counsel, and was a sedulous attendant at the principal race-meetings, although he was never an owner of racehorses. He married in 1858, Ellen, daughter of Joseph Mulholland, M.D., of Belfast, and died in Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on August 10 after a short illness, which at first occasioned no anxiety,

but finally necessitated an operation from which he never rallied.

Sir John Miller Adye, R.A., G.C.B., son of Major Adye, R.A., was born in 1819. Educated at Woolwich, passing out first, 1836, and entered the Royal Artillery; appointed adjutant at Dublin, 1842; commanded the detachment at the Tower of London during the Chartist demonstrations, 1848; served as Brigade-Major through the Crimean War and was closely associated with Lord Raglan; and through the Indian Mutiny as A.A.-G. of the Royal Artillery batteries, 1857-8; appointed to the command of the Madras Artillery, 1859, and served on the Afghan frontier, 1862-4, and in the Bhootan Campaign, 1868. After his return to England he was appointed, in 1870, Director of Artillery at the War Office to carry out the reforms and alterations decided upon by Lord Cardwell. In 1872 he was sent to report on the condition of the British Cemeteries in the Crimea, and in 1875 was made Governor of the Royal Academy at Woolwich. In 1880 he returned to the War Office as Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, but resigned the post in 1882 when he went out to Egypt as Chief of the Staff to Sir Garnet Wolseley and second in command of the British forces. On the conclusion of the campaign he was appointed Governor-General of Gibraltar and retired in 1886, receiving the honorary appointment of Colonel Commandant of the Royal Artillery. In 1892 he stood as a Liberal for Bath, but was unsuccessful, and subsequently devoted his leisure to writing his "Recollections of a Military Life" and a volume on Indian Frontier policy. He married in 1856, Mary Cordelia, daughter of Vice-Admiral Hon. Sir Montagu Stopford, K.O.B., and died on August 26 at Cragside, Rothbury, while on a visit to Lord Armstrong.

On the 1st, at Rustenberg, South Africa, aged 56, **Colonel Charles Welman Hawkes Helyar**, son of Charles J. Helyar, of Pormdisford Lodge, Pitminster, Somerset. Educated at Winchester; served in 3rd Hussars, 1864-91; joined the Imperial Yeomanry, 1899, and was in command of 7th Battalion, and was murdered by the Boers. Married, 1892, Isabella, daughter of Vincent S. Reynolds, of Bainton. On the 2nd, at Abbey Gardens, Westminster, aged 79, **Venerable Charles Wellington Furse**, son of Charles William Johnson, of Great Torrington, Devon. Assumed his mother's name in 1854; educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1847; Vicar of Staines, 1863-73; Vicar of Cuddesdon and Principal of the College, 1873-83; Canon Residentiary of Westminster, 1883; Archdeacon of Westminster, 1895. Married, first, 1852, Mary, daughter of Rev. J. S. B. Monseth, D.D.; and second, 1880, Gertrude L., daughter of Henry Barnett, of Glympton Park, Oxon. On the 4th, at Paris, aged 43, **Ary Renan**, an accomplished artist and writer on art subjects, only son of Ernest Renan, the distinguished author, and grandson of Ary Scheffer, the painter. On the 4th, at Newport, Mass., U.S.A., aged 72, **General Jacob Dolson Cox**. Born at Montreal,

Canada; educated at New York and Ohio; graduated at Oberlin, 1851; practised as a lawyer; at the outbreak of the Civil War was one of the first to raise a regiment in his State, and so greatly distinguished himself that he rose to the rank of Major-General; elected Governor of Ohio, 1866-7; Secretary of the Interior in General Grant's Cabinet, 1869-70, but made himself unpopular by his opposition to favouritism and by his reforms; Member of Congress, 1877-9; President of Cincinnati University, 1885. Married, 1849, Helen C., daughter of Rev. Charles G. Finney, President of Oberlin College. On the 5th, at Paardekop, South Africa, from wounds received in action, aged 33, **Captain Montagu Sinclair Wellby**, son of John Henry Wellby. Entered the 18th Hussars, 1886; served in the Tochi Field Force, North-West Provinces, 1897; travelled in Abyssinia, starting from Zeila, and visited Harrar, Adis Abbeba and the Walamo country round Lake Rudolf, and joined the Anglo-Egyptian troops at Nasser on the Nile. On the 6th, at Cockermouth, aged 69, **William Fletcher**, son of J. W. Fletcher, of Tarn Bank, Cumberland, an active promoter of railways in that district. Sat as a Liberal for Cockermouth, 1879. Married, 1862, Caroline, daughter of William Ashby. On the 7th, at Charlottenburg, aged 74, **Wilhelm Liebknecht**, a great Socialist leader and orator. Born at Giessen; educated at the Universities of Giessen, Bonn and Marburg; took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden, 1848; lived in England, 1850-62, when he returned to Germany and interested himself in labour questions; expelled from Prussia, 1865, and resided at Leipzig; arrested for high treason for opposing Prince Bismarck's foreign policy, 1870; imprisoned for four months; arrested again and imprisoned in 1872; confined in the Castle of Hubertusberg; elected Member of the Reichsrath, 1874, and retained his seat until his death; became editor of the *Vorwärts*, 1890. On the 7th, at Ebury Street, aged 81, **Lieutenant-General Sir William Drysdale, K.C.B.**, son of Major James Drysdale, of Jerviston, Lanarkshire. Educated at the Edinburgh Military Academy; entered the Army, 1835; served in 4th Dragoons, 1835-41; in the Afghan Campaign, 1839-40; and 9th Lancers, 1841-65; in the Gwalior Campaign, 1843; Sulej Campaign, 1845-6; Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8. On the 10th, at Interlaken, Switzerland, aged 71, **General Abingdon Augustus Bayly, R.A.**, son of Wentworth Bayly, of Weston Hall, Suffolk. Educated at Woolwich; entered the Royal Artillery, 1845; served through the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9. Married, 1854, Mary, daughter of General Faunce, H.E.I.C.S. On the 11th, at Grittleton, Chippenham, aged 54, **Sir Algernon William Neeld**, second baronet. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1868; Captain, Wilts Yeomanry; unsuccessfully contested Cricklade as a Conservative, 1880. On the 12th, at Folkestone, aged 72, **Major-General Charles Edward Oldershaw, C.B.** Educated at Woolwich Military Academy; entered the Royal Artillery, 1847; served through the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5; commanded Royal Artillery at Mhow, 1880-6. Married, 1868, Cecilia, daughter of C. Hodge. On the 12th, at New York, aged 64, **Wilhelm Steinitz**, a noted chess player. Born at Prague, where he was educated and afterwards at Vienna, where he first showed his talents; came to England, 1863, where he resided for nearly twenty years. In 1866 he defeated Adolf Anderssen, of Breslau, and held the championship until 1894, when he was defeated by E. Lasker, of Berlin. His health gave way and he ended his days in an asylum. Was the editor of several chess publications, etc. On the 12th, at Westminster, aged 84, **Surgeon-General Daniel James O'Callaghan**. Entered the Royal Navy, 1829, where he remained ten years, when he qualified, and joined the H.E.I.C. Medical Service, 1842; was attached to the Field Hospital in the Sulej Campaign, 1846-7; served through the Indian Mutiny, including the siege of Delhi, 1857-8, and in the Chinese War, 1860. On the 15th, at Buxton, aged 66, **John Anderson, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.**, son of Thomas Anderson, of Edinburgh. Educated at George Square Academy, Hill Street Institution and Edinburgh University; M.D., 1861; Professor of Natural Science, Free Church College, Edinburgh, 1861-4; Curator of the Calcutta Museum, 1864-87; accompanied as scientific officer the expeditions to Western China *via* Bhamo, 1868 and 1874; investigated the marine zoology of the Mergui Archipelago, 1881; author of numerous scientific works. On the 15th, at Adderbury Manor, Banbury, aged 75, **Major-General Charles Harris Blunt, C.B.**, son of Edward W. Blunt. Educated at Addiscombe; entered the Bengal Horse Artillery, 1842; served in the Sulej Campaign, 1846; the Punjab Campaign, 1847-8; and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, including the siege of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow, with very great distinction. Married, 1856, Mary Augusta, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod. On the 16th, at Holmwood Lodge, Dorking, aged 66, **Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Edward Henry Legge**, son of the fourth Earl of Dartmouth. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; entered the Coldstream

Radical Deputy for the Var, 1838-9, and for Toulon since 1839; and concluded his career by joining the anti-Dreyfus Patrie-Française League. On the 24th, at Wootton Hall, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, aged 71, **Sir Henry Hope Edwardes**, tenth baronet. Educated at Rugby; entered the Army and served with 85th Regiment, 1851-3. On the 25th, at Weimar, aged 53, **Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche**, a German philosophical writer, son of a clergyman. Born at Roeken, near Lützen in Saxony; educated at Bonn and Leipzig Universities; appointed Professor of Classical Philology at Basle University, 1869, and became a Swiss citizen, but on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War joined the German Army, acting as an ambulance officer; resigned his Chair, 1889, his health having quite broken down; author of "The Birth of Tragedy" (1871), "Übermensch," "Jenseits von Gut und Böse," "Zarathustra," etc. On the 25th, at Whitburn Hall, Sunderland, aged 73, **Sir Hedworth Williamson**, baronet. Born at Florence; educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; served in the Diplomatic Service, 1848-54; Captain-Commandant of the Durham Artillery Volunteers; sat as a Liberal for North Durham, 1864-74. Married, 1862, Lady Elizabeth Liddell, daughter of first Earl of Ravensworth. On the 26th, at South Audley Street, London, aged 84, **Viscount Mountgarret**, Henry Edmund Butler, thirteenth viscount. Educated at Worcester College, Oxford; B.A., 1839. Married, 1844, Frances Penelope, daughter of Thomas Rawson, of Nidd Hall, Yorkshire. On the 28th, at Margate, aged 54, **Edward M'Hugh, M.P.**, son of Edward M'Hugh, merchant, of Armagh. Elected as an anti-Parnellite Nationalist for South Armagh from 1892. On the 28th, at Terling, Essex, aged 62, **Henry Sidgwick, M.A., D.C.L., Litt.D.** Born at Skipton, Yorkshire; educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1859; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1859-69; Lecturer, 1859-75; Preelector of Moral and Political Philosophy, 1875-83; Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1883-1900; author of "Methods of Ethics" (1874), "Outlines of the History of Ethics" (1880), "Principles of Political Economy" (1885), "Elements of Politics" (1891), "Practical Ethics" (1893); took a prominent part in the promotion of the higher education of women at Cambridge. Married, 1876, Eleanor Mildred, daughter of James Maitland Balfour, of Whittinghame, Haddingtonshire. On the 29th, at South Kensington, aged 71, **Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, first baronet, son of Sampson Samuel. Born at London; emigrated to New South Wales, 1841; educated at Sydney College; became a leading man in commerce; Justice of the Peace, 1848; Member of Legislative Council and Assembly, 1854-80; Colonial Treasurer or Postmaster-General under nearly every Governor; Agent-General for New South Wales, 1880-93. Married, first, 1857, Henrietta Matilda, daughter of B. G. Leven, of Geelong, Victoria; and second, 1877, Sara Louise, daughter of E. Isaac, of Auckland, New Zealand. On the 30th, at Grove Hill, Caversham, aged 69, **Sir John Hassard, K.C.B.**, Registrar-General of the Province of Canterbury, son of John Hassard, of Co. Cavan. Educated at Clifton College; admitted Solicitor, 1853; Private Secretary to Dr. Tait, Bishop of London; Controller of H.M. Chapel Royal, Whitehall, 1862-90; Registrar of the Province of Canterbury, 1872. On the 31st, at Ostend, aged 42, **Earl of Portarlington**, Lionel George H. Seymour Dawson-Damer, fifth earl. Educated at Eton; entered the Scots Guards, 1877; took a prominent position in English freemasonry; Senior Grand Warden, 1897. Married, 1881, Emma, daughter of Lord Nigel Kennedy. On the 31st, at Rothamsted, Herts, aged 85, **Sir John Bennet Lawes, F.R.S., D.C.L.**, first baronet, son of J. B. Lawes, of Rothamsted. Educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford, and devoted himself to the study of chemistry, especially as applied to agriculture; associated himself with Dr. Henry Gilbert in founding the Rothamsted Agricultural Experiment Station, 1843, thus establishing the methods of farming and the use of artificial manures on scientific grounds, and was a frequent writer on the subject; elected F.R.S., 1854; received Gold Medal of the Society, 1867. A public testimonial of the agriculturists of the country, raised in 1854, took the form of a laboratory, where the Jubilee of the Rothamsted Experiments was held, 1893. Married, 1842, daughter of A. Fountaine, of Narford Hall, Norfolk. On the 31st, at Peer's Court, Gloucestershire, aged 62, **Captain Charles Orde Browne, R.A.**, son of Colonel B. C. Browne, of Stout's Hill, Gloucestershire. Educated at the Woolwich Academy; entered Royal Artillery, 1854; served in the Crimea with great distinction; was for many years Captain-Instructor at the Royal Laboratory, Woolwich; was in charge of the Transit of Venus Expedition in Egypt, 1874; author of several technical works on armour-plating, etc., and many religious pamphlets.

SEPTEMBER.

Marshal Martinez de Campos.—Arsenio Martinez de Campos, a characteristic soldier of fortune who played an important part in the political history of Spain, was born in 1834, the son of a Brigadier-General in the Spanish Army. His military education was completed at the Staff College in Madrid, and in 1859 he first saw active service in the Morocco War when he acted as Aide-de-Camp to Marshal O'Donnell, whose favour he won and to whom he owed his rapid promotion. From 1864 to 1870 he was stationed as Colonel of his regiment in Cuba, and thus took no part in the insurrection of 1868 which led to the downfall of Queen Isabella. On his return to Spain he accepted service under King Amadeo and was employed, 1870-1, in suppressing a Carlist rising in the northern provinces. A Conservative and Monarchist he would take no service under the Federal Republic established on the abdication of Amadeo; and he was placed on half-pay and confined in a fortress in 1873. In the following year he was released by order of Marshal Serrano and sent as Mariscal de Campos to take a command in the northern provinces. He took part in several engagements, cut his way through the Carlists at Zuluquay and raised the siege of Bilbao. He had at this time avowed himself a supporter of Alfonso's claim to the throne, and endeavoured to persuade Marshal Concha to proclaim his restoration. After the battle of Estella, June 27, 1874, in which the Carlists were victorious, Martinez de Campos extricated the remnants of the army, but he was recalled by Marshal Serrano and placed on half pay. He at once joined himself to General Jovellar at Murviedro where they issued a "pronunciamiento" in favour of Don Alfonso and forced Marshal Serrano to resign and to temporarily withdraw from public life. Martinez de Campos was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Catalonia, and after two years of arduous labour, which included the reorganisation of the Army, the Carlists were finally defeated, March, 1876, at Pena de Viatra and the provinces pacified. For these services he was promoted to the rank of Captain-General of the provinces of

hostilities against the Government. After a few sharp, successful engagements, he offered terms to his opponents, which included a promise of reforms and a recognition of the political rights of the Cubans. The promises were never kept and the Home Government refused to endorse the terms of the settlement. Martinez de Campos returned to Spain at once and the actual Prime Minister, Señor Canovas del Castillo, hastily made way for him, fearing the General's influence with the Army. Martinez de Campos's Cabinet lasted only a few months and Canovas returned to power; but in 1881 a coalition between Señor Sagasta and Marshal De Campos brought the latter back as Minister of War, 1881-3. In 1885 he was elected President of the Senate and in 1888 was appointed Captain-General of New Castile, and for the next few years he was busy in administrative work rather than in political intrigues, but he did not altogether escape the perils of a public career, for in 1893 whilst holding a review at Barcelona he was wounded by a bomb thrown by an anarchist. This, however, did not prevent his taking command of the expedition fitted out to punish the Rif Moors for acts of piracy, and his defeat of the Moors at Melilla effectually broke their resistance, although Martinez de Campos's conduct was blamed, but he was, nevertheless, employed to settle the terms of peace with Muley Hassan in the following year, and on his return he was reappointed Captain-General of New Castile, and as such managed to restore order after the military riots at Madrid in 1895. The refusal of the Home Government to grant the reforms promised to the Cubans had led to a renewal of the insurrection, and Martinez de Campos was sent to pacify the island. After a year's campaign the insurgents found their way to the very gates of Havana, and he was recalled in haste and General Weyler sent to deal in a different spirit with the Cubans. On his return to Madrid, Martinez de Campos made a remarkable speech from his place in the Senate, laying the blame for the failure of the campaign upon the Home Government which had refused to listen to his recommendations. Although thanked by the Queen Regent for his services he was not again appointed to any command, and although he was in reality the maker of Ministries, he

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occupied no seat in any of those which succeeded one another in rapid succession. He was the trusted adviser of the Queen Regent, and throughout showed himself a man of sense and

moderation as well as an opportunist. In 1899 he accepted the post of President of the Senate, which he held until his death at Zarares on September 23 after a short illness.

On the 2nd, at Candilli, near Constantinople, aged 71, **Richard Sarell, M.D.**, son of Richard Sarell, many years British Vice-Consul at Constantinople. Educated at Edinburgh University; graduated M.D., 1853; and as Professor of Clinical Surgery at the Imperial Ottoman School of Medicine was the pioneer of scientific surgery in Turkey. On the 4th, at Wimborne, aged 62, **Major-General Robert Holt Truell, C.B.**, son of Rev. W. Truell, of Clonmannon, Co. Wicklow. Entered the Army, 1856; served under Lord Clyde with 53rd Regiment through the Indian Mutiny, including Lucknow and Cawnpore, with great distinction, 1857-9; and with the Shropshire Light Infantry in the Egyptian War, 1882, and the Soudan Expedition, 1885; and for his conduct in all three campaigns was mentioned in despatches. Married, first, 1884, daughter of the Rev. Charles Onslow, of Salisbury; and second, 1890, Harriet, daughter of George Churchill, of Alderholt Park, Dorset. On the 8th, at Aix, Provence, aged 80, **Monsignor François Xavier Gouthé-Soulard**, a persistent opponent of the Republican Government. Vicar-General of Lyons, 1877; Archbishop of Aix, 1886; fined 3,000 frs. for an insulting letter to the Minister of Public Worship, 1891; condemned by the Council of State for a Pastoral, 1892, and his stipend suspended, 1892-5; and again in 1900 for a letter to the Assumptionist Fathers. On the 10th, at York, aged 62, **Rev. Richard Frederick Clarke, S.J.**, son of R. F. Clarke. Educated at Merchant Taylor's School, London, and St. John's College, Oxford; B.A., 1860; rowed in the University Eight, 1859; Fellow and Tutor of St. John's, 1860-5, when he joined the Church of Rome and became a Member of the Society of Jesus; editor of the *Month*; Headmaster of Wimbledon Roman Catholic College; Principal of Clarke's Hall, Oxford, 1897; a keen controversialist and writer of polemical articles. On the 11th, at Llanlaar, Cardiganshire, aged 72, **Colonel John Lewes**, son of John Lewes, of Llanlaar. Entered the Army, 1846; commanded the covering party of the 3rd Buffs in the Crimea in the attack on the Redan; Colonel of 10th Hussars, 1878-88. Married, 1858, Mary Jane, daughter of Rev. Charles Griffith. On the 12th, at Bolton Street, Piccadilly, aged 58, **Captain Sir Alfred Jephson, R.N.**, son of William Jephson, of Sherwood House, Notts. Educated at Leamington School; entered the Royal Navy, 1854; served in the Black Sea during the Crimean War, 1854-5; in the China War, 1860, and in the Japanese War, 1863, with great distinction and was wounded; Secretary to the Naval Exhibition, London, 1891; took part in operations on the West Coast, 1894, and Agent-General to the Niger Coast Protectorate, 1894-8. Married, 1873, Harriet, daughter of Archibald Campbell, of Quebec. On the 13th, at Stuttgart, aged 76, **Sir Henry Page-Turner Baron, C.M.G.**, second baronet. Entered the Diplomatic Service, 1840; Secretary of Embassy at Constantinople, 1860-70; at Brussels, 1870-83; and Minister Resident at Stuttgart, 1883-90. On the 13th, at Hampton Court Palace, aged 99, **Lady Georgiana Grey**, daughter of Charles, second Earl Grey. On the 14th, at Montreal, aged 60, **Professor Thomas Davidson**. Born at Old Deer, Aberdeenshire; educated at Aberdeen University, where he was First Graduate and Greek Prizeman, 1860; appointed Professor of Greek at Toronto University, 1872; author of "The Parthenon Friezes," "Education and the Greek People," "A Life of Rosini," and many other valuable works. He was a remarkable linguist, speaking with fluency most European languages, as well as several Asiatic. On the 16th, at Munich, aged 62, **Prince Henry of Hesse**, son of Prince Charles of Hesse and Princess Elizabeth of Prussia. Served in the Prussian Army as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Bonn Hussars in the Austro-Prussian War; entered Dresden, 1866; led the 2nd Guards (Uhlans) in the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1, and greatly distinguished himself, gaining the Iron Cross (First Class) and the Ordre pour le Mérite. Married, first, 1878, Carolina Willick von Pollenitz, ennobled as Baroness zu Nidda; and second, 1892, Emilie Hrzick von Tobulsk, of Agram (known as a singer as Fräulein Milena), afterwards created Baroness von Dornberg, daughter of Simon von Topuska, President of the Septeminal Table at Agram. On the 16th, at Wolkau, Saxony, aged 25, **Prince Albert**, Carl Anton Ludwig Wilhelm Victor, youngest son of Prince George of Saxony. Born at Dresden; served in 17th Regiment of Saxon Uhlans; died from the effects of an accident on returning from the autumn manœuvres of the German Army. On the 16th, at Parc le Breos, Swansea, aged 47, **Captain the Hon. Maurice Archibald Bourke, R.N., C.M.G.**, son of

sixth Earl of Mayo. Entered the Royal Navy, 1867; was Gunnery Officer of the flagship *H.M.S. Alexandra* at the bombardment of Alexandria, 1882; served through the Egyptian War, 1882-3; Assistant Director of Naval Intelligence, 1890-1; Flag-Captain to Admiral Sir G. Tryon on *H.M.S. Victoria* when she came into collision with *H.M.S. Camperdown* and sank with the Admiral, 21 officers and 350 men, 1893; Assistant Director of Torpedoes, 1895. On the 18th, at Asnières, Paris, aged 82, **Prince Felix Hohenlohe Oehringen**, son of Prince August and Duchess Louisa of Wurtemberg. Married, first, 1851, Princess Alexandrina von Hanau, daughter of the Elector of Hesse; and second, 1872, Elizabeth von Reinecke, daughter of Graf von Bevern. On the 19th, at Harrogate, aged 66, **Lieutenant-General Cecil d'Urban la Touche**. Entered the Bombay Army of the H.E.I.C.S., 1850; served in the Persian War, 1856-7; the Satpura Expedition, 1858; and the Afghan War, 1880, when he was mentioned in despatches. On the 19th, at Hotham Hall, Yorkshire, aged 80, **Colonel Edward John Stracey-Clitherow**, of Boston House, Brentford, Middlesex, son of John Stracey, of Sprowston, Yorkshire. Educated at Harrow; entered the Scots Guards, 1839; served through the Crimean War, 1854-5; was a noted sportsman in the hunting field and a whip; assumed his mother's name, 1865. Married, 1846, Harriet, daughter of Edward Marjoribanks, of Greenlands, Bucks. On the 20th, at Howth, Co. Dublin, aged 59, **Margaret Stokes**, a distinguished Irish archaeologist and antiquary, daughter of William Stokes, M.D. Author of numerous works on mediæval remains, crosses and inscriptions in Ireland, Brittany and elsewhere. On the 20th, at Hill Court, Ross, Herefordshire, aged 43, **Major Lionel James Trafford**, son of Charles Guy Trafford, of Michaelchurch Court. Entered the Army, 1875; served with the Royal Sussex Regiment in the Egyptian War, 1882; in the Nile Expedition, 1884-5; with the Desert Column, and commanded the escort of Sir Charles Wilson and General Gordon's steamers to Khartoum. On the 22nd, at Westgate-on-Sea, aged 77, **Robert Rae**, a prominent temperance advocate. Born at Hamilton, N.B.; entered business in Glasgow, 1841; Secretary and one of the founders of the Scottish Temperance League, 1846-53; one of the founders of the Glasgow Commercial College, 1850; editor of the *Commonwealth* newspaper, 1853-61; Secretary of the National Temperance League, 1861-96. On the 23rd, at Paris, aged 73, **Louis Gustave F. Ratisbonne**, the nephew of three missionaries who had abjured the Jewish faith. Born at Strasburg; Alfred de Vigny's executor; translated Dante into French verse and the author of several volumes of poems; Librarian at Fontainebleau, 1871-4, and of the Senate since 1874, and wrote also under the name of Trim. Married, 1856, Miss O'Donoghue. On the 23rd, at Ramsgate, aged 67, **Sir John Croker Barrow**, third baronet. Educated at Harrow and University College, Oxford; B.A., 1855; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1863. Married, 1857, Emily Jane, daughter of J. N. Merriman, M.D., of Kensington. On the 25th, at Gopsall, Leicestershire, aged 78, **General Earl Howe, C.B.**, Richard William Penn Curzon, third Earl. Entered the Foot Guards, 1833; served in the Kaffir War, 1852-3, as Aide-de-camp to Sir George Cathcart; Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in India, 1854-9, and took an active part in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny; Colonel of the Leicestershire Regiment, 1878-90, and of 2nd Life Guards since that date; appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Leicestershire, 1883; took an active interest in racing and was the owner of several winning horses. Married, 1858, Isabella Catherine, daughter of Major-General Hon. George Anson. On the 25th, at Quebec, aged 63, **Hon. Felix Gabriel Marchand**, Premier of Quebec. Born at St. John's, Montreal; educated at St. Hyacinthe College and practised as a notary; elected to the first Legislative Assembly of Quebec, 1867; Provincial Secretary and Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1878; Speaker of the House, 1887-92; Leader of the Liberal Opposition, 1892-7, when he became Premier and Provincial Treasurer; was one of the pioneers of the Volunteer movement among the French Canadians and commanded a Brigade on the frontier at the time of the Fenian raids, 1870. On the 26th, at Courtfield Gardens, London, S.W., aged 65, **Sir Francis Houlton Hartwell**, third baronet. Entered the Army, 1852; served with 17th Regiment and 3rd Buffs in the Crimea. Married, 1861, Emma Jane, only child of Sir Henry Dymoke, first and last baronet, of Scrivelsby. On the 28th, at Maidenhead, aged 47, **Lord Esme Stuart Gordon**, son of tenth Marquess of Huntly. Educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford; unsuccessfully contested the Ramsey Division of Huntingdon as a Liberal, 1828. Married, 1874, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brown, of Northover. On the 28th, at Kensington, aged 74, **William John Dickinson**. Entered the Diplomatic Service, 1852; served at Teheran, 1852-5; at Athens, 1854-60, and subsequently Oriental Secretary

and Secretary of Legation, 1863-84; Minister Resident at Bogota, 1885-91. Married, 1870, Frances Josephine, daughter of Captain J. Robinette-Baker, R.N. On the 28th, at Northampton, Prince George's County, Maryland, U.S.A., aged 70, **Lord Fairfax**, John Contée Fairfax, M.D., eleventh Baron Fairfax of Cameron, a descendant of the Parliamentary Commander-in-Chief, son of Hon. Albert Fairfax. Born in Virginia; graduated M.D. at the University of Pennsylvania; lived his whole life as a gentleman farmer, in Virginia and, after the war, in Maryland. Married, 1857, Mary, daughter of Colonel Edmund Kirby, U.S. Army. On the 30th, at Bartonmere, Bury St. Edmunds, aged 76, **Rev. Harry Jones**, a prominent leader of the Broad Church party and a practical philanthropist and social reformer, son of Rev. Charles Jones, of Bartonmere. Graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1846; Vicar of St. Luke's, Soho, 1853-72, where his work lay among the poor of Seven Dials; Rector of St. George's-in-the-East, 1873-80; Prebendary of St. Paul's, 1880; Vicar of Great Barton, Suffolk, 1880-3; of St. Philip's, Regent Street, 1883-97, when he was made Rector of St. Vedart's, City of London. He was the organiser of the East London Nursing Association, the author of many magazine articles and a few books of essays and sermons, a war correspondent at the battle of Sedan and a traveller in many countries. Married, 1848, Emily Fonblanque, daughter of Rev. Sir James Evans Philipps, eleventh baronet. On the 30th, at Harbour House, Kingstown, Ireland, aged 62, **Captain the Hon. Francis George Crofton, R.N.**, son of second Lord Crofton. Entered the Navy, 1852; served in the Baltic during the Russian War, 1854-5; in the Chinese War, 1857-8; Harbourmaster at Kingstown since 1878. Married, first, 1864, Gertrude Caroline, daughter of Colonel E. S. Bayley, and widow of John Talbot, of Mount Talbot, Co. Roscommon; and second, 1878, Emily Augusta, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery Caulfield, of Monkstown, Co. Dublin. On the 30th, at Aldeburgh, Suffolk, aged 75, **Major-General William Henry Binney, B.S.C.** Entered the Bengal Cavalry, 1843; served on the Peshawur Frontier, 1855, and commanded the Military Police in the Banda and Kirwee Campaign, 1853. Married, 1857, Catherine Sophia, daughter of Captain James Murray, H.E.I.C.S.

OCTOBER.

Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D.—John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, third Marquess, was born September 12, 1847, and succeeded to the title when six months old. His education was the source of much litigation after the death of his mother in 1859 between his guardians, Major-General Stuart and Lady Elizabeth Moore. The former was in favour of an English public school and University course, the latter, of Scotch and private tuition. After much dispute, the House of Lords on appeal decided in favour of General Stuart, and Lady Elizabeth Moore, who had clandestinely removed the child to Scotland, was forced to surrender him, and he was sent to Harrow and afterwards matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford; up to that time he was a member of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. During his minority, out of his handsome allowance of 7,000*l.* a year, he contributed largely to the Scottish Episcopal Church, to the restoration of Llandaff Cathedral, and to numerous Welsh parish churches, and during this period he was thoroughly identified with the High Church party. In December, 1863, however, he was

formally received into the Church of Rome by Monsignor Capel, who had been in charge of a mission at St. Clements, Oxford, and from this time much of his wealth was devoted to the needs of the Roman Catholics, and he contributed very largely to the erection of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster. His attention, however, to the management of his enormous property was unremitting, and up to 1884 he had spent out of income upwards of a million in the development of the docks and harbour of Cardiff. He also liberally supported education in South Wales and Scotland. He was President of the University College at Cardiff, built a large hall for the University of Glasgow, and gave 20,000*l.* to that of St. Andrews. He was twice Lord Rector of St. Andrews, the second time, in 1892, without opposition. He was also Mayor of Cardiff, 1890-1, and gave unremitting attention to the wants and improvement of the town and of his surrounding property. Amongst other things, he attempted the cultivation of grapes for wine-making in England and was so far successful that his wines realised high prices. He was an authority upon

in two years was able to say that he had by other conversions saved upwards of \$14,000,000 a year interest. In 1880 his State wished to put him in nomination for the Presidency, but Mr. Garfield was finally selected, and in 1884 he stood aside in favour of Mr. Blaine, who was defeated by Mr. Cleveland. In 1885 he was elected President of the Senate and held that post until 1888 when he was again put forward for the Presidency, but failed after several ballots in obtaining a majority at the National Convention. After the election of President Harrison, a bill was passed bearing Mr. Sherman's name, directing the Treasury to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month at a fixed price, but he assisted the passing of a repealing act a few years later. On the election of Mr. McKinley as President in 1896 Mr. Sherman was made Secretary of State, but on the declaration of a state of war between the United States and Cuba on April 25, 1898, he resigned office, having always protested against the acquisition of dependent possessions, and shortly afterwards he joined the Anti-Imperialist League. In 1895 he published a volume of "Recollections." During the eighteen months preceding his death he had suffered several attacks of illness and died on October 22 at Washington.

Professor Max Müller.—Right Hon. Friedrich Max Müller, P.C., D.C.L., the son of Wilhelm Müller, a poet and philologist, who had obtained distinction by his "*Griechen Lieder*," etc., was born at Dessau in 1823, and received the groundwork of a liberal education in his own family, where foreign languages, literature and music were fully appreciated. He was then placed at the Dessau Gymnasium, whence he passed on to the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin, where he studied philosophy under Schelling and Weiss and philology under Bopp and others, and when only twenty years of age published a translation from the Sanskrit "*Hitopadesa*." Soon afterwards he started for Paris and enrolled himself among the disciples of Eugène Burnouf, the most distinguished Orientalist of the time. In 1848, still pursuing his study of Eastern literature and manuscripts, he came to England and attracted the notice of Baron Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador, and through his influence Max Müller was entrusted by the directors of the East India Company in London to translate the *Rig Veda*, sacred hymns of the Brahmins. This

work, which occupied twenty years of the translator's life, brought him to live in England, and in 1848 he first took up his residence at Oxford, where two years later he was appointed Deputy-Professor of Modern Languages, and in 1854 was made Professor, a Chair which was practically created for him. In 1858, having completed ten years' residence at Oxford, he was elected a Fellow of All Souls, and in 1868, his professorship having been converted into that of Comparative Philology, he was thenceforward paid by the College, of which he remained a Fellow until his death. For a short time, 1865-7, he held the post of Sub-Librarian at the Bodleian, but although he rendered useful service in the department of Oriental manuscripts, the occupation was not a congenial one, and he declined to be re-nominated. In his candidature for the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit, a great deal of feeling, national and religious, was aroused, and the election by convocation, which turned in favour of Dr., afterwards Sir, Monier Williams, was not decided wholly upon the respective qualifications of the two candidates. Max Müller felt the rebuff acutely, and at one time seriously considered the question of leaving Oxford and of returning to Germany; but he was prevailed upon to remain, and thenceforward became the principal link between the University and the scholars of Europe.

Soon after his arrival in England he had become acquainted with the leading men in the scientific and literary world, who did not think it beneath their dignity to popularise their knowledge by means of lectures, given at the Royal Institution and elsewhere. Max Müller was pressed into the service, and in 1859 delivered a course of lectures on the Science of Language, and in 1870 another course on the Science of Religion, and seven years later a third course on the Science of Thought. The lectures were brilliant and attracted large and fashionable audiences, but when published subsequently, they gave rise to much criticism and it was admitted that the lecturer had been far too rash in his assertions and too loose in his inferences. He spoke and wrote English with absolute purity and very slight accent, and he was as devoted to Oxford university life as if he had been born in this country. His aim to infuse into Oxford life more of the spirit which animated German and French scholars was not successful,

but he distinctly raised the standard of scholarship and teaching in the university. In 1873 he delivered, at the invitation of Dean Stanley, a lecture in the nave of Westminster Abbey on the "Religions of the World," and the Hibbert Lectures in the Chapter House, Westminster, 1878; he was Gifford Lecturer, 1888-92, was first President of the Aryan Section of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm, 1889, and was President of the same Congress in London, 1892. He received, among other honours, the Prussian Ordre pour le Mérite; was a Member of the Institute of France and of the Academia dei Lincei at Rome, and was made a Privy Councillor in 1896 under a Conservative Administration, although his friendships and sympathies were mainly with the Liberal party. He married, in 1859, Georgina, daughter of Riversdale Grenfell, and thus was brother-in-law to Mrs. Kingsley and Mrs. J. A. Froude, and died at Oxford on October 28 after a prolonged period of suffering, borne with great fortitude, though with the fore-knowledge of its fatal termination. Up to within a few days of his death he was occupied with writing and dictating his autobiography, of which he had in 1898 published some pages under the title of "Auld Lang Syne." During his later life his advice was much sought by Hindoos studying for the Indian Civil Service, but latterly he devoted himself to the teaching of several Buddhist priests who had been sent from Japan to learn Sanskrit, and this led to the discovery that the oldest Sanskrit manuscripts existed in that country. His "Sacred Books of the East" comprised no less than forty volumes. He also published many of his lectures and essays under the title of "Chips from a German Workshop," and several philological works.

Prince Christian Victor, G.C.B., C.C.V.O., eldest child of Prince and Prin-

cess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, and grandson of the Queen, was born at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Park, April 14, 1867, and was educated first at Wellington College and Magdalen College, Oxford, and subsequently entered Sandhurst Military College, 1887, and received on passing out in 1888 a commission in the King's Royal Rifle Brigade and was soon afterwards ordered to India. In 1891 he served in the Hazara Expedition as Orderly Officer to the General in command, and he also saw service in other frontier expeditions in Miranzai, 1891, and Isazai, 1893. In the Ashanti War of 1895 he was Aide-de-Camp to the General in command and for his services received the Star. His next employment was with the Soudan Expedition, 1898, under Lord Kitchener, when he had command of the troops on board the gunboat flotilla, and took part in the bombardment of Omdurman. Soon after the commencement of the South African War he was appointed to the Staff of Lord Roberts, and took an active part in the actions of the campaign; but at the close of the chief operations of the war he was struck down by enteric and malarial fever, and after eighteen days' illness succumbed at Pretoria on October 29, the day of the return of the City Imperial Volunteers, but in compliance with the Queen's desire the news was not allowed to transpire in order to avoid throwing a gloom over the festivities. Prince Christian Victor was a general favourite with his school-fellows, his college companions and his brother officers, a good cricketer and a capable soldier, and was honestly regretted by a large circle of friends of all classes. In accordance with his expressed wish he was buried beside his comrades-in-arms and laid in a soldier's grave at Pretoria on November 1 with the simple ceremony of a military funeral.

On the 1st, at Eisenach, aged 22, **Prince Bernard Henry of Saxe-Weimar**, son of Grand Duke Charles Augustus and grandson of the reigning Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. On the 1st, at New York, aged 64, **Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard**. Born at New York; educated at the Naval Academy, Annapolis; served in the blockading squadron in the Gulf of Mexico during the Civil War and took a leading part in the capture of Vicksburg, 1862-4; Chief of the Ordnance in the Naval Department, 1881-90; in command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, 1890-4; Rear-Admiral in command of the North Atlantic Squadron, 1897-9; Head of the Board of Strategy during the Spanish War, 1899. On the 2nd, at the Master's Lodge, Peterhouse, Cambridge, aged 71, **Rev. James Porter, D.D.**, son of Rev. James S. Porter, of Drumlee, Co. Down. Educated at Belfast and graduated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1847, as ninth Wrangler; Fellow of Peterhouse, 1849; Master, 1876; took an active part in both the University and the Borough; Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1881-3. On the 2nd, at Chelsea, aged 80, **Arthur de Noé Walker, M.D.**, son of Captain A. Walker, R.N. Entered the

Indian Army, 1837; served in the China War, 1842, when he was wounded; retired as Captain and graduated in Medicine at Edinburgh University and served as a Volunteer Surgeon through the Crimean War with great gallantry; lived for many years at Florence; was a friend of Walter Savage Landor and a collector of pictures, many of which he presented to the Italian Government. On the 2nd, at Springfield, Illinois, U.S.A., aged 88, **General John A. M'Clernand**. Born in Kentucky; educated in Illinois and studied law; took part in the Blackhawk War, 1832; sat in Congress, 1843-51 and 1857-67, taking an active part in public affairs and in the inauguration of the railway system in the Western States; Member of Congress, 1843-51 and 1859-61; given a command of the Illinois Levies in the Civil War, 1862-3, and greatly distinguished himself in command of an Army Corps; relieved General Sherman in the Vicksburg Expedition, 1863; resigned, after a struggle with General Grant, November, 1864; resumed practice at Springfield, Illinois. On the 3rd, at Shanghai, aged 78, **Rev. William Muirhead, D.D.** Born at Leith; educated at Cheshunt College; went as a Missionary to China, 1847, where he had many escapes from the native mobs; was Pastor of the Union Chapel, Shanghai, for nearly fifty years; visited Pekin and Mongolia in 1866; was the author of many educational and other works in Chinese and (for English readers) of "China and Gospel." Married, first, 1857, Katherine M. Evans, of Islington; and second, 1886, Mrs. Erikson, of the China Inland Mission. On the 3rd, at Hove, Brighton, aged 69, **Major-General Robert William Bland-Hunt**. Entered the Royal Marine Light Infantry, 1848; served in the Baltic during the Russian War, 1854, and in the Black Sea, 1855-6; Aide-de-Camp to Mr. Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, during the disturbances, 1864-6; Colonel-Commandant of Honduras Militia, 1866-9, where he saw much service against the hostile Indians; commanded Royal Marines in the Zulu War, 1873; Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, 1880-5. On the 4th, at sea, aged 63, **William Beatty Kingston**. Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* during the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1, and its special correspondent at Berlin and Vienna, 1865-1900; author of "Monarchs I Have Met" and other works. He began life as a clerk in the Customs, 1852-64, and acquired the knowledge of many foreign languages. On the 5th, at Hoddesdon, Herts, aged 78, **Major-General Fairfax Charles Hassard, C.B.**, son of Major-General Hassard, C.M.G., R.E. Educated at Woolwich; entered the Royal Engineers, 1840; served in the Crimea, 1854-5; Kaffir and Zulu Wars, 1877-9, with great distinction; had custody of Cetewayo, the Zulu King, 1879-81. Married, 1847, Annie, daughter of T. Collier. On the 6th, at Ealing, aged 94, **General Sir Anthony Blaxland Strangham, K.C.B.**, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Strangham. Entered the Royal Marines, 1823; served in Syria and at the battle of Navarino, 1827; in China, 1840-1, where he was severely wounded; in the Baltic during the Russian War, 1854; Inspector-General of Royal Marines, 1862-7. Married, 1843, Eliza, daughter of Harvey Combe, of the Madras Civil Service. On the 9th, at St. Ives, Cornwall, aged 66, **Lieutenant-General Henry Philip Hawkes, C.B.**, son of P. C. Hawkes, of Okehampton, Devon. Entered the Army, 1850, in the Commissariat Branch; served in the Abyssinian War, 1867-8; Assistant Commissary-General in the Malay Peninsula, 1876; and in the Burmese War as Acting Commissary-General-in-Chief, 1886-7. Married, first, 1856, Louisa, daughter of Major J. Shepherd, H.E.I.C.S.; and second, 1897, Sarah Anne, daughter of J. Dewrance. On the 10th, at Lexington, Virginia, U.S.A., aged 57, **William Lyne Wilson**. Born in Jefferson County, Virginia, of humble parents; graduated at a small College in Washington, 1860; served as a Private in the Confederate Army; after the close of the war became Professor at the College where he had graduated, but subsequently adopted the law as his profession; elected President of the University of Western Virginia, 1882; Member of Congress, 1883-95, retiring after the passing of the Wilson Tariff Bill; Postmaster-General in President McKinley's second Cabinet, 1895-7, when he was chosen President of the Old Washington and Lee University. Married, 1868, Nannie, daughter of Dr. J. H. Huntington, Columbian University. On the 11th, at Brooklyn, New York, aged 66, **Thomas Gaskell Shearman**, a prominent American lawyer and publicist. Born at Birmingham; taken as a child by his parents to New York, 1843; educated privately; entered a dry goods store, 1847, but continued his studies and was admitted to the New York Bar, 1859; Secretary to the State Code Commission; was leading counsel for the defendant in the case of *Tilton v. Beecher*; was a consistent Free Trader and an advocate of the British cause in the South African War. On the 13th, at Paris, aged 77, **Sir Richard Dickeson**, a prominent citizen of Dover and several times Mayor, head of a firm of military contractors. Married, first, 1847, Elizabeth Barker, daughter

of J. Reynolds, of Dover; and second, 1877, Eliza, daughter of W. Garwood, of Bromley. On the 13th, at the Deanery, Windsor Castle, aged 57, **Hon. Mrs. Eliot**, Hon. Mary Emma Pitt, daughter of fourth and last Lord Rivers. Maid of Honour, 1870-83. Married, 1883, Very Rev. Philip F. Eliot, D.D., Dean of Windsor. On the 14th, at Paris, aged 81, **Louis Adolphe Cochery**. Born at Paris; educated at the Collège Bourbon; admitted as an Advocate, 1840; Chief of the Cabinet of the Minister of Justice, 1848, but after 1851 returned to the Bar and journalism; elected one of the Opposition to the Empire in the Cortes Legislatif, 1868; was Civil Commissary during the War, 1870-1; elected to the National Assembly, 1871, and to the Chamber of Deputies, 1872; Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, 1878-85; Senator from 1888. On the 14th, at Whitehall Court, S.W., aged 75, **Lieutenant-General John Ignatius Macdonell**. Entered the Army, 1844; served with 71st Highlanders in the Crimean War, 1854-5; the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; and the Afghan Frontier Campaign, 1863-4. On the 15th, at Dalzell House, N.B., aged 71, **Lord Hamilton of Dalzell**, John Glencairn Carter Hamilton, first baron, son of Archibald J. Hamilton of Dalzell. Educated at Eton; served in 2nd Life Guards, 1847-60; sat in House of Commons as a Liberal for Falkirk Burghs, 1857-9; for South Lanarkshire, 1868-74 and 1880-5; defeated, 1886, and raised to the Peerage; Lord-in-Waiting, 1887-90. Married, 1864, Lady Emily Eleanor Leslie Melville, daughter of eighth Earl of Leven and Melville. On the 16th, at Paris, aged 77, **James Cropper**, of Elles Green, Kendal. Born at Liverpool; sat as a Liberal for Kendal, 1880-5. Married, 1845, Fanny, daughter of John Wakefield, of Sedgwick. On the 16th, at Chertsey, aged 70, **William Luson Thomas**. Educated at Fulham and afterwards at Paris; started for New York, 1848, where, in conjunction with his brother George, a well-known illustrator, he started the *Picture Gallery* and the *Republic*; returned to Europe and established in London an engraving establishment in partnership with Mr. W. J. Linton; elected an Associate and afterwards full Member of the Institute of Painters in Water-Colours, and for some years worked for the *Illustrated London News*. In 1880 he founded the *Graphic*, and at a later date the *Daily Graphic*, of which he was the managing director until his death. Married, 1855, Annie, daughter of W. J. Carmichael, a marine painter. On the 17th, at Norwich, aged 78, **Venerable Henry Ralph Nevill**, son of Richard Janion Nevill, of Llangannech Park. Educated at Rugby and University College, Oxford; B.A., 1844 (Second Class *Lit. Hum.*); Perpetual Curate of Lakenham, Norfolk, 1851-8; Vicar of Great Yarmouth, 1858-73; Canon of Norwich, 1873; Archdeacon of Norfolk, 1874. On the 19th, at Windsor Castle, aged 72, **Colonel Francis Cornwallis Maude, C.B., V.C.**, son of Captain the Hon. Francis Maude, R.N. Educated at Woolwich Academy; entered the Royal Artillery, 1847; took a prominent part in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, commanding the Artillery of General Havelock's column, and afterwards with General Outram at the siege of Lucknow, where he displayed great bravery and earned the Victoria Cross; was Consul-General at Warsaw, 1876-86; Queen's Military Knight of Windsor, 1895. Married, 1860, Pauline, daughter of Hon. Paul Sterling, of Ceylon. On the 19th, at Hyde Park Court, Knightsbridge, aged 75, **Sir Roderick William Cameron**, son of Major Duncan Cameron, of Glengarry, Canada, a shipowner. Established a line of steamers between New York and Australia; was Canadian Commissioner to the Sydney Exhibition, 1879, and Victorian Exhibition, 1880. Married, first, 1846, Mary, daughter of George Cumming, of Quebec; and second, 1861, Anna Fleming, daughter of Nathan Leavenworth, of New York. On the 24th, at King's College Hospital, aged 50, **Rev. Henry Cary Shuttleworth**, son of Rev. Edward Shuttleworth, of Egloshayle, Cornwall. Educated at Forest School, Walthamstow, and St. Mary's Hall, Oxford; B.A., 1873; Minor Canon of Christ Church, 1874; of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1876-83; Secretary of the Young Men's Friendly Society, 1880-5; Lecturer in Pastoral Theology at King's College, London, 1883, and Vicar of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, London, until his death. He was a zealous worker among the shop men and women of the city and was distinguished as a Christian Socialist; author of "The English Church and the New Democracy" (1889), "Some Aspects of Disestablishment" (1894). On the 24th, at Isleworth, aged 50, **Captain the Hon. Foley C. Prendergast Vereker, R.N.**, son of fourth Viscount Gort. Entered the Navy, 1863; chiefly employed as Admiralty Surveyor; served also against the Sulu pirates, 1872; at the bombardment of Mombasa, 1875; naval operations at Suakin, 1884-8. Married, 1876, Ellen A., daughter of Rev. H. Myddelton, of Simon's Town, Cape of Good Hope. On the 24th, at Furlough, aged 64, **Lieutenant-Colonel Armar Graham Lowry**. Entered the Army, 1853; served with 41st Regiment through campaigns at both the Alma and Inkerman;

retired as Captain, 1859; re-entered the Army as Ensign in 1st West Indian Regiment, 1861; exchanged into 8th Regiment, 1868. On the 25th, at Worthing, aged 82, **John Sims Reeves**, a popular tenor singer, son of John Reeves (a private, first of the Marines, afterwards of the Royal Artillery, and corporal of the band). Born at Woolwich; trained by his father; appointed Organist of North Cray Church, 1832, and instructed himself in the use of various instruments; first appeared on the stage as a baritone at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1839, as "Mr. Johnson"; engaged as second tenor at Drury Lane by Macready, 1841; continued his vocal education at Paris and Milan, where he appeared as "Edgardo" in "Lucia di Lammermoor," 1845; returned to England, 1847, and appeared at Her Majesty's, Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres in Italian and English operas; made his *debut* as an oratorio singer under John Hullah, 1848, and thenceforward continued to enjoy great popularity at home and abroad, and made his farewell appearance at the Albert Hall, 1891. Married, first, 1850, Miss Emma Lucombe, a singer; and second, 1897, Miss Maude Renée, one of his pupils. On the 25th, at South Kensington, aged 71, **General Alexander Carnegie, C.B.** Entered the Bombay Army, 1843; served through the Indian Mutiny with distinction, 1857-9; commanded a Division of the Bombay Army, 1883-7. Married, first, 1850, Frances Jane, daughter of J. Whitehead; second, 1858, Augusta, daughter of Robert D. Ker; and third, 1889, Helen M., daughter of Charles H. Forbes, and widow of Major Robert Graham Mayne. On the 25th, at Lavenham Hall, Suffolk, aged 75, **William Biddell**, son of A. Biddell, of Playford, Suffolk. A land agent and auctioneer; sat as a Liberal Conservative for West Suffolk, 1880-5. Married, first, 1856, Fanny, daughter of A. Blencowe; and second, 1868, Mary A., daughter of R. Howard, of Lavenham Hall. On the 26th, at Penicuik, Midlothian, aged 86, **Sir John Cowan**, first baronet, son of Alexander Cowan, of Edinburgh. Educated at the Edinburgh High School and at Bonn and Edinburgh Universities. He was a member of a paper-making firm at Edinburgh and took an active part in philanthropic works; was a prominent Liberal and Chairman of Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Committee. Married, first, 1847, Jane M., daughter of Alexander Gillespie, of Sunnyside Lodge, Lanarkshire; and second, 1857, Jane F., daughter of William Currie, of Linthill, Roxburghshire. On the 26th, at Whitechurch, Co. Dublin, aged 65, **Rev. James Anderson Carr, LL.D.** Graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, 1853; Vicar of Whitechurch, 1871; author of "Life and Times of Archbishop Ussher" (1895), "Life Work of Archbishop Benson" (1898), and other works. On the 27th, at Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey, aged 58, **William Anderson, F.R.C.S.** Educated at City of London School, the University of Aberdeen and St. Thomas's Hospital; M.R.C.S., 1867; Director of the Naval Medical College, Tokio, 1873-80; Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, London, and Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, 1891; formed an extensive collection of Japanese and Chinese books and drawings, which was purchased by the British Museum; author of "The Pictorial Arts of Japan" and many other works. Married, 1895, Louisa, daughter of F. W. Telly, of Leeds. On the 27th, at Patrington, Yorkshire, aged 56, **Rev. Henry William Maddock**. Born in India; graduated at Clare College, Cambridge (First Class Classics), 1867; Fellow of Clare, 1870-5; Professor of Classics at Trinity College, Toronto, 1875-9; and Chaplain and Tutor of Cavendish College, Cambridge, 1879-84; Rector of Patrington, 1884; Hon. Canon of York, 1895. On the 27th, at St. Dominico's Priory, Hampstead, aged 81, **Very Rev. Raymond Palmer Charles Ferrers Palmer**, son of Shirley Palmer, M.D., of Tamworth. Educated at Tamworth and Birmingham; graduated in Medicine; practised as a Surgeon at Tamworth, 1846-53, when he entered the Dominican Order and devoted himself to study; author of "History of the Black Friars in England," "Life of Cardinal Howard," and other historical works. On the 28th, at Paris, aged 64, **Baron de Renzis de Monnanaro**, Italian Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Born at Capua; educated at the Military College, Naples; Aide-de-camp to Victor Emmanuel; distinguished himself at the siege of Gaëta, 1866; elected to the Italian Parliament, 1870, and was one of the founders of the *Fanfulla* newspaper; afterwards entered the Diplomatic Service and was successively Ambassador at Brussels, Madrid and London; was the author of several novels, dramas, poems, etc. On the 29th, at London, aged 64, **Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Charles Gadegan**. Entered the Army; served with 49th Regiment in the Crimea, where he was severely wounded; on the Gold Coast, 1862-3; in Ashanti, 1863-4; and in Egypt, 1882. On the 29th, at Seymour Street, Portman Square, aged 79, **Robert Milner Newton**, son of William Newton, of Elveden Hall, Suffolk. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1843; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1847; Recorder of Cambridge, 1858-66; Metropolitan Police

Magistrate, 1866-97. On the 30th, at Cobham Hall, Kent, aged 49, **Earl of Darnley**, Edward Henry Stuart Bligh, seventh earl. Educated at Cheam School, Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford; succeeded to the title in 1896, but never took his seat; was noted for the extreme views he held on certain subjects. Married, 1899, **Jemima Adeline**, daughter of F. J. L. Blackwood, of Norton Hall, Kent.

NOVEMBER.

Sir Arthur Seymour Sullivan, an eminent musical composer, the son of Thomas Sullivan, bandmaster at Sandhurst Military College, 1846-51, and subsequently attached to the Military School of Music at Kneller Hall, was born on May 13, 1842. He entered the Chapel Royal as chorister in 1854, where he remained three years. During the same time he studied at the Royal Academy of Music and gained the Mendelssohn Scholarship which enabled him to study at Leipzig during the ensuing three years. In 1862 he produced his music to Shakespeare's "Tempest," and in 1864, at the Birmingham Festival, a cantata "Kenilworth," followed by various songs and a symphony in E, which was much appreciated in London and Leipzig. About the same time he was appointed organist of St. Michael's, Chester Square, a post which he held until 1871. In 1867 he appeared for the first time as a composer for the theatre in a musical farce "Cox and Box." This was followed by the "Contrabandista" (1867), "Thespis," in collaboration with Mr. W. S. Gilbert (1871), and "The Zoo" (1875). For the next ten years he worked in conjunction with Mr. Gilbert and composed the music for "Trial by Jury" (1875), which was followed by "The Sorcerer," "H.M.S. Pinafore," "The Pirates of Penzance," "Patience," "Iolanthe," "Princess Ida," "The Mikado," "Ruddigore," "The Yeoman of the Guard," and the "Gondoliers," which established the Savoy Theatre, of which he and Mr. Gilbert were the promoters, in public favour. He subsequently furnished the music for Mr. S. Grundy's "Haddon Hall" (1892); for Mr. Gilbert's "Utopia, Limited" (1893); for Mr. F. C. Burnand's "Contrabandista" (1894), under the title of

"The Chieftain"; for Mr. Gilbert's "The Grand Duke"; for Messrs. Comyns Carr and Pinero's "The Beauty Stone," and for Captain Basil Hood's "Rose of Persia" (1899). Meanwhile he had been engaged in more serious work, chiefly oratorios, cantatas and incidental music for Shakespeare's plays. Of the first-named the "Prodigal Son" was produced at Worcester Musical Festival (1869), "The Light of the World" at Birmingham (1873), "The Martyr of Antioch" (1883) and "The Golden Legend" at Leeds (1886). He also composed a cantata "On Shore and Sea" for the International Exhibition (1871), and the "Festival Te Deum" (1872) in celebration of the Prince of Wales's recovery. His incidental music for Shakespeare's plays included "The Merchant of Venice" (1871), "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (1874), "Henry VIII." (1878) and "Macbeth" (1880). In addition to many hymn tunes and anthems, he composed the music for numerous songs, among which "Orpheus with His Lute," "The Lost Chord," "Tears, Idle Tears," "O Swallow, Swallow" and "The Absent-Minded Beggar" were among the most popular. He conducted the Glasgow Musical Festivals, 1875-7, was Principal of the National Training School of Music, 1876-81, was knighted in 1883. Although he had been in indifferent health for some time, his death on November 22 in Victoria Street, Westminster, was very sudden, from failure of the heart's action. By the Queen's special request, Sir Arthur Sullivan was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the funeral service was attended by representatives of her Majesty, the German Emperor and other crowned heads.

On the 1st, at Liverpool, aged 63, **William Pirrie Sinclair**, son of John Pirrie, of Antrim. Educated at the Academical Institute and Queen's College, Belfast, and at Heidelberg; was a general merchant in Liverpool; sat as a Liberal for Antrim County, 1885-6, and as a Liberal Unionist for Falkirk Burghs, 1876-92. On the 1st, at Dayswater, aged 70, **Mrs. Amelia Charles**, daughter of Charles Coome, of Somerset. Married, 1866, Thomas Charles, of Somerset. Was Member of the London Board of Guardians, 1870-93; of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, Paddington Vestry; Manager of the Ashford District Schools; active part in the advancement of women; author of

"Mynchin" (1867) and other works. On the 2nd, at Putney, aged 57, **William Young**, an architect of great ability. Born at Paisley; educated at Glasgow; his first work in London was a refreshment room for the Volunteers at Wimbledon. He designed Lord Cadogan's house at Chelsea, the Municipal buildings at Glasgow and the new War Office buildings. On the 2nd, at Winchfield, Hants, aged 78, **Major-General Sir Charles Taylor du Plat, K.C.B.**, son of Brigadier-General G. C. G. du Plat, R.E. Educated at the Military Academy, Woolwich; entered the Royal Academy, 1841; Equerry to the Prince Consort, 1854-61; to the Queen, 1861-93. Married, first, 1855, Maria, daughter of Sir William C. Dalzell, seventh baronet; and second, 1897, Ann Bennett, daughter of J. Staats Forbes. On the 2nd, at Great Malvern, aged 80, **William Henry Charsley**. Born at Beaconsfield; matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he lost his sight from an accident, but afterwards graduated at St. Mary's Hall and became a popular tutor; founded, 1876, "Charsley's Hall," a private hostelry for students. On the 4th, at Prince's Gardens, S.W., aged 69, **Sir George William Allen, K.C.I.E.**, son of James Allen, of Croydon. Became a journalist at an early age; went to India, where he established the *Allahabad Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Married, 1876, Anna M., daughter of Rev. J. Fisher Turner, of Winkleigh, Devon. On the 5th, at Bothaville, South Africa, killed in action, aged 37, **Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Walter Jules le Gallais**. Entered the Army, 1881; served with the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars in the Soudan Campaign, 1898, with great distinction, and throughout the South African War, 1899-1900, with conspicuous ability as a cavalry leader. He was a well-known polo player and steeple-chase rider. On the 5th, at Bothaville, South Africa, aged 32, **Captain Francis Joyce Engelbach**. Entered the Army as a Private, 1887; received his Commission in 3rd Buffs, 1894; served with Chitral Relief Force, 1895, and in the Niger Expedition, 1897-8. On the 7th, at Simla, aged 28, **The Maharaja of Patiala, G.C.S.I.** Succeeded to the throne at the age of four years; served with his own Imperial Service troops in the Mohmund Campaign, 1897. On the 7th, at Twickenham, aged 72, **Major-General Andrew Hugh Bogle**. Educated at Addiscombe; entered the Bengal Artillery, 1848; commanded a battery of Turkish Artillery in the Crimean War, 1854; served through the Indian Mutiny with great distinction and had a command in the Abyssinian War, 1868. On the 10th, at Bedwell Park, Hatfield, aged 75, **Charles James Monk**, son of Right Rev. J. H. Monk, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1847 (Second Class Classical Tripos); called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1850; Chancellor of Bristol and Gloucester, 1859-85; unsuccessfully contested Cricklade as a Liberal, 1857; returned for Gloucester City, 1859; unseated on petition, 1860; sat again, 1865-85, and as a Liberal Unionist, 1895-1900. Married, 1853, Julia, daughter of P. S. Ralli, of London. On the 12th, at Dublin, aged 77, **Thomas Arnold**, second son of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby. Born at Laleham; educated at Winchester, Rugby and University College, Oxford; B.A. (First Class *Lit. Hum.*), 1845; appointed Clerk in the Colonial Office, 1846; went same year to New Zealand; Inspector of Schools in Tasmania, 1849; joined the Church of Rome and returned home, 1856; appointed Professor at the Catholic College, Dublin, and afterwards at the Birmingham Oratory; returned to the Anglican Church and for twenty years was a Private Tutor at Oxford; became a Roman Catholic again, 1877; appointed Fellow and Professor of English Literature at the Royal University of Dublin; author of "Manual of English Literature" and a "Catholic Dictionary"; editor of Wycliffe's works and translator of Beowulf. Married, first, 1855, Julia, daughter of Governor Sorell; and second, 1890, Miss Josephine Benison, of Strede Russell. On the 12th, at South Kensington, aged 65, **Sir Francis George Thurslow Cunynghame**, ninth baronet. Major, 3rd Battalion Middlesex Regiment, and Captain, 5th Battalion Rifle Brigade. Married, first, 1863, Jessica, daughter of Rev. W. H. Bloxsome; and second, 1886, Elizabeth Ann, daughter of William Yeo, of Appledore, and widow of E. Walton. On the 18th, in Juba Land, East Africa, aged 36, **Arthur Charles William Jenner**, son of Sir William Jenner, M.D., Bart., G.C.B. Educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1886; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1889; entered the service of the British East African Company, 1891; British Vice-Consul at Zanzibar, 1894-5; Commissioner for Juba Land, 1897; killed by Ogaden Somalis while on a tour of inspection. On the 13th, at Uckfield, Sussex, aged 77, **Rev. Sir Frederick Larkins Currie**, second baronet. Born at Gorrackpore, East Indies; educated at Rugby and Christ's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1846; Vicar of Exton, Hants, 1885; Rector of Old Alresford, 1886. Married, first, 1849, Eliza Reeve, daughter of Matthew Rackham, of Thorpe, Norwich; and second, 1866, Helen, daughter of E. Corrie, of

Hall, Highbury, or the London College of Divinity, 1863; liberally supported the Western University of Canada. On the 23rd, at Sydenham, aged 80, **Henry Currey, F.R.I.B.A.**, a successful architect. Educated at Eton; articulated to Decimus Burton; was Architect and Surveyor to St. Thomas's Hospital from 1847, which he rebuilt on the Embankment, and to the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals. Married, 1845, May, daughter of Sir Charles Price. On the 23rd, at Southrepps, Cromer, aged 68, **Rev. the Hon. John Harbord**, son of third Lord Suffield. Graduated M.A. at Magdalen College, Cambridge, 1854; Rector of West Harling, 1860-4; Chaplain of Morden College, Blackheath, 1865-92; Rector of Southrepps, 1892. Married, 1857, Caroline Penelope, daughter of Anthony Hamond, of West Acre, Norfolk. On the 23rd, at Paris, aged 62, **Jean A. Valfrey**, the foreign editor of the Paris *Figaro*. Was for many years in the French Foreign Office; was a Member of the Archives Committee; retired, 1877; editor of the *Moniteur* for some time and afterwards joined the *Figaro*. On the 24th, at Cannes, on board his yacht, aged 61, **John Lawson Johnston**, the inventor of "Bovril." Born at Roslin, Midlothian; educated at Edinburgh; devoted himself to the study of the concentration of food products. On the 25th, at Malta, aged 83, **Sir Adrian Dingli, G.C.M.G.**, son of Sir Paul Dingli, G.C.M.G. Called to the Malta Bar, 1837; Member of Council, 1849; Crown Advocate and Legal Adviser, 1854; Chief Justice of Malta, 1893. Married, first, 1854, Catherine, daughter of V. Marno, C.M.G.; and second, 1879, Amy Mildred, daughter of W. H. Charlton, of Herleside, Northumberland. On the 25th, at Sand Hutton, York, aged 35, **Sir James Heron Walker**, third baronet. Educated at Eton. Married, 1889, Violet Maud Cecil, daughter of Major-General Cecil Ives, of Moyn's Park, Essex. On the 27th, in Nigeria, aged 29, **Hon. David Wynford Carnegie**, son of ninth Earl of Southesk, K.T. Educated at Charterhouse and Cooper's Hill; was pioneering in the West Australian Goldfields, 1892-8, and in 1896-7 led an expedition across its deserts; appointed Assistant Resident of the Middle Niger, 1898; author of "Spinners of Sand." He was killed by a poisoned arrow. On the 27th, at Kingston Vale, aged 80, **Major-General Thomas Henry Clifton**, son of T. Clifton, of Clifton. Entered the Army, 1839; served in the Crimean War as Aide-de-camp to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, 1854-5, and was severely wounded at Inkerman. Married, 1877, Annie, daughter of J. G. Norbury and widow of Lord Cosmo Russell. On the 27th, at Kilminster, Axminster, aged 58, **Colonel Charles Henry Bridges**. Entered the Indian Army, 1859; served with the Punjab Infantry in the Chinese Expeditionary Force against the Taepings, 1860-2; on the North-West Frontier, 1863; Looshai Expedition, 1871-2; and the Afghan War, 1879-80. Married, 1870, Emily, daughter of John Bird, of Taunton. On the 29th, at Bournemouth, aged 77, **General Sir George Henry Smith Willis, G.C.B.** Entered the Army, 1841; served with 77th Regiment in the Crimea War, 1854-5, with great distinction; A.Q.G. at Gibraltar, 1858-9; and at Malta, 1859-64; for the Southern District, 1866-71; at Headquarters, 1871-3; commanded a Division in the Egyptian War, 1882, and was wounded at Tel-el-Kebir, and was thanked by Parliament; in command of the Southern District, 1884-9; Colonel of the Devonshire Regiment, 1890, and of the Middlesex Regiment, 1897; unsuccessfully contested Portsmouth as a Conservative, 1892. Married, first, 1865, Eliza, daughter of George Morgan, M.P., of Brickendon, Herts; and second, 1874, Ada, daughter of Sir John Neeld. On the 30th, at Paris, aged 43, **Oscar O'Flahertie Wilde**, son of Sir William Wilde, M.D., of Dublin, and Lady Wilde, who wrote under the name of "Speranza." Graduated at Magdalen College, Oxford (First Class Moderations and First Class *Lit. Hum.*), 1878; Newdigate Prizeman, "Ravenna," 1878; was one of the leaders of the "æsthetic" fops, but a man of many talents; author of "The Picture of Dorian Gray" (1883) (a novel), "Lady Windermere's Fan" (1892), "A Woman of No Importance" (1893) (comedies), and other works; sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act to two years' imprisonment (1895), after having failed in a charge of libel against the Marquess of Queensberry. Married, 1891, Minnie, daughter of Horatio Lloyd. On the 30th, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, aged 81, **Tycho Mommsen**, a distinguished philologist. Born at Garding; Professor at the Gymnasium of Husum, 1848-50; at Eisenach, 1850-4; Director of the Realschall, Oldenburg, 1854-64; of the Gymnasium, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1864-85; author of several critical essays on Shakespeare, "The Art of Translation," etc., and editor of the works of Pindar. On the 30th, at St. Petersburg, aged 63, **Prince Alexander Imeretinsky**, Governor-General of Warsaw, son of the last Czarwitich of Imeritia in the Caucasus. Educated at the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg; a General of Infantry, Aide-de-camp-General to the Czar and a Member of the Council of the Empire; served in the Polish Campaign, 1863, and the Russo-Turkish War,

1877-8. He was the last representative of the Christian Czars of Georgia. On the 30th, at Saltburn-by-the-Sea, aged 66, **Thomas Vaughan**, son of John Vaughan, of Gunnergate Hall and Middlesbrough (the discoverer of Cleveland ironstone). For many years a leading ironmaster and the founder of the firm of Bolchow, Vaughan & Co. Of the enormous fortune left by his father the greater portion was sunk in industrial enterprises. Married, 1858, Katherine Jane, daughter of D. Macfarlane, of Glasgow.

DECEMBER.

Lord Armstrong.—Sir William George Armstrong, C.B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., was the son of a corn merchant in Newcastle-on-Tyne, whose family had originally been Cumberland dalesmen. William Armstrong was born in Newcastle in 1810 and in consequence of his delicate health spent much of his time indoors, where at an early age his aptitude for mechanical contrivances showed itself. He was educated at Bishop Auckland Grammar School, and at the same time frequented as much as his school hours would allow the engineering works of Mr. Ramshaw. He, however, did not pursue his studies in that direction, but returning to Newcastle was articled to Mr. Donkin, a local solicitor, and subsequently completed his legal studies in London. In 1838 he was admitted as junior partner into Mr. Donkin's firm, and two years later he married Margaret, daughter of Wm. Ramshaw, of Bishop Auckland. His mind, however, was always bent on mechanical inventions, and it is said that his attention to the use of hydraulic power was drawn by the waste in working a water-wheel at some marble works in Dent Dale, Yorkshire. He made many models for improving hydraulic appliances and personally superintended their making at Watson's High Bridge Works for upwards of ten years. During this time his attention was also drawn to the discoveries in electricity and especially to its generation by high-pressure steam, and William Armstrong was the first to produce a hydro-electrical machine which satisfied the requirements of the time. About 1846 his firm became connected with the Newcastle and Gateshead Waterworks, for whose works Armstrong invented a hydraulic crane, which was adopted, and eighteen months later, 1847-8, the Elswick Works were started for the manufacture of hydraulic machinery and especially of Armstrong cranes. It was at this time that Armstrong finally abandoned his work and devoted himself to the management of the Elswick Co.

The Crimean War gave a fresh direction to his inventiveness, and he set himself to the manufacture of lighter guns and of longer range than those in use in the service. Before the end of the year 1854 he was able to submit a model of an improved gun which the Secretary of State for War accepted with little delay, and Armstrong then took up the question of projectiles, and finally decided upon the pointed cylinder form as most effective. In 1856 he was able to offer the results of his experiments to a parliamentary committee which reported in favour of the Armstrong gun "a combination of construction, breech-loading and rifling, and the coating of projectiles with a soft metal". Both these inventions Armstrong presented to the country, refusing to protect himself by patents, but he was rewarded by being appointed Engineer of Rifled Ordnance, and subsequently Superintendent of the Gun Factory and was created C.B. At the same time as there was no machinery appropriate at Woolwich, a contract was entered into for seven years by which the guns were to be made at Newcastle, and the Elswick Ordnance Company was formed. In 1873 the firm, freed from its engagements with the British Government, greatly extended its operations and became builders of warships for every Government, and supplying guns and machinery to every country in the world. His works at Elswick covered an enormous space and gave employment to upwards of 25,000 workmen. His personal activity never relaxed; he was constantly inventing new machinery, or perfecting old inventions. His theory that a gun was a scientific production, of which all the powers and properties could be regulated with mathematical precision was adopted in all the gun foundries of the world, and he applied the same principle to the uses of powder, the form of projectiles, etc. He never attempted to protect his inventions by patent-rights, he regarded as impediments to his work. He converted his business

at an early date into a limited liability, retaining the chief interest in his own hands. With his large fortune he built an imposing house at Cragside, near Rothbury, and devoted himself to laying out the extensive grounds and gardens on a scale of unparalleled originality and of great beauty. He was devoted to gardening and was a keen fisherman, both of which pursuits he continued almost to the end of his life. In 1893 he purchased from the Crewe trustees the fine place Bamborough Castle, on the restoration of which to its original state he spent large sums, intending to devote a portion of the interior buildings for use as a county sanatorium; and he gave to Newcastle Jesmond Dene, a picturesque park with a hall and natural history museum. He took a deep interest in all local affairs, and was a frequent benefactor to his native town, the Cathedral, the Hospital, and the Mechanic's Institute having been largely endowed by him. A Liberal in politics until after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, he stood as a Liberal Unionist in 1886 against Mr. John Morley, but was defeated, and in

the following year a peerage was conferred upon him.

He received the honorary degree of LL.D. at Cambridge in 1862, and that of D.C.L. at Oxford eight years later. Lord Armstrong was a Knight Commander of the Danish Order of the Dannebrog, of the Austrian Order of Francis Josef, of the Brazilian Order of the Rose, and a Grand Officer of the Italian Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus. Among his published works are "Recent Discussions on the Abolition of Patents for Inventions" (1869), "The Industrial Resources of the Three Northern Rivers, the Tyne, Wear and Tees, Including Reports on Local Manufactures" (1864), "Proposals for a System of Technical Education" (1878), and "A Visit to Egypt in 1872, Described in Four Lectures" (1874).

He died at Rothbury on December 27, after a comparatively short illness, although for some time his strength had been failing. By his own request he was buried in an unostentatious manner and laid beside his wife, who had died eight years previously.

On the 1st, at Woodsome Hall, Huddersfield, aged 78, **Dowager Countess of Dartmouth**, Lady Augusta Finch, daughter of fifth Earl of Aylesford. Married, 1846, fifth Earl of Dartmouth. On the 1st, at Monaghan, aged 67, **Daniel Macaleese, M.P.** Began life as a shoemaker and was successively clerk, printer's reader, newspaper reporter, editor and proprietor; sentenced to four months' imprisonment and a fine on the newspaper for contempt of court in charging the judges with partiality in the trial of the Belfast riot cases; sat as a Nationalist and Healyite for North Monaghan since 1895. On the 1st, at Clifton Springs, New York, U.S.A., aged 76, **Hon. Donald MacInnes**. Born in Scotland; emigrated to Canada, 1840; founded a large dry goods business at Hamilton and subsequently took a leading part in the industry of the colony; appointed Member of the Senate, 1881. Married, 1863, Mary Amelia, daughter of Hon. Sir J. B. Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada. On the 2nd, at Ketteringham Park, Norfolk, aged 70, **Sir Francis George Maningham Bolleau, F.S.A.**, second baronet. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1855; took an active part in county affairs and was a prominent Freemason. Married, 1860, Lucy H., daughter of Sir George Nugent, second baronet. On the 2nd, at Edinburgh, aged 76, **Major-General Roderick Donald Macpherson**. Entered the Bengal Army, 1841; served in the Burmese War, 1852-3; the Sorthal War, 1858. On the 2nd, at Brighton, aged 42, **Countess of Kinnoull**, Josephine Maria, daughter of John Hawke. Married, 1879, Viscount Dupplin (afterwards twelfth Earl of Kinnoull); judicially separated, 1885. On the 4th, at London, aged 56, **Emily Marion Harris**, an earnest worker for girls' clubs and similar institutions, especially for Jewesses. Author of a "Narrative of the Bible for Children," "Estelle," "Four Messengers," etc. On the 5th, at Thaba N'chu, South Africa, aged 52, **Rev. Herbert Crosthwaite**. Born and educated at Liverpool for a mercantile career; emigrated to the Cape, but in 1884 was ordained and devoted himself to the service of the Kaffirs and Zulus; appointed Rector of Beaconsfield, near Kimberley, and afterwards of Thaba N'chu, where he remained during the Boer occupation. On the 5th, at Sloane Street, London, aged 52, **Earl of Donoughmore**, John Luke George Hely-Hutchinson, fifth earl. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1870; Assistant Commissioner for organising Eastern Roumelia, 1878-9. Married, 1874, Frances Isabella, daughter of General Stephens. On the 5th, at Claridge's Hotel, London, aged 72, **Baroness von Schröder**, Dorothea Evelina Schlürser, of St. Petersburg. Married, 1850, John Henry, Baron Schröder (Prussia) and baronet of the United Kingdom.

She was an active philanthropist. On the 6th, at Holwood Park, Keston, aged 76, **Dowager Countess of Derby**, Lady Mary Sackville, daughter of fifth Earl de la Warr. Married, first, 1847, second Marquess of Salisbury; and second, 1870, fifth Earl of Derby. On the 6th, at Pimlico, aged 52, **Rev. Alfred William Momerie, D.D.**, son of a Congregationalist minister. Educated at the City of London School; graduated at Edinburgh University with First Class Honours in Philosophy, 1875, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, as First of First Class in Moral Science Tripos, 1877; Fellow of St. John's, 1879; Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, King's College, London, 1880-91; Preacher at the Foundling Hospital, 1888-91; author of several volumes of sermons, etc., of which the broad views caused him to vacate his offices. On the 7th, at Maida Vale, London, aged 87, **Henry Russell**, a popular song-writer and singer. Born at Sheerness, where he appeared on the stage at the age of three years; began life as a chemist's assistant, but shortly after devoted himself to learning music, and, by the help of a lady, continued his studies in Italy and Paris; returned to London in 1830 and sang in concerts. In 1832 he went to the United States, where he set popular songs to music and gave popular entertainments, which were a great success. These he continued in London down to 1861. He was the author of "Cheer, Boys, Cheer," "A Good Time Coming, Boys," and "Woodman, Spare That Tree," and many other popular songs, for which he collaborated with Eliza Cook, Dickens, Thackeray, Longfellow and others. On the 7th, at Dublin, aged 54, **James M'Tvor**, a learned and accomplished scholar. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; Gold Medallist in Ethics and other distinctions; called to the Irish Bar, 1871; appointed Librarian to the Honourable Society of King's Inns, 1884. On the 8th, at Bath, aged 94, **Horatio Nelson Goddard**, of Clyffe Manor, Wootton Bassett. Educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; Major of the Wilts Militia. Married, first, 1840, Anne Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. T. le Mesurier; and second, 1852, Eliza Agnes, daughter of William Walford, of Tipton Hall. On the 8th, at Mentone, aged 63, **Sir Alfred Henry Bevan**, son of Charles James Bevan. A partner in the brewery business of Barclay, Perkins & Co.; a prominent Churchman, contributing largely to the restoration of St. Saviour's, Southwark; a leading Freemason and Grand Treasurer of the Order. Married, 1864, Louisa, daughter of Niven Kerr, H.B.M. Consul at Dunkirk. On the 9th, at Euston Gardens, Hyde Park, aged 64, **Lady Lyttelton**, Sybella Harriet, daughter of George Clive, M.P., of Perrystone Court, Herefordshire. Married, first, 1861, Humphry Francis Mildmay, M.P., of Shoreham Place, Kent; and second, 1869, George William, fourth Lord Lyttelton. On the 9th, at Montagu Square, London, aged 69, **Rev. the Hon. George Barrington Legge**, son of fourth Earl of Dartmouth. Educated at Eton; entered the Rifle Brigade, 1849; served throughout the Kaffir War, 1852-3, and the Crimea War, 1854-5, with distinction; retired from the Army and ordained, 1859; Vicar of Packington, Warwick, 1860-78; of Whittington, 1878-82. Married, 1860, Sophie Frances, daughter of George Levett, of Wichnor Park, Lichfield. On the 11th, at Algiers, aged 64, **The Earl of Harrowby**, Henry Dudley Stuart Ryder, fourth earl. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; was a partner in Messrs. Coutts' bank and President of the Institute of Bankers. Married, 1859, Susan Juliana, daughter of Villiers Dent, of Barton Cliff, Hants. On the 12th, at George Street, Manchester Square, aged 70, **Monsignor Michael Barry**. Born at Wexford; educated at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall Green; Curate, and afterwards Rector, of St. James's, Spanish Place, which he rebuilt on a new site at a cost of 60,000*l.*; Canon of Westminster, 1888; Vicar-General, 1895; and Provost of the Chapter, 1897. On the 12th, at Newmarket, aged 77, **Thomas Jennings**, a successful horse trainer. Born at Newmarket; apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Carter, in France, where he first rode as a jockey, 1836; engaged by Prince Eugene of Savoy in Italy, 1841-50; returned to France and trained for M. Aumont, Comte de la Grange and Baron Nivière with great success, including "Fille de l'Air," "Gladiateur," etc., and subsequently for M. Lefevre and Prince Soltykoff. On the 18th, at Springfontein, South Africa, aged 22, **Lord O'Hagan**, Thomas Towneley O'Hagan, second son of the first Lord O'Hagan; entered the Grenadier Guards, 1897; killed in the South African War and died of enteric fever. On the 14th, at Rome, aged 34, **Lady Katharine Manners**, daughter of seventh Duke of Rutland. Married, first, 1891, Lord Manners, aged 15th, at Rome, aged 55, **Sir John Conroy, F.R.S.**, third son of the first Lord Conroy. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow of Balliol College, 1867; Secretary of the House of Commons, 1867-71; Member of the House of Commons, 1871-82, **Lord Blantyre**, Charles James Blantyre, representative Peer of Scotland, 1860-92; founded the Glasgow and North Ayrshire Railway, where he occasionally conducted

the services, and as a Clydeside proprietor was in constant and costly litigation with the Trustees. Married, 1843, Lady Evelyn Leveson-Gower, daughter of second Duke of Sutherland. On the 15th, at New Hall, Salisbury, aged 71, **Alfred Buckley**, son of General Edward Pery Buckley. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; appointed to the Admiralty, 1851-6; took a prominent part in local politics and affairs. Married, 1858, Geraldine Mary, daughter of Captain George St. John Mildmay, R.N. On the 19th, at Hackney College, Hampstead, aged 53, **Rev. Alfred Cave, D.D.**, an eminent scholar and Congregationalist minister. Originally educated for the medical profession; entered New College, Regent's Park, 1866; graduated B.A., University of London, 1871; Pastor at Berkhamstead and Watford, 1872-80; Professor of Hebrew and Church History at Hackney College, 1880; Principal, 1882; author of numerous theological and controversial works. Married, 1872, Sarah, widow of William Hallifax, of Berkhamstead. On the 19th, at Albemarle Street, London, aged 61, **Rev. Edward Mallet Young**. Graduated B.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge (seventh Classic); Fellow of Trinity, 1865-78; Assistant Master at Harrow, 1865-78; Headmaster of Sherbourne School, 1878-92; Vicar of Rothbury, Northumberland, 1895. On the 20th, at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, aged 80, **Frederick Richard Pickersgill, R.A.**, nephew of H. W. Pickersgill, R.A. Studied at the Royal Academy Schools; exhibited his first picture, "The Brazen Age," 1839; illustrated Spencer's "Faerie Queene" in a series of pictures exhibited at intervals, 1841-55; "The Burial of Harold," purchased for the Houses of Parliament, 1847; elected an Associate, 1847, and Academician, 1857; was Keeper of the Academy, 1873-87; and retired in 1888, having ceased to exhibit, except in 1875, since 1871. On the 21st, at Belfast, aged 81, **Vere Henry Louis Foster**, a distinguished philanthropist and educationalist, son of Sir Augustus Foster, British Minister at Denmark. Entered the Diplomatic Service, but in 1847 took a leading part in organising Relief Committees in Ireland during the Irish famine, and devoted his life to Irish education and emigration, and in 1867 assisted 25,000 Irish girls to emigrate. He was the projector of a series of writing, drawing and painting books much used in National Schools. On the 21st, at Quellendorf, aged 90, **Field-Marshal von Blumenthal**. Born at Schwedt-on-Oder; entered the Army at an early age and after a brilliant career was appointed Aide-de-camp to Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, 1858; Chief of the Staff of the Flying Army Corps in the Prusso-Danish War, 1863, and of the Second Army Corps in the Austro-Prussian War, 1866; and Chief of the General Staff of the Army under the Crown Prince in the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1, and was the chief adviser in the operations round Sedan and in the investment of Paris; created a Count in 1883 and Field-Marshal in 1888, and retired in 1898. Married, 1862, Delicia Anne, daughter of Robert T. Vyner, of Eathorpe, Warwickshire. On the 22nd, at Beckford Manor, Tewkesbury, aged 70, **Lord Dormer**, John Baptist Joseph Dormer, twelfth baron. Entered the Royal Horse Guards, 1850; exchanged and served with Grenadier Guards in the Crimea, 1854-5, and afterwards in 79th Highlanders, 1858-68. Married, first, 1866, Louisa, daughter of Colonel Tenison; second, 1871, Léonie, daughter of M. Fortamps and widow of Count Alfred de Beuren; and third, 1885, Emily Constance Campbell, daughter of John Bald, of Monzie Castle, Perthshire. On the 24th, at Edinburgh, aged 77, **Sir Thomas Clark, F.R.S.E.**, first baronet, son of John Clark, publisher. Educated at Edinburgh High School; entered the firm, 1846, and became head of the publishing house; Assessor of Edinburgh University, 1878-85; Master of the Merchants' Company of Edinburgh, 1884-5; Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1885-8. Married, 1851, Eliza Maule, daughter of Rev. G. R. Davidson, of the Free Church. On the 25th, at Osborne, Isle of Wight, aged 70, **Dowager Lady Churchill**, Lady of the Bedchamber since 1854, Lady Jane Conyngham, daughter of second Marquess Conyngham, K.P. Married, 1849, second Baron Churchill. On the 25th, at Southbourne, Hants, aged 65, **Edmund M. Wimperis, R.I.**, son of E. Wimperis, of Chester. Came to London at an early age and studied wood-engraving under Birket Foster; worked many years for the *Illustrated London News*; subsequently devoted himself to landscape painting in water-colours and afterwards in oils; Member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours, and Vice-President. Married daughter of Walter Edmunds, of Penzance. On the 27th, at Lisbon, aged 54, **Alexandre Alberto de la Roche de Serpa Pinto**, a Portuguese adventurer and explorer. Born in Northern Portugal, 1846; taken by his father, a strong Royalist, to America, 1848; returned to Portugal, 1858, and was educated at the Military School at Lisbon; entered the Army and took part in an expedition to the Zambesi, which he ascended to near Victoria Falls; next explored the Nyassa district and afterwards the basin between the Zambesi and

the Congo from Benguela to Pretoria, 1877-9; received the Founders' Medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1882; made further explorations in South-East Africa, 1884-6; appointed Governor-General of Mozambique, 1889, when with Captain Cardozo he attempted to extend Portuguese influence in Nyassaland, but was stopped by the British Government, which insisted on his instant disavowal; returned to Lisbon, where he was received as a hero and martyr, but died in obscurity. On the 28th, at Rowland's Castle, Havant, aged 89, **Admiral George William Douglas O'Callaghan**, son of General O'Callaghan. Entered the Navy, 1825; distinguished himself in the capture of Malay and Chinese pirates, 1834-46; served off the coast of Kamtschatka during the Russian War, 1854-5, and with much distinction in the Chinese War, 1856-7. Married, 1860, Amy, daughter of T. Barton. On the 28th, at Deepdene, Dorking, aged 53, **Lord William de la Poer Beresford, V.C.**, son of fourth Marquess of Waterford. Educated at Eton; entered the Army, 1867; served with 7th Lancers in the Afredi Expedition, 1877-8; in the Zulu War with great distinction, 1879; in the Afghan War, 1880; Aide-de-camp to the Viceroy of India, 1876-80, and Military Secretary, 1882-94, where he was the most popular and most active member of the Viceregal Court. He was a keen sportsman, a splendid steeple-chase rider, polo player, amateur actor, etc. On his return to England he began racing, and introduced American horses and jockeys, with which he was very successful. Married, 1895, Lily Warren, daughter of Commodore Price, of New York, and widow successively of Mr. Louis Hammersley, of New York, and of the eighth Duke of Marlborough. On the 29th, at Hurdscote House, Salisbury, aged 38, **John Henry Leech, F.R.G.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S.**, son of John Leech, of Gorse Hall, Cheshire. Educated at Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge; a distinguished entomologist and had travelled much in Brazil, Northern India, Central Asia, Corea, etc.; author of "British Pyralidæ" (1886), "The Butterflies of China, Japan and Corea" (1894), etc. Married, 1889, Beatrice E., daughter of Benjamin Leatt Wias, of Philadelphia, U.S.A. On the 30th, at Stanhope Place, Hyde Park, aged 86, **William Pole, F.R.S., Mus.Doc.** Born and educated at Birmingham, where he studied engineering; Professor of Civil Engineering at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, 1844-7; at University College, London, and Lecturer at the Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham, 1859-67; F.R.S., 1861; graduated from St. John's College, Oxford; Bachelor of Music, 1860; Mus.Doc., 1867; Member of Committee on Iron Armour, 1862-4; of Royal Commission on Railways, 1865-7; on Water Supply, 1867-9; and on Thames Pollution, 1882-4; Consulting Engineer for the Imperial Japanese Railways, 1871-83; author of numerous scientific works and treatises, also of "Life of Sir William Fairbairn" (1877), "Life of Sir William Siemens" (1888), and of "The Evolution of Whist" (1890), of which game he was a most scientific exponent, but an indifferent player.

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